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Engrav'd for
MORTIMER's
History of England



S. Wale delin^t

HENRY, V.

C. Gignion sculp^t

A NEW
H I S T O R Y
O F
E N G L A N D,

FROM THE
EARLIEST ACCOUNTS of BRITAIN,
TO THE
RATIFICATION of the P E A C E of VERSAILLES, 1763.

HUMBLY INSCRIBED TO THE QUEEN.

By THOMAS MORTIMER, Esq.
His MAJESTY'S VICE-CONSUL for the AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS.

Orationi et carmini est parva gratia, nisi eloquentia sit summa : historia quoquo modo scripta delectat.
PLINY, jun.

V O L. II.

L O N D O N,
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MDCCLXV.

FROM THE

ЭНТ'ОТ

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
E N G L A N D.

F R O M

The Accession of King HENRY V. to the Death of King HENRY VII.

P A R T VIII.

HENRY V. surnamed Of MONMOUTH, the second King of
ENGLAND of the House of LANCASTER. A.D. 1413.

THE reader must now prepare himself for a scene of amazing revolutions, in which the wisdom of Providence, and the vanity of human precautions, will be alike conspicuous; teaching this necessary lesson to the great ones of the earth, that policy founded on injury, and power supported by injustice, however they may be for a while attended with success, will in the end prove shallow and precarious, and revert to the confusion of those who put their trust in them.

Henry of Monmouth was about twenty-five years of age when he succeeded to the crown of England, by the consent of the parliament, who made no difficulty of placing the royal diadem upon him, though he could not be supposed to possess a better title than his father, and though the earl of Marche, the lineal heir, was still living: in which the great assembly of the nation seems to have preferred the general happiness and welfare to any private consideration of hereditary right; a right which we have frequently seen rejected, to make place for the advantage of the whole body of the people.

Nor had Henry's subjects any reason, on this occasion, to repent their conduct, since their new sovereign succeeded to royalty with every merit that could adorn it. He began his reign on the twentieth of March, 1413; and on the twenty-fourth of the same month, both houses of parliament met, in pursuance of a summons under the late king, after several adjournments. The ceremony of young Henry's coronation was performed on the ninth of April following, by Arundel, arch-

bishop of Canterbury, with great solemnity, and amidst the unfeigned acclamations of all present.

The new king had no sooner assumed the reins of government, than he increased the good opinion the people already conceived of his reign, by many acts of justice and popularity. His first step was to publish a general amnesty or pardon for all crimes, rape and murder excepted: he dismissed all the old companions of his former irregularities: he chose a new council, composed of the wisest and best men of the kingdom: he shewed a resolution of restoring purity to the courts of justice, by displacing many judges, and others who had undeservedly held posts of power and profit under his father: he received all petitions, without exception of person, time, or place; and none departed from him without redress, or justice done them: and, as an earnest of the favour men of integrity might expect under his rule, even the chief-justice Gascoygne, who had committed him, when prince of Wales, to prison, and who, on that account, trembled to approach the royal presence, was received with the utmost cordiality and friendship; and Henry, instead of reproaching him with his past conduct, applauded his strict and impartial execution of the laws, and continued him in his post, with a strong exhortation that he would persevere in the same noble conduct. Farther to manifest to the world how superior he was to all party considerations, he caused the corpse of the unhappy Richard II. to be removed from Langley abbey, where it had been buried in an obscure manner, to Westminster, in which place it was re-interred near the remains of his queen, Anne of Luxembourg, with royal ceremony and generous donations,

donations, after the manner of those times, for the honour and salvation of the deceased *.

But notwithstanding these endeavours of Henry to conciliate the affections of all his subjects to his government and person, there was still a party in the kingdom that could not behold with patient eyes any of the line of Lancaster in possession of the regal dignity. This party had abettors of very high distinction: Edmund, duke of York, the same who, in the time of king Richard the second, had been created duke of Albemarle, was still alive, had vast riches and influence, and was at this time constable of the Tower; not caring, however, to appear personally in rebellion against Henry, who had given several generous proofs of his friendship and confidence, he privately set to work one Wightlock to propagate a story that king Richard was still alive in Scotland. This fellow proved indefatigable in the business he was employed about, and papers were posted up on the gates of Westminster abbey, in several parts of London, and on the doors of several churches, in which it was affirmed, with the most dreadful asseverations, that Richard was still alive. Wightlock being in a short time seized, and committed to the Tower, the duke his patron favoured his escape, for which he was dismissed his place as constable, and one of the warders was tried and executed as a traitor for having contrived the criminal's escape: and thus this embryo of a conspiracy perished almost in its conception, without any cruel or rigorous examples being made, Henry treating the whole with a contempt that seemed superior to revenge.

Matters were in this situation when a new parliament met, on the fifteenth day of May. It was opened by a speech from the bishop of Winchester (Henry Beaufort), the king's uncle, who assured them of Henry's zeal to promote the interest of church and state. The commons having chosen a speaker, presented an address, desiring that the laws might be duly executed: then they petitioned his majesty that he would provide for the defence of Ireland, Wales, the Marches of Scotland, Calais, and Guienne: they complained loudly of the clergy's exacting pecuniary fines of the people, by way of commuting for the sins of the flesh; and several other abuses: all which the king promised to speak to the bishops to reform; and that if they neglected, he would take order to do it himself. Several statutes were enacted for the better preservation of the public peace, and the maintenance of the people's privileges; and one in particular for preventing frauds and false returns in the election of members for parliament.

While the parliament was thus providing for securing civil liberty, the clergy were as industrious in destroying religious. Notwithstanding all the severities against the Lollards, and notwithstanding all the power of the clergy, and their zeal to suppress them, they increased in such a manner as not only to threaten the destruction of the power of the church, as exercised in England under the bishop of Rome, but also, as the generality of these sectaries were hot and ignorant, the government

began to grow apprehensive of disagreeable consequences to the state, from their frequent and numerous meetings: this, added to the necessity Henry found himself under of keeping well with the clergy, made him resolve to come into all their violent measures; and, on the twenty-first of August, he published a proclamation against the conventicles of the Lollards, forbidding such on pain of imprisonment, and inhibiting all persons from embracing their opinions, favouring their persons, or attending their preachings, without a licence from the bishop of the diocese.

The sect was highly irritated at this proclamation, and, in the heat of their blind resentment, went so far as to post up papers in several public places, threatening the government that they were ready to bring an hundred thousand men into the field, against any who should go about to persecute those who had embraced their faith. The chief of their party was sir John Oldcastle†, of Cowling, in Kent, styled, in right of his wife, lord Cobham: he was a man of eminent parts, courage, and experience in military affairs, which had recommended him to Henry's favour. Thomas Arundel, who was still archbishop of Canterbury, and was extremely incensed against the Lollards, thought that the surest method of suppressing the sect, was to attack their principal protector, and accordingly a process was ordered in convocation to be begun against him as an heretic; but as Oldcastle was, as we have observed, in favour with the king, it was thought that this method might give offence, unless the king was made acquainted with it before hand, and his leave desired to prosecute the heretical knight. The archbishop accordingly waited upon Henry, who then resided at Kennington, to inform him of the clergy's intention; but the affection Henry had for sir John, made him desire to have some conference with him before he gave leave to the convocation to proceed further against him. The knight was accordingly sent for, but Henry found him so firmly determined in his principles, that he gave leave for the clergy to proceed against him to the utmost extremity in their courts.

In consequence of this licence from the king, Oldcastle was cited to appear before the archbishop on the second of September; but contemning the citation, was excommunicated, and thereupon arrested by the civil power, and brought by the lieutenant of the Tower, on the twenty-third or twenty-fifth of that month, to give an account of his faith with regard to the sacraments. Being pressed too close upon the points of transubstantiation, the worship of the cross, and the authority of the bishop of Rome, he did not answer to the satisfaction of the archbishop and his three assistant suffragans, the bishops of London, Winchester, and St. David's, and they agreed to pronounce sentence upon him as an heretic convict, and to deliver him over to the secular arm. Forty or fifty days being generally allowed, according to the tenor of the law of England, for any person under ecclesiastical censures to repent and make satisfaction to the

* He ordered that two tapers should stand burning day and night by his tomb, a dirge to be sung one day in the week, and the next morning a mass of Requiem; and when that was ended, eleven shillings and eight pence, to be given to the poor; and, lastly, upon the day of his anniversary, twenty pounds, in pence, to be distributed yearly for his soul.

And, by way of atonement for his father's usurpation, he founded three monasteries, near Shene, in Surry, where prayers were also continually said for the soul of Richard. Goodwin's Henry V. p. 3.

† Walsingham.

church, before the civil authority interposed with its coercive power, sir John was recommitted to the Tower, but made his escape before the term was expired. He was no sooner at liberty, than he sent for his friends to make ready for the field, and repair to the neighbourhood of London upon the first notice they should receive from him; and, from the concurrent testimony of all cotemporary writers, even Ball himself, the great favourer of this nobleman, it appears more than probable that the state as well as the church was threatened by these fanatics with some dreadful stroke, if it had not been averted by the king's great vigilance.

Henry was then at Eltham, keeping his Christmas holidays; but upon receiving intelligence of the intended meeting of the Lollards, he hastened up to Westminster. The condemnation of so great a man as sir John Oldcastle gave the meaner sort to understand what they were to expect, if they should fall under the like censures; accordingly, upon the first summons from their favourite hero, they flocked from all parts of England, to the number of twenty thousand (as Oldcastle's indictment sets forth), scarce any knowing what they were to do, but all ready to obey his orders. The rendezvous was appointed, before day, on the sixth of January, 1414, in St. Giles's Fields, that had hitherto been the scene of their devotion when driven from the churches, but now destined to be the field of their rebellion. Henry, apprized of their design, had, with all possible privacy, got together a good number of troops, and taken possession of the ground soon after midnight. Sir John Oldcastle expected to be joined by great numbers of apprentices and servants from London, some say near fifty thousand; but the king, the noon of that evening the insurgents were to assemble, had ordered the gates of the city to be shut, and had posted guards at all the avenues, to intercept all assistance that might arrive: by this means the Lollards were caught in their own snare, being seized as fast as they came to the place of rendezvous, where they found enemies instead of the friends they expected, till the alarm being given, the rest shifted for themselves, and dispersed. Sir John Acton, one John Brown, an esquire, sir John Beverly, a preacher, with one Richard Marle, a rich brewer, of Dunstable, and the precentor of St. Alban's, who had headed these rabble, were, with six-and-thirty other persons of eminence, seized in the fields by the soldiery, and suffered death the next day, as traitors and heretics, being first hanged and then burnt, in St. Giles's Fields. Cobham got off at this time, and, though a proclamation was issued, with the promise of a reward of fifteen hundred marks, for taking him, his party secreted him so well, that he was not seized till about four years after, when he was drawn, hanged, and burnt as he hung, the last punishment being added because he had been declared an heretic: but we shall have occasion to canvass this affair more fully in the ecclesiastical part of this work. We must now turn to foreign affairs; but it will be necessary to explain the situation of the French court and kingdom, as an introduction to that war which continued so long, and was productive of so much mischief and calamity to both nations.

The accommodation between the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, of which we have given an

account in the preceding reign, and in consequence of which the troops of England were dismissed from the service of the confederated princes of France, was but short-lived. The duke of Burgundy, who well knew that he had an inveterate enemy in the person of Lewis, the dauphin of France, resolved to make himself dreaded by that prince, by kindling up anew the flames of civil commotion in that kingdom: for this purpose he privately dealt with the Parisians, by whom he was adored, who suddenly took to arms, and assembling to the number of twelve thousand men in support of their favourite, they surrounded the Bastile, of which they quickly made themselves masters, and cut off the governor's head; after which they broke into the dauphin's apartments, seized the duke of Barr, with the principal officers of his household, many of whom they barbarously put to death; and forced the dauphin himself, with the dukes of Berry and Guienne, to wear white hoods, the badge of the faction. But their insolence was soon suppressed, for the king, Charles VI. relapsing into one of his lucid intervals, the duke of Burgundy was deprived of the advantage of acting under pretext of the royal authority; and the king, with the most considerable persons both in the court and city, resolved to send deputies to the duke of Orleans and the other princes of his party, who had retired from Paris; and a conference was held at Vernueil, where the princes assured the king of their services, and the dukes of Orleans, Berry, Bourbon, Alençon, the counts of Eu and Vendôme, hastened to Paris, in order to deliver their sovereign out of the hands of the Burgundian faction. The dauphin having gained over a great number of the Parisians to his interest, and finding himself likely to be powerfully supported by the confederate princes, sent private orders to his partisans to assemble, so that he at length found himself at the head of thirty thousand men: with these he scoured the streets of Paris, and struck such terror into the opposite faction, that they abandoned the Louvre, Hotel de Ville, and Bastile, without opposition; and the duke of Burgundy, finding himself unable to stop the progress of his enemies, and being, moreover, disappointed in a design he had formed of carrying off the king of France to Flanders, under pretence of an hunting-match, retired himself precipitately into that country, leaving his party exposed to all the rage and resentment of their adversaries.

The duke of Berry was again declared governor of Paris; and the court of France being thus remodelled, appointed commissioners to treat of a final and lasting peace with England; and, on the fourth of July, 1413, conferences were opened at Lellinghen, in Picardy, between the French and English commissaries, where it was immediately agreed, that the truce, at present subsisting, should be inviolably observed till the month of June, in the following year.

We have already shewn, that Henry IV. had carefully fomented the animosity between the two French parties, each of whom he had alternately furnished with assistance; and he would probably have endeavoured to avail himself farther of their dissensions, had not the unsettled state of his own affairs hindered him from carrying such a design into execution. Henry V. with even more ambition than his father, did not labour under the same disadvantages; he had ascended the throne

without opposition, he possessed the good-will and affection of his subjects in general, and he was too sagacious not to perceive, and too prudent not to improve, the tempting prospect which the distracted state of the French monarchy presented to his view. Nevertheless, that he might conceal his ambition under the specious appearance of equity, he resolved to begin by the way of treaty and negotiation; and the duke of York was sent to Paris, with a splendid retinue, to demand the princess Catherine of France, a young lady of thirteen years of age, in marriage for the king of England.

Whilst this negotiation was on foot, Henry entered into another with the duke of Brittany, who had hitherto observed an exact neutrality between the courts of France and England; but the English had great cause of dissatisfaction with the Bretons, whose privateers had greatly distressed their trade, but all differences were now to be made up, and the duke, if possible, warmed into a steady ally. Accordingly, the latter having sent two commissioners on his part to London, conferences were opened on the first of February, 1414, in which a truce was concluded between the two powers, on the following terms:

“That it should continue ten years, and be exactly observed through all the dominions of both princes; that the duke should take care to restrict the inhabitants of St. Malo’s from all piracies and depredations: that no acts of hostility should be committed by any of the subjects of the two princes: that there should be a free and undisturbed trade and traffic between both nations, with payment of the usual customs; but yet that none of the subjects of king Henry, except merchants, shall enter into any city, towns, or forts of Brittany, without licence first obtained from the governors: that if, by attempts contrary to this truce, any person should be taken prisoner, or any depredations should be made, restitution and full satisfaction should be given, without any fraud or delay: that though such violences were acted, yet the truce should not be broken by them, nor any such pretences give occasion to begin a war; but the wrongs done should be repaired, and the persons offending suffer deserved punishment: that no man of war should go out of any port in Brittany, or in any of the duke’s dominions, without first having given good security that nothing should be attempted contrary to the truce: that all prizes taken should be brought into some port belonging to the duke, or to king Henry, unless, by storms, or the pursuit of some enemy, they be forced into other harbours; and if any man of war set out to sea, without having given the required security, it should be forfeited to the duke: that all ships bringing any prizes into the allowed ports, should be arrested by deputed officers, till sufficient enquiry be made whether the prize were lawful: that before such due examination, no prizes should be exposed to sale; and that, if the officers were negligent in making their enquiry, they should be bound to satisfy all the damages of the injured party: that during the truce, the duke of Brittany should not receive any traitors, pirates, fugitives, or exiles from England, nor afford them the least entertainment or relief, but should cause them to be apprehended and delivered up to the king of

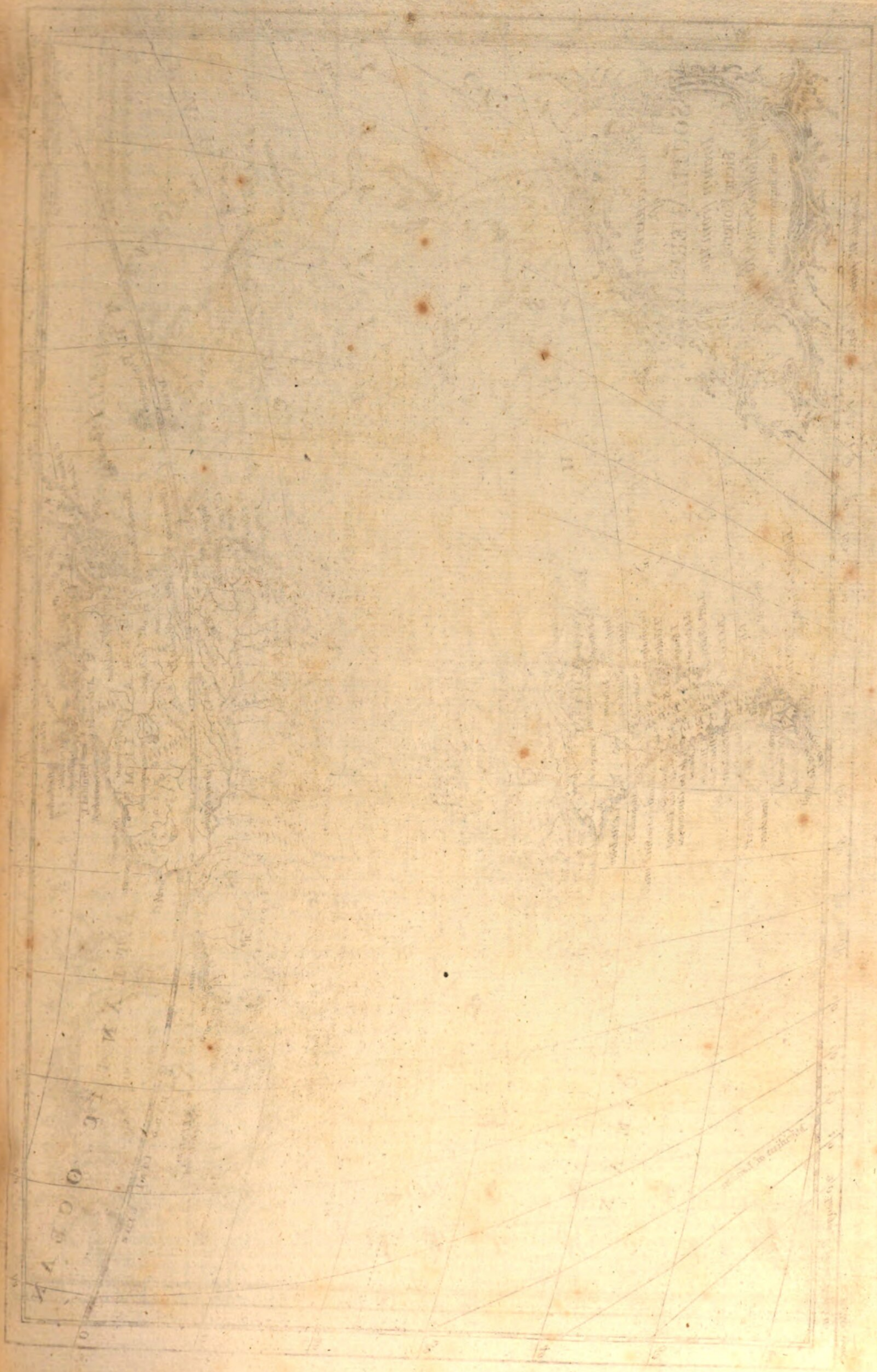
England, at his own proper expence, when he had sent the names of them, and required it: that the duke should not give reception to any of the king’s enemies, armed to make war against him, nor supply them with any provision or aids, nor permit any of his subjects to go out of his dominions to their assistance, nor to do any thing for their relief: that no prizes taken from the English by the king’s enemies should be admitted into the duke’s ports, nor sale of the goods be made within his territories, nor the duke’s subjects entertain or receive any who thus should infect the English by land or by sea; and if any were found faulty in so doing, they should be punished according to their desert: that the subjects of England should have free admission into the ports of Brittany with any prizes which they should take from the enemy; and if any of the duke’s subjects should make any false pretensions to these prizes and goods as their own, and this was clearly proved against them, they should for ever be excluded from all benefit of the truce*.”

We have given these terms at length, as they serve to shew us how well, even in those days, the principles of commerce and the law of nations were understood.

The next power with which Henry concluded a negotiation, was the crown of Castile: the English still bore in their remembrance the vast annoyance they had suffered from the shipping of that nation in the reign of Edward III. and it was therefore necessary to secure the friendship of that prince. This was the more practicable, as Henry had in his own dominions a powerful pretender to the crown of Castile in the person of the duke of York, by right of blood from his mother, the daughter of the late Peter the Cruel, and the only daughter who had left male issue: accordingly we find Dr. Henyngham appointed to treat with dom Juan Roderigo, the Castilian ambassador, and a truce concluded upon several excellent regulations, some of which are very singular.

It was to this effect: “That it should begin on the twenty-fifth of March following, and continue till sun-set of the twenty-fifth of March the next year: that it should be exactly observed by sea and land: that the subjects of both nations should abstain from all acts of war and violence: that no depredations should be made by land, nor piracies by sea, by the subjects of Castile upon those of England: that the English should be admitted to come and reside in any of the dominions of the king of Castile, with full liberty of trade in all lawful and unprohibited goods, paying the duties to the king and the usual customs: that if, during this truce, any thing should be acted, by the subjects of Castile, to the damage of the king of England, or his subjects, restitution should be made, free of all expences or charge, and the persons offending punished according to the nature of the offence: that though any such acts of violence should be done by the subjects of Castile, yet they should not be accounted violations of the truce, nor be pretended as occasions of beginning a war, but that full reparations be made of the injuries by the king of Castile, or his officers, and the offenders duly punished: that if any goods or merchandize were taken from the English, they should be presently seized by the

* Goodwin, p. 33, 34.





An
ACCURATE MAP of
FRANCE
Drawn from the
Sieur Robert,
with Improvements.

British Statute Miles
5 20 40 60 80 100 120 140

Longitude East from London
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

king of Castile's officers, and put into safe hands, to be secured for the owners; to whom, upon complaint and proof made, they shall be restored, and all charges of the recovery be satisfied out of the goods of the person who took them, to secure the truce from being broken; and to prevent all attempts against it by any cruizers in the seas, it was also agreed, that if any of the king of Castile's subjects sent out such ships, security should be given that they might not be employed against the English, nor make depredations in the kingdom of England, duchy of Aquitaine, or any of king Henry's dominions: that the officers appointed should not suffer such ships to go out of port till they had given this requisite security, that all prizes which they took should be brought into the port whence the ship was sent out, and into no other, unless they were forced by pursuit of enemies, or driven by a tempest, but that, as soon as it ceased, they should bring the prize into the required port: that if the officers appointed by the king of Castile should neglect to take sufficient securities of the owners of those ships, those officers should repair all damages and mischiefs of depredations made by them: and for the speedier reparations of the losses which the subjects of both kingdoms had sustained, it was resolved, that the king of Castile should send his ambassadors to Fontarabia, a town in Guipuscoa, a province in Spain, on the frontiers of Aquitaine, in the beginning of the next July, to meet those sent from England; and that they should have full power to hear and decide all causes and controversies relating to piracies or depredations, made at land or sea, by the people of either nation, contrary to the truce concluded between the two crowns in the beginning of the reign of Henry, king of Castile, the father of the present king, who would give effectual orders, that what the ambassadors determined should be performed in all his dominions: but if any thing intervened, so that the king of Castile could not send his ambassadors to the appointed place at the assigned day, yet this should give no interruption to the truce: and in conclusion, Roderigo engaged, for the king his master, that he should send his letters patent, sealed with the great seal, in confirmation of this treaty, and of all the articles agreed in it §.

The late conspiracy and insurrection of the Lollards gave occasion to a severe statute being made against them in the parliament which met, on the thirtieth of April this year, at Leicester, by which statute they were subjected to the forfeiture of their goods and chattels, as also of the lands and tenements which they enjoyed in fee simple, at the time of their death, in the same manner as if they had been attainted of felony: it was also enacted, that none should, upon pain of life and limb, read the Scriptures in English; and that such persons should have no benefit of sanctuary*. A vast number afterwards suffered by this infamous act, which owed its rise to the bloody zeal of the clergy, and Henry's jealousy of the civil principles of this new sect. This persecution was chiefly carried on by the instigation of Henry Chicheley, late bishop of St. David's, but now promoted to the archbishopric of Canterbury, in the room of Thomas Arundel, who died on the twentieth of February before.

While these matters passed here, the court of France continued its prosecutions against the Burgundian faction with unremitting severity, and many of them fell by the hands of the common executioner; and the king, who at this time seemed to be fully restored to his reason, published so severe an ordinance against the duke, that the latter despaired of ever being able to compromise matters. In this desperate state of his affairs, he applied to the court of England for assistance; and Henry, following the example of his father's policy, in supporting the weaker side, resolved to espouse the duke's cause, as the most certain means to perpetuate the distraction of the French government. Though the dukes of Clarence, Gloucester, and York inclined towards the Orleans faction, an offer from the duke of Burgundy to do homage to Henry completed the matter in his favour, and the lord Scroope, with four other commissioners, were sent to receive that homage, and to promise the duke, in consideration thereof, a considerable aid. Henry, however, did not reap any great fruits from this manœuvre in politics; for Charles of France unhappily relapsing into his former insanity, the French government thought proper to agree to terms of accommodation with the duke of Burgundy, which the latter gladly received, though they were extremely hard: all of them, however, are foreign to this history, the third article only excepted, by which that prince was obliged to renounce his late alliance with the king of England.

At the very time that Henry was carrying on his negotiation with the duke of Burgundy, he entered into another with the court of France, from whence the archbishop of Bourges, the constable d'Albert, and Groutier Col, one of the king's secretaries, were sent to England, under pretence of settling the difficulties that remained unadjusted at the late conferences at Lelighen; but in reality to discover what Henry's intentions were: the king, who was not yet prepared for the great enterprize he meditated, amused them for some time with negotiations, but all that was done was to prolong the late truce to the second of February, 1415. Henry, to carry on his disguise, sent over a splendid embassy to France, proposing a perpetual alliance and peace between the two kingdoms, and demanding, in return, Catherine, the French king's daughter, in marriage; two millions of crowns, as her portion; the payment of one million six hundred thousand †, as the arrears of king John's ransom; the immediate possession and full sovereignty of Normandy, and the other provinces which Philip Augustus had wrested from the crown of England, together with the superiority of Brittany and Flanders ‡.

It is evident, from the exorbitant nature of these demands, that Henry was fully sensible of the distressed condition of the French monarchy; and the terms offered by that court, though greatly inferior, sufficiently shew their own consciousness of the same melancholy truth: they agreed to give him the princess in marriage, with a portion of eight hundred thousand crowns; to invest him with the entire sovereignty of Guienne, and to annex to that province the counties of Perigord, Ro-

§ Goodwin, p. 35, 36.

* Rot. Parl. 2 Hen. V. p. 1.

† Each of those crowns was to amount to half an English

noble, about nine shillings of our present money. Rymer's *Fœdera*. vol. ix. p. 214.

‡ Ibid. p. 203—208.

vergne, Xaintonge, Angoumois, and other territories ||.

As Henry was pretty certain that his own terms would not be granted, and was fully determined to accept of no other, he set about making great preparations, to be ready against a proper opportunity offered for carrying into execution the purpose which he seems to have formed from the first moment of his accession to the throne, agreeable to the dying advice of his father, not to suffer the English to continue long in a state of inactivity; and his parliament, who appear to have acted in concert with their sovereign on this occasion, without waiting for the event of the negotiations actually on foot, came to a resolution of addressing the king for a war with France; and Henry, with great seeming complacency, acquiesced in their desire, upon which the house voted him a very large supply.

In this parliament the commons likewise petitioned the king to seize the church-lands, and they supported their petition with such cogent reasons, founded on the immoderate wealth of the clergy, that this body, foreseeing their ruin inevitable, unless some remedy was found against the gathering storm, met to consult about means to avert, or at least weaken it as much as possible; and finding the king but too much inclined to comply with the request of the commons, they resolved to give up part of their wealth, in order to save the remainder: they offered, as a free gift, the whole riches and revenues of one hundred and ten monasteries, which depended upon capital abbeys in Normandy, and had been bequeathed to them when that province was united to England; and Chicheley, the new archbishop of Canterbury, made him a formal tender of the same, which the king accepted, rather than quarrel with the clergy, and these monasteries were appropriated to his use by act of parliament: and the business of the intended war with France being again artfully brought on the carpet by Chicheley, who made an elaborate speech on the occasion, stuffed with fulsome compliments to the king, the minds of the commons were called off from their first object, and the bill against the clergy fell of itself to the ground*.

All the rest of the year was spent in continual embassies to London and Paris; but nothing was concluded on. At length, the archbishop of Bourges, the bishop of Lisieux, the count of Vendosme, great-master of France, the baron of Ivry, the lord Briquemont, and Groutier Col, with other noblemen, and a train of three hundred horse, arrived at the English court, in order to bring Henry, if possible, to more moderate terms. They found him busied in his preparations to invade their country: Henry gave them audience on the sixteenth of April, 1415, at Winchester, in a very stately manner, sitting in his robes of gold, and attended by all the princes of the blood and the lords of his court. The archbishop of Bourges made a florid speech, in which he endeavoured to convince Henry of the unreasonableness of his demands, and to represent the princess Catherine, and her portion, as more than an equivalent for all that the English asked. Henry, however, treated this assertion with great disdain; and the bishop of Winchester, by

the king's command, summed up the whole negotiations that had passed between England and France since Henry's accession to the crown; he accused the French of double-dealing and affected dilatoriness in all their proceedings; he reproached them with the breach of the treaty of Bretigny; and concluded with declaring, "that his master now appealed to the sword."

This thunder-clap for a while left the Frenchmen astounded and speechless; but at length the archbishop of Bourges, losing all patience, forgot what was due to his own character, and to the majesty of a great prince, and, with eyes sparkling with rage, made answer, "that he saw plainly that the king, not contented with a crown unjustly wrested from Richard II. by his father, wanted to usurp that of France also; but that he should find the enterprize more difficult than he imagined†." Henry and his court, however, made no other reply to the archbishop's imprudent (we wish truth would permit us to stigmatize it with the epithet of false) charge, than by a politic contempt.

All conferences thus breaking off, Henry redoubled his attention to warlike preparations; and having assembled a great armament at Southampton, he repaired thither, in order to embark on his expedition, and the beginning of August was fixed for his departure. The ardour of the nation to follow him to the field exceeded his most sanguine expectations, and rid him of all apprehensions of any defect in his finances to pay his troops, which would put a stop to an enterprize, from whence he promised himself so much glory. According to some historians‡, the earl of Northumberland levied forty men at arms, and one hundred and twenty archers; the earl of Westmoreland the same number; the earl of Warwick, twenty men at arms and forty archers; the earl of Suffolk, the lords Zouch, Berkeley, d'Arcy, Seymour, Ros, and Willoughby, each of them contributed half a ship, twenty men at arms, and forty archers; the lord Morley brought six men at arms, and twenty archers; and all the other nobility in proportion; the lords Scales and Randolph offered to serve without pay.

The next step was to provide for the government of the kingdom in the king's absence, and for the guard of the Marches of Scotland and Wales, and Calais. The duke of Bedford, the king's brother, was made lieutenant of England; and the following counsellors were assigned him, viz. the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Winchester and Durham, the earl of Westmoreland, the prior of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, the lords Grey, Ruthyn, Berkeley, Powis, and Morley: the earl of Westmoreland, with the lords Morley and d'Acres, were constituted wardens of the Scottish Marches, with a command of two hundred lances and four hundred archers; a hundred lances and two hundred archers were appointed for the Marches of Wales; a hundred lances and three hundred archers were assigned for those of Calais; and as many for the sea-service: and Henry entered into indentures with his great men, for their own and their soldiers pay, during their service, viz. every duke was to have thirteen shillings and four pence per day, every earl six shillings and eight pence, every baron four

|| Elmham. Walsingham.

* Goodwin's Hen. V. p. 42. 43.

† Monstrelet. Walsingham. Des Urins.

‡ Elmham. Goodwin. Hall.

shillings, every knight two shillings, every esquire or man at arms one shilling, and every archer six pence §.

Henry, by a precaution worthy a great and wise mind, resolved to endear his sway, and secure the peace of his government, during his absence, by a double act of justice and magnanimity; this was by restoring the young earl of Northumberland, son of the Hotspur Percy, to his blood and fortune, which he did this year before his departure; and, although he knew that Edmund, earl of Marche, had a right in the succession to the crown prior to his own, yet, out of his natural magnanimity, he freed him from his confinement, in which he had been kept during the whole of the preceding reign, and even treated him with such humanity and benevolence as entirely gained the affection of that young nobleman, who ever after continued to serve him with remarkable zeal and fidelity. About the same time he published certain proclamations in favour of the Lollards, so far as to prevent vexatious and arbitrary prosecutions of those unhappy people: he likewise gave security to all the private persons and corporations who had advanced him money, which they did in great sums*.

The king being ready to depart, wrote a kind of formal letter to his adversary of France, as he terms Charles VI. and to shew that he breathed nothing but war, he dates it from Southampton by the sea-side†. This letter was delivered to the French monarch by Cantelupe king at arms; and it is said that it was upon this occasion the dauphin of France sent Henry the famous ton of tennis-balls in derision, when our English monarch made this memorable answer, "that he would play such balls against Paris, as all her battlements should not rebound‡." This story has been very warmly supported and contradicted by different historians; but it is not worth our while to enter into the merits of its authenticity.

Most part of the English troops were now embarked, and nothing was wanting but a favourable gale to waft Henry to the scene of all his future glories, which he was waiting for with impatience, when he had notice of a dangerous conspiracy formed against his crown and life by those whom he thought he had least reason to suspect||.

The persons who were to execute this design were Richard, earl of Cambridge, younger brother to the duke of York, the lord Scroope of Masham, treasurer of England, and sir Thomas Grey, of Hedon, in Northumberland. The earl of Cambridge had married Anne Mortimer, daughter and heiress of Lionel, duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III. so that, in right of this lady, he was in blood nearer to the crown than Henry. This plot was, in all probability, owing rather to the ambition of the earl of Cambridge, than to any regard he had to the earl of Marche, his brother-in-law, who had no issue, and upon whose death he hoped that either himself or some of his children would succeed to the throne.

It appeared upon the trial, and by the confession of the earl himself, and his accomplices¶, that the plot was laid in this manner: that the conspirators

should, while the army was embarking, make the best of their way, with the earl of Marche, into Wales, and there proclaim him king, in defiance of the usurper, Henry of Lancaster, as they termed him: that the earl of Cambridge should present this new king with a crown, which Henry had pawned in his hands for a sum of money, and that he should be proclaimed under a banner of the English arms; at the same time they proposed to raise an army in Scotland, under the ridiculous pretence of Richard's being still alive, and that those forces were to be headed by young Percy, who continued still in Scotland. It seems the conspirators had received some encouragement to propose this enterprize to the earl of Marche, by his having often told Cambridge in confidence, that every time he was confessed, his ghostly father made it a point of conscience with him that he should claim his right (meaning the crown of England.) This piece of intelligence, added to their knowledge of the weakness of his intellects, made them imagine it no difficult matter to persuade Mortimer to concur with them in an enterprize which promised to set a crown upon his head: accordingly, having bound him by an oath of secrecy, they acquainted him with the whole plot they had concerted in his favour; but fear got the better of ambition in the mind of the earl of Marche: he saw the precipice to which these pretended friends were leading him, and resolved to provide for his own safety; however, not to give them any cause of suspicion, he seemed highly thankful for the services they intended to do him, but begged he might have a few hours to consider of the matter; which being readily agreed to by the party, he made use of that interval to lay open the whole affair to Henry**.

Orders were instantly issued for seizing the conspirators, and imprisoning them in the castle of Southampton, to the constable of which they confessed their guilt, and threw themselves on the king's mercy. Sir Thomas Grey was tried and condemned, on this evidence, by a common jury, of which it will not be easy to produce a precedent in any former reign; but the earl of Cambridge and lord Scroope pleading their peerage, a commission was issued on the fifth of August, by which Henry constituted his brother Thomas, duke of Clarence, "his lieutenant and vicegerent††," for trying the two noblemen by their peers. They pleaded guilty, and the earl of Cambridge sent a very penitent and pathetic letter to Henry, imploring his mercy and forgiveness; but this was a case in which the king could hardly shew his clemency, with any regard to his own safety, or the tranquility of the kingdom. The conspirators had engaged in this plot against him without the least shadow of provocation: and it was not improbable they might attempt the same again, if left at liberty so to do: the king was upon the eve of a great and, perhaps, tedious expedition, and it was natural to think that they would not let slip such a favourable opportunity of carrying their ambitious scheme into execution; he therefore found it necessary, for the good of the public, to allow the law to take its natural course. The earl of Cam-

§ See Anderson's Origin of Commerce, vol. i. p. 242. Each of the esquires or men at arms had four horses, and every archer one horse.

* Anderson, *ibid.*

† Rymer, vol. ix. p. 229, 230, &c.

61

‡ Caxton Chron. Rapin.

|| T. Livius. Walsingham. Elmham.

¶ Rymer, vol. ix. p. 300, 301.

** Walsingham. Goodwin.

†† Rymer, vol. ix. p. 305, 306.

bridge and sir Thomas Grey were beheaded; but lord Scroope was hanged, drawn, and quartered as a traitor, his guilt being aggravated with the circumstance of ingratitude to Henry, who had distinguished him with many particular marks of favour and affection.

Thus ended a conspiracy, which has by many of our historians been attributed to the intrigues of the French court: it is very probable that they might have been made acquainted with the design, and have encouraged the conspirators; but, exclusive of their assistance, or interfering therein, the design seems sufficiently prompted by self-interest, especially if we reflect, that if the plot had succeeded, and the earl of Marche had been proclaimed king of England, while a sham Richard was trumped up in the North of England, the earl of Cambridge would have had a very fair handle to make use of this impostor's name for putting the earl of Marche to death; which done, all the right of the Mortimer family devolved upon the wife and son of the former. Be that as it might, this conspiracy seems to have been the first spark of that flame which consumed, in process of time, the two houses of Lancaster and York. But to return.

This affair detaining Henry at Southampton longer than he imagined, he could not sail till the fifteenth of August. His fleet consisted of fifteen hundred transports, in which were embarked six thousand men at arms, and twenty-four thousand archers, making in all an army of about fifty thousand men. He was attended by the earls of Dorset, Kent, Cornwall, Salisbury, Huntingdon, with many other nobles. After a pleasant passage, he landed, the evening of the day after that in which he left the English shore, at Caux, in Normandy, a small port in the mouth of the river Seine, about three leagues from Harfleur. According to Elmham, he had ordered his ambassadors, in their return from the court of France, to examine the state and situation of that place, under the pretence of embarking there for England, and upon their report formed his plan of operations. The lord of Ercouteville, governor of Harfleur, was at the head of a numerous garrison, and several experienced officers, and made a gallant defence for some time; but the walls being beaten down by the cannon of the besiegers, the ditch filled up, breaches made, and every thing prepared for giving a general assault, he thought it best to capitulate for the surrender of the place, on the twenty-second of September, if not relieved before. On that day thirty persons of the town or garrison, such as Henry should chuse, being left to his discretion, the rest were allowed to march out, and go wherever they pleased; and the inhabitants, either by force or inclination, taking the latter party, the place was repeopled by a colony from England, and the king made his uncle, Thomas Beaufort, earl of Dorset, governor.

If the arrival of Henry with so formidable an army, and so superior to those that had won the battles of Cressy and Poitiers, alarmed all France, his taking of Harfleur, one of the strongest places perhaps in that kingdom, did not a little increase this alarm; but while the progress of the English arms terrified the French, it roused them to a resolution of exerting all their efforts to stop it ere too late. Orders were immediately issued from the

court to all the French nobility, for assisting the crown against the English invasion: the dauphin himself took the field with fourteen thousand men at arms, and was soon joined by the dukes of Berry, Orleans, Bourbon, Alençon, Barr, and Brabant, the constable d'Albret, the counts of Nevers, Vendôme, and Richemont, and all the flower of the nobility, and upwards of forty thousand other soldiers, all eager to signalize their loyalty to their king, and their valour against the invaders of their country.

Very different was the situation of Henry's affairs: it was now near the middle of October, and the English troops had suffered terribly during the siege by sickness, no less than two thousand common soldiers, besides many persons of quality, having been carried off by the bloody flux, and several others were obliged to return to England, in hopes of their recovery in their native climate. Henry was much mortified at this distress of his people, which was the more unlucky as he expected to be attacked by the French, who were now become very powerful in the field: these considerations would probably have determined Henry to have returned to England; but the English fleet, which had, during the siege, lain before Harfleur, had been dispersed by storms, so that there was not in the harbour a sufficient number of vessels to carry his troops back.

So situated, and finding it would be impracticable to winter at Harfleur, for want of provisions and forage, he, with the advice of his council, resolved to begin his march by land for Calais, and to pass the Somme at the place where it was forded by his great-grand-father, Edward III. Henry was not insensible of the difficulties and dangers that attended such a retreat by land; but, unused to consult with fear, he resolved to take this party. Accordingly, after a stay of about three weeks at Harfleur, leaving a garrison of two thousand men in the place, under the command of the earl of Dorset and his lieutenant, sir John Fastolf, and sending the sickly part of his troops home by sea in such vessels as yet remained unhurt by the late tempests, he began his march along the sea-coast, to Ville d'Eu, in order to reach the place where he proposed to cross the Somme.

In this march, however, he met with greater difficulties than he had even formed to himself: he found all the bridges over the Somme broke down, and the ford of Blanquetac, where Edward III. had formerly passed that river, two days before the battle of Cressy, was now rendered impassable by a great quantity of sharp stakes drove into the bed of the water, and the opposite bank strongly guarded by numerous detachments of the enemy. Upon this he found himself obliged to alter his course; and marching higher up the river, beyond Amiens and Corbie, he at last effected a passage near St. Quentin, and directed his route towards Blaguy; but he soon perceived that he had only escaped one danger to fall into another, for he saw the whole French army, amounting to upwards of one hundred thousand men, drawn up to oppose his farther progress. In this distress he sent a message to the constable d'Albret, offering to restore Harfleur, to repair all damages he had done to the French, and even to bind himself by an oath, that he would never again invade France, provided they would allow him to continue his march to Calais without molestation.

molestation. The constable was for accepting this offer, alleging, that the French government could not expect greater advantages from the most successful battle, than what were now proposed to them by the English monarch; but the young French generals, at the head of whom were the dukes of Alençon and Bourbon, were deaf to all considerations but that of fighting the English; they even refused to consent to wait for a large reinforcement, which were marching from all quarters, particularly from Brittany, to join their army, and all Henry's proposals were rejected with disdain; nay, they even added many acts of boyish insolence to their rash security, for, after having in vain endeavoured to provoke Henry, by repeated messages, to give them battle, they were insolent enough to propose the question to him, by a herald, how much he would give for his ransom?

Henry bore all these insults with a patient yet noble disdain; in return to their message, desiring him to fix the place and time of battle, he replied, "that, weakened and exhausted as his army now was, he would not seek an engagement; but, as he was resolved to pursue his route to Calais, they might attack him when and where they should think proper." On receiving this answer, the French took post between Rousseauville and a village called Agincourt. Both armies stood in order of battle from the twentieth to the twenty-fifth of October; at length the French sent him word, that they would give him battle on the last-mentioned day. Finding it impossible to avoid an action, he accepted the challenge, and presented the herald who brought it, with a rich robe and two hundred crowns. During the three days which intervened between the challenge and the battle, Henry employed every means which prudence could suggest, in order to prepare his men for the approaching combat, by recalling to their remembrance the glorious achievements of their forefathers, in the days of Cressy and Poitiers, against an infinite superiority of their enemies: in a word, by his example and his harangues he inspired his soldiers with so much valour, that they seemed to have lost all sense of distinction of numbers, and to wish for nothing so much as to signalize themselves in the presence of their beloved and heroic prince.

Far different from the prudent conduct of Henry was the arrogant behaviour of the French generals. Puffed up with their superiority of numbers, they looked upon the English army as already in their disposal, and were so foolishly confident of victory as to pass the evening preceding the battle in casting dice for the imaginary ransoms of their illustrious prisoners, and the spoils of the English camp; and, to complete the measure of their vanity, they sent orders to many of the adjacent villages to prepare lodgings for those strangers, and to provide for the celebration of a signal victory.

On the twenty-fifth of October, the day appointed for the battle, the two armies were marshalled as soon as it was light; but here the constable d'Albret is represented as having made an egregious blunder in the disposition of his army: he drew it up on a narrow piece of ground, flanked by a rivulet and a thick wood, and in such a manner that he could not extend his front line but a

very little beyond that of the English; thus his superior numbers, instead of being of any real service, would only prove a burthen and encumbrance: but then he had two other lines, each of which formed an army more than double the number of the English. The first line was composed, besides other troops, of eight thousand gentlemen, commanded by the constable, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts of Eu, Vendosme, and Richemont, and the famous marshal Boucicaut, David Rambure great-master of the cross-bows, and several other officers of distinction. The second line was led by the duke of Alençon, assisted by the duke of Barr, the counts of Vaudemont, Nevers, Salines, Roussi, and Grand Pré. The third body was under the command of the counts of Marle, Dampmartin, Faquenbergh, and the sieur de Lannoy.

While the French officers were employed in drawing up their troops, Henry detached four hundred lances, to take post in a wood upon the right; and a party of two hundred and fifty archers, to lay in ambush on the left, in a low meadow covered with bushes. The files of the French were thirty-one deep, whereas the English were not above four; Henry having been obliged, in order to extend his front equal to that of the enemy, to form his little army into one front, though consisting, indeed, of three lines, one behind the other, the extremity of which was flanked by horse, in the manner of wings. The wing commanded by the duke of York, with the lords Beaumont, Willoughby, and Fanhope, was posted to the right of the main body, and advanced somewhat before it: the centre was commanded by Henry in person, attended by his brother Humphrey, duke of Gloucester; John, lord Mowbray, earl-marshal; Richard de Vere, earl of Oxford; and Michael de la Pole, the young earl of Suffolk. The rear, or third line, consisting of archers and such as were armed with spears, halberts, and bills, was led by Thomas Beaufort, earl of Dorset. The king dressed himself, on this occasion, with all the magnificence of a warrior, and appeared at the head of his division mounted on a stately white steed, in shining armour, with a golden crown (made after the imperial fashion) on his helmet by way of crest, while four royal banners waved around him*. He was followed by a great number of led horses in rich caparisons, and attended by the chief officers of his court. Sir Thomas Erpyngham, an old and experienced general, acted that day, by Henry's orders, as field marshal; and le Fevre tells us, that the disposition of the English army was planned by him.

We are told by father Daniel†, that before the battle began, king Henry sent to make the French generals a second offer of accommodation; when the terms they insisted upon were, that Henry should renounce all pretensions to the crown of France, and restore Harfleur: Henry would have agreed to this proposal, on condition that Guienne and its appurtenances, together with the earldom of Ponthieu, should be restored to him; and that the princess Catherine should be given him in marriage, with eight hundred thousand crowns for her fortune.

* These were, first the standard of the Trinity: the second that of St. George: the third that of St. Edward: and on the fourth were displayed the arms of England.

† Hist. de France, tom. v. p. 542.

Henry, considering that the enemy was more powerful in horse, and that his foot, in which lay the chief strength of his army, would be exposed to the danger of being broken by the fury of the first charge, commanded the archers (a battalion of whom was placed in the wing under the command of the duke of York) to fix into the ground piles, or stakes, pointed with iron at both ends, and six or seven feet long, in their front and on their flanks or intervals between the horse and foot; within these pallisades, or piquets, his archers might retire, as within a little fortification, and from thence securely annoy the enemy, as these latter advanced.

Thus, differently arranged, the two armies stood facing one another a great part of the day, the English not caring to advance, lest they should lose something of the advantage they had in the ground; nor the French, for fear of being more straitened and crowded together than they were already. But as all delays were fatal to the former, who could not, in their circumstances, find means of subsistence, Henry at length advanced, at the head of his main division†, the two wings on each side moving at the same time (so as to preserve one wide-extended front), till he came within twenty paces of the village of Agincourt, when the French horse moved forwards to attack the English archers: upon this the English made an halt, and the foremost ranks fixed their stakes*, interweaving and bending them a little towards the enemy, and then retreating behind them, the bow-men began to let fly upon the enemy a shower of arrows, near four feet long, which being shot by men dexterous at that business, did incredible execution among the French, whose ranks were so close that they had hardly room to move; however, being pretty well thinned by the slaughter made amongst them, they advanced in a brisk pace to attack the archers and force their pallisades; mean while the two hundred bowmen, concealed in the meadow, issuing forth from their ambush, charged the French in flank with such irresistible fury, that they were obliged to give way; and the English archers, seeing their confusion, threw away their bows, and fell upon their enemies sword in hand.

The constable of France, perceiving the distress of his advanced party, moved forward to its assistance, but under terrible disadvantages; for the soil being wet and miry, and both horse and foot clad in a cumbersome lobster-like armour, and too closely wedged together, both men and beasts sunk up to the mid-leg in the ground, and continuing still to press upon each other, presented a defenceless body to the English archers, who made so good use of their missiles, that the whole of the first line was thrown into irretrievable disorder: in short, the business of our archers was that of executioners rather than of soldiers; for, rushing in amongst the disordered foe with their battle-axes and daggers, the field was quickly strewed with the killed, wounded, dismounted, and overthrown; and the constable, with a great number of the principal officers of the first line, being left dead upon the spot, the total rout of that corps was completed.

The second line of the French, under the duke of Alençon, stood firm in an adjoining field, and were eager to engage, hoping by their valour to repair the disgrace of their countrymen. Henry did not let them long expect him: he had all along kept close to his first line, moving forward as they advanced, in order to succour them upon occasion; but that body, having cleared itself from the enemy without his assistance, now opened to the right and left, in order to give passage to the king at the head of his second line, and to fall into the rear themselves, there to rally.

Alençon expected him with a gallant intrepidity; but, willing to take every advantage that contests of this kind allow, he gave orders to eighteen French knights to keep a strict eye upon the king of England, and to use all their efforts to slay or take him prisoner. This precaution had like to have proved fatal to England; but Henry's genius ruled that day superior: animated with the success of his first line, and burning with ardour to signalize himself by acts above the common level, as soon as he came within a proper distance of the French line, he alighted from his horse, and advancing at the head of his division with an heroic confidence that seemed to bespeak victory, he charged the enemy with a valour equal to that of the most renowned heroes in history; when the duke of Alençon, with a spirit worthy his high blood and rank, seemed to take courage from the noble adversary he had to encounter, and received the attack of the English with a firmness which deserved a better fate: while Henry, however, was exposing his person like the meanest soldier, fighting on foot at the head of his men, the French knights, who had never lost sight of him, cut a passage with their swords to the place where he fought; and rushing upon him all at once, would probably have made themselves masters of his life and person, had it not been for the bravery of David Gam, a Welsh captain, and two other officers of the same nation, who, seeing the peril that threatened their sovereign, flew to his assistance, and joining their arms to his, the eighteen assailants were stretched breathless on the field; but Gam and his two gallant comrades were likewise mortally wounded. Henry, recovering himself from the confusion this unexpected attack had thrown him into, beheld his loyal defenders stretched at his feet in the agonies of death. This was no time for unavailing expressions of pity; but, to demonstrate his gratitude, he knighted all three as they lay upon the field. This noble tribute paid, he darted into the hottest of the battle, to revenge the late attempt of the foe; and, forgetful of the danger he had lately been in, his ardour carried him on with such impetuosity, that he was again in the most imminent jeopardy. His brother Gloucester, who had fought by his side, was struck to the ground; the enemy pressed on in crowds, to avail themselves of this incident; Henry saw himself almost alone in the midst of an host of foes; but, wholly unappalled, he bestrode the body of his brother, covering him with his shield, and defending him with his sword. In this situation he re-

† He ordered sir Thomas Erpyngham to give the signal to engage, which he did by throwing up his truncheon in the air. Le Fevre, p. 92.

* These stakes were so contrived, that, when thrown out of

the hand, one end should stick in the ground while the other stood up assant, with the iron point towards the enemy. Goodwin's Hen. V.

King Henry 5.th names the Battle of Agincourt.



To his Grace
Duke of
This Plate is most



John Russell,
Bedford.
humbly Inscribed.

ceived such a blow with a battle-axe on his helmet that made him stagger and fall on his knees: at that very instant fate directed the duke of York, with a stout body of the English, to the spot; upon whose appearance the enemy somewhat giving way, Henry and his brother had both time to recover themselves; and being soon after joined by another reinforcement, they fell upon the French in their turn with such fury, that they were no longer able to stand the shock of the English, now doubly enraged by the thoughts of their sovereign's danger.

The duke of Alençon, seeing the defeat of his division, which was the second, and fearing the third would have no better success, resolved to make one effort, in order to restore the battle, or spare himself the mortification of surviving the disgrace of his country: he put himself at the head of some chosen volunteers, and, cutting his way to the spot where Henry fought, he rushed upon the English monarch, killed the duke of York by his side, and cleft the crown on Henry's helmet with the first stroke of his sword; the latter was not slow in returning the salutation, and, calling all his strength to his aid, he discharged such a blow at Alençon with his faulchion as brought him to the ground, and with his own hand slew two of his followers, who endeavoured to cover their master's body. At length the duke called out that he was Alençon, and demanded quarter of the king, which Henry, admiring his courage, was ready to grant him, and had even stretched forth his hand to lift him from the earth; but the English soldiers, who now surrounded their king, were so exasperated at the Frenchman's attempt, that they dispatched him with their swords and spears before the king had time to restrain their brutal loyalty. The death of this general was attended with the total defeat of the line which he commanded.

The third line of the French, being still fresh and in good order, might have renewed the battle; but their hearts failing at the sight of the past and present slaughter, and observing that Henry had detached a body of English horse to charge them in the rear, while he advanced with a body of fresh troops to attack them in front, they retired from the field, without striking a blow.

In this battle, which was gained by the English with the loss only of the duke of York, the earl of Suffolk, and about a thousand men on their side, there were about ten thousand French slain in the field, among whom were the dukes of Brabant, Bar, and Alençon, Charles d'Albret, constable of France, and near eight thousand gentlemen; of prisoners there were taken fourteen thousand, and among these the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts of Eu and Vendosme, the marshal Boucicaut, and Arthur, brother to the duke of Brittany, with many other noblemen and gentlemen of distinction.

Hardly had Henry gained this signal victory, when he thought himself in danger of seeing it wrested from him. The troops of the French vanguard, or first line, that had been routed in the beginning of the battle, had rallied afterwards, and, being joined by others, drew up at some distance from the field, and appeared on an eminence like a new army disposed to try the fate of another engagement: there happened at the same time an alarm, that another party of the enemy were in his rear, and had already plundered his camp. These were only a company of runaways, headed by Ro-

bert de Bournonville, who, retiring early out of the fight, and knowing the English camp was but weakly guarded, had fallen upon and pillaged it, while the two second lines of the English and French were engaged. Before the truth of this affair could be rightly understood, the English, seeing the number of their prisoners exceeded that of their own forces, began to put some of them to death, in order to be disencumbered and at liberty for a renewal of the fight, which they now expected; but they were stopped in the midst of this bloody, though perhaps necessary, precaution by Henry's orders, who sent a herald to the body that appeared on the eminence to acquaint them, that, should they remain in that posture, or advance, or not disperse, he would put every prisoner he had in his power to the sword without mercy, and then march against themselves, who must expect the like treatment from him, if he overcame. Intimidated at this declaration, they instantly dispersed, and left him complete master of the field. He then marched towards the camp, in order to succour his people there; and, upon his approach, Bournonville with his party took to flight.

Nothing now remaining to oppose his victorious arms, Henry's first care was to offer his humble and grateful acknowledgements to Heaven for so signal and unexpected a victory, and public thanksgivings were accordingly ordered throughout his army. After this just and decent tribute, he sent for the French herald, named Montjoy (who was, with four more, come, in his master's name, to ask permission to bury the dead), and formally demanded of him, to whom he thought the victory belonged? the other replying, "to the English," the king next asked him the name of a neighbouring castle, to which he pointed with his sword, and being told it was called the castle of Agincourt, "henceforward then (said he), this action shall be known by the name of the Battle of Agincourt."

Notwithstanding this glorious victory, Henry, being in an enemy's country, ordered his soldiers to destroy the greatest part of the plunder, and to resume their march towards Calais the very next day. According to Monstrelet, the marshal de Louvigny, at the head of six hundred men at arms, and the duke of Brittany, with forces almost equal to those of the English, were come very near the field of battle, when they received the news of the defeat of the French: if the latter, adds my author, had led on his fresh troops against the wearied and wounded English, he might probably have recovered the victory; but he retired immediately into Brittany, where he remained neuter from that day. However this might be, it is certain that Henry brought his army to Calais by slow marches, without meeting with any obstructions on his way. Having staid about three weeks here, to recruit his troops, he embarked with them for England, on the sixteenth of November, and, after an easy passage, landed the same evening at Dover, from whence he set out in a day or two for London, where he was received by the citizens with all honours due to the glory and success of his military achievements.

After taking some repose from his late fatigues, Henry set himself to cultivate a good intelligence with foreign princes, in order that he might find no diversion for his arms so long as he continued the war with France. With this view he sent am-

bassadors to adjust some differences that had arisen, in point of trade, with the crown of Norway and the Hanse Towns: he also concluded a treaty with the king of Arragon, and even made some proposals of marriage between himself and that prince's daughter; and sent to require of the king of Castile, that, in consideration of the nearness of blood between them, he should renounce any alliance with the court of France, that might be prejudicial to the interests of England, or contrary to the treaties subsisting between the two nations.

The year 1416 opened in England by a parliament, which met at Westminster on the sixteenth of March, and voted the king a plentiful supply, with many expressions of gratitude for the hazards he had run in defence of the rights of the kingdom, in his last glorious campaign.

The emperor Sigismund had been for some time at the court of France, and had drawn up a plan of a truce, which he intended to communicate to Henry without loss of time. He accordingly came to Calais, where he was magnificently entertained by the earl of Warwick, the governor; and having received safe-conducts for himself and all his retinue*, he arrived in England in the beginning of April; and on the twenty-third of that month, being the feast of St. George, he was installed a knight of the Garter. His principal business was to settle a peace between France and England: William of Bavaria, earl of Holland and Zealand, who came over at the same time, and for the same purpose, joined his endeavours; but their negotiations came to nothing, either by the insincerity of the French in their manner of treating, or because the terms insisted on by the English were too unreasonable for the French princes, who were prisoners, and who were parties in the negotiation, to answer for their performance. What seems to countenance the charge of insincerity on the part of the French, was the preparations then making in France for invading England, and the actual blocking up Harfleur by a fleet of nine great carracks and a number of other vessels, in hopes of starving the garrison into a surrender; but that fleet being beaten and several of the ships sunk and taken, the place was relieved in the beginning of August, and supplied with all necessaries.

Sigismund seems to have been well satisfied with Henry's conduct in this negotiation; for he thought proper, on this occasion, to enter into an alliance with the English monarch, and both powers mutually agreed "to support each other against all others, the church and pope of Rome excepted." They likewise agreed, that neither of them should enter into any measures prejudicial to the honour or interest of the other: that their subjects should reciprocally enjoy a free and undisturbed trade. It was farther agreed, that the king of England might, by force of arms, endeavour the recovery of his rights, and the emperor do the same, against France, without the one contracting power obstructing the progress of the other. Lastly, that they should mutually assist each other, and mutually guarantee their acquisitions in case of a peace with France. This convention was signed at Can-

terbury, on the fifteenth of August this year†; and the emperor, in a few days after, took his leave, and passed over to France, in his way to Germany. But before we take our leave of this prince, we cannot forbear taking notice of the very extraordinary manner in which he was received upon his first coming over, and which we find thus related by the author who writes under the name of Titus Livius, by Walsingham, Goodwin, and other of our English historians.

While Sigismund was in France, he had been admitted to be present at a session of the parliament of Paris, in which, from a notion, perhaps, that emperors enjoy a power paramount to that of kings, he had exercised an act of sovereign jurisdiction. This coming to the ears of Henry and his nobility, they resolved to inform his imperial majesty, that the king and people of England knew no superior but God. The duke of Gloucester and other English noblemen were ordered by Henry to receive the emperor at his landing. He was brought over in a magnificent fleet of English ships, and approaching near the shore, he found the duke and his retinue first drawn up upon the strand, and then advancing towards the boat wherein he was, and which they stopped: this extraordinary proceeding was followed by a declaration from the duke of Clarence, in the name of the king and people of England, "That if his imperial majesty was to land as a friend, an ally, and a mediator of peace, he should meet with all the respect due to his high dignity; but that the crown and nation of England being free and independent, they were ready to oppose his landing if he claimed any power as a sovereign paramount." The emperor having, in reply, formally declared that he came with no such intent, but only as a friend, ally, and mediator of peace, he was received on shore with the most profound demonstrations of regard; and, after being highly entertained on the road, was met by Henry himself at Blackeath, and conducted in great pomp to London.

While these matters were transacting in England, the spirit of giddiness and inconstancy, which had seized the French nation as well as their king, did what the battle of Agincourt would never have effected alone. Two dauphins were already dead, and the third, who was afterwards Charles VII. and at that time only sixteen years of age, endeavoured to save the remains of this great wreck. Queen Isabella, of Bavaria, his mother, had extorted letters patent from her husband, by which she was entrusted with the reins of government. She was a covetous woman, and greatly addicted to gallantry, and was not a little suspected of carrying on a criminal correspondence with the lord of Bois Bourdon, a young and handsome nobleman of the court. The treasure of which she had plundered the kingdom, and her husband, she partly bestowed on this favourite, and carefully deposited the rest in several monasteries. The dauphin and the Armagnac faction, the count of which name had been lately made constable of France, upon the death of Albret, having discovered this hoard, had made use of it, for the pressing wants of the

* Which consisted of no less than a thousand horse, among whom were the count-palatine of the Rhine, the duke of Milan, the marquises of Ferrara, Mantua, and Montferrat, count Bertold of Hungary, the prince of Orange, the duke of

Palestine, and many others of the Italian and German nobility. Tit. Liv. p. 23.

† Rymer, vol. ix. p. 381.

public. To this affront, which she received from her son, the king added another of a more sensible nature: one evening, as he was going to pay a visit to the queen in her own apartments he met the lord of Bois Bourdon coming out; he instantly ordered him to be apprehended and sent to the Chatelet, where he was put to the torture, and confessed his having, for some time, maintained a criminal intimacy with the queen, together with many other things laid to his charge; upon which he was ordered to be sewed up in a sack, and thrown into the river Seine. The queen was directly sent prisoner to Blois, and from thence to Tours, without being suffered to speak with the king. It was this accident, and not the battle of Agincourt, that placed the crown of France on our Henry's head. The queen, in this distress, implored the assistance of the duke of Burgundy, who gladly embraced this opportunity of establishing his own authority on these new distractions of his country.

Accordingly he raised a strong army; and, having entered France, he soon reduced Amiens, Abbeville, Dourlens, Mountrueil, and other towns in Picardy: Senlis, Rheims, Chalons, Troyes, and Auxerre declared themselves for his party. He made himself master of Beaumont, Pontoise, Vernon, and Meulant, towns in the neighbourhood of Paris; and, advancing westward, subdued Etampes, Chartres, and other fortresses; and at last was able to deliver the queen from her confinement, who repaired to Troye, and from thence published declarations against the Orleans and Armagnac factions, who, as she alleged, detained her husband in confinement. In the mean time the duke of Burgundy was not wanting in every measure that policy, or the present situation of his affairs, could dictate. He sent ambassadors to Henry, in the month of September this year; between whom it was agreed, that the king and he should meet at Calais, and the interview was fixed for the beginning of October: but this negotiation was carried on so secretly, that the French court of those days was intirely ignorant of its terms, which did not appear till a long time after, that the public records printed in England first discovered the secret.

On the day appointed this interview was held; and the duke then signed and sealed the following articles, which we shall give exactly as they are to be found in the ninth volume of the Collection of Public Acts.

"The king having acquainted the duke of Burgundy with his just claim to the crown of France, and his adversary's refusal to give him satisfaction, told him, that, by the help of God and St. George, he was resolved to obtain it by force of arms. Upon this declaration, the duke perceiving the justice of the king's title, and considering the great victories heaven had blessed him with, promises to send him his letters patent, containing what follows:

"That though, heretofore, for want of information, he had espoused the contrary party, believing it just; now that he is better informed, he promises firmly to adhere to the king of England, and his heirs and successors, as to those who are, and ever will be, the true and lawful kings of France, as much as if they were in actual possession of the crown.

"Though for the present the king has not desired the duke's homage, yet, as the duke owns it to be due, he promises, that as soon as the king of England shall be possessed of a considerable part of the realm of France, to pay him liege-homage, and swear fealty to him, as every vassal of the crown of France ought to do to the king of France his sovereign.

"Item, The duke of Burgundy promises to endeavour, by all known and unknown ways, to place the king of England on the throne of France.

"Item, Whilst the king shall be employed in pursuing his rights, the duke of Burgundy will make war with all his forces upon the king's enemies in France, namely, A. B. C. D. and upon all their dominions and adherents, refusing obedience to the king of England.

"Item, In all the alliances and letters patent made, or to be made, between the king and the duke, wherein the duke should except, or have excepted the king's adversary, or the son of his adversary, it is not his intention to do any thing contrary to what he promises by these presents, which he is to give the king, but will punctually perform it.

"That if, through dissimulation, the duke excepted the king's adversary, or the dauphin his son, for a greater good, and for the better accomplishing the intended project, his will and meaning is, that all such exceptions are void, and of no effect.

"And that all may know this proceeds from his own free consent, he will promise and swear by his faith and honour, to observe it without fraud or deceit. He will write all the articles with his own hand, sign them, and set his usual seal to them."

This treaty was the sole cause of the great revolution which happened in France; and it must be confessed, that the duke acted a detestable part, and such as cannot be approved by any honest man.

At the same time the duke made a treaty of a more public nature with the emperor, who was then at Calais (but entirely ignorant of what had passed between Henry and the duke), by which the former agreed to pay the emperor homage for the counties of Burgundy and Alost. This served as a pretext to cover the true reason of the duke's visit to Calais; and to complete the scene of double-dealing, Henry, feigning to let himself be persuaded by the instance of the emperor Sigismund (who, on this occasion acted the part of a great prince and a good Christian, by his unwearied endeavours to restore peace and public tranquillity), consented to a truce with France, which was to commence on the ninth of October, and hold to the second of February following: and then passed over to England, where a parliament was held, on the nineteenth of October, and the house was acquainted by the chancellor, that the king had found all his pacific inclinations frustrated by the obstinacy of an unjust enemy, and that the last appeal must be the sword; and concluded with desiring their advice and assistance. In consequence of which, they granted a handsome subsidy.

In this parliament the king created Thomas Beaufort, the earl of Dorset who was governor of Harfleur, duke of Exeter, with the usual pension of one thousand pounds per annum.

Henry

Henry employed all the remainder of this year, and great part of 1417, in making prodigious preparations for a second invasion of France, to which he was not a little excited by his knowledge of the distracted condition of affairs in that state, which prevented it from exerting any efforts of consequence for its own defence; for by this time the party of the duke of Burgundy and the queen carried every thing before them, and had found means to raise an insurrection in Paris, which was always attached to their interest. L'Isle Adam, one of the duke's captains, entered the city in the night, and put himself at the head of the insurgents, who soon encreased to such a number, that they bore down all opposition: the king himself was seized; the dauphin escaped with great difficulty; the chief partizans of the Armagnac faction were put to the sword; that nobleman himself, and several of his friends, were thrown into prison; murders were daily committed from private feuds, under pretence of public differences; and the enraged and desperate populace, not chusing to wait for the slow decision of law, burst open the prisons and butchered the count of Armagnac and all the other noblemen who had been there confined.

While France was thus distracted with civil commotions, Henry, having rendezvoused his army at Southampton, which, according to Goodwin, amounted to twenty-five thousand six hundred and twenty-eight fighting men, besides a thousand pioneers, and having appointed the duke of Bedford his lieutenant of England, he embarked at Portsmouth, on the twenty-third of July, 1417, with all his troops on board a fleet of fifteen hundred sail, and landed, on the first of August, at Beville, in Normandy, in sight of a great body of French troops, who were drawn up on the shore to oppose him. Upon his arrival he besieged the castle of Tongre, which surrendered on the ninth of August; and its fate was soon followed by that of Dambieres, a strong fortress, which capitulated to the earl of Salisbury. Those two important places being thus reduced, Henry next proceeded to lay siege to the city of Caen, the capital of Lower Normandy, which he invested on each side, and pushed his operations so vigorously, that the garrison, though numerous and provided with every thing suitable for a longer defence, thought proper to capitulate on the twentieth of September; when Henry, with a bloody policy, which we shall not attempt to defend, finding the place very populous, and fearing to be encumbered with prisoners, ordered a great number of the inhabitants to be put to the sword in cool blood. He then appointed sir Gilbert Umfreville governor of the place, and continuing the progress of his arms, made himself master of Bayeux, Lisieux, Courci, Argenton, the large city of Sees, the strong castle and town of Alençon, with the towns and castles of Boumolegas, de Rugles, and Vernueil. All this time the court of France continued in the greatest perplexity: the duke of Burgundy, at the gates of Paris, hindered the government from taking any steps for the defence of Normandy, which gave Henry such decisive advantages, that, before the end of the year, he brought the town and castle of Falaise, esteemed one of the strongest places in France, to surrender, though not till after an obstinate defence: the town

capitulated on the twentieth of December, but the castle was not yielded up till the beginning of the February following.

Mean time the king of France, the constable, and the dauphin, who were shut up in Paris, thought their only refuge was to renew the negotiations with Henry. To that end they demanded a conference between ambassadors of the two crowns, to consult about means to conclude a peace. Plenipotentiaries were accordingly nominated, who met at Bernonville, in Normandy, in the latter end of November, where the lowest terms that Henry would condescend to accept were, "an acknowledgement of his right to the crown of France, which, however, he would allow Charles to enjoy for life, in case the following demands were granted, viz. the giving him in marriage the princess Catherine; the being declared regent of the realm during Charles's illness; and a solemn oath to be taken by the estates, and by all magistrates and officers, to obey him in this capacity, and maintain his succession after the decease of king Charles*." A compliance with these demands would have divested the Armagnac party immediately of all the power they had in the court of France; and they were, indeed, so exorbitant, that Henry could hardly have made them in any other juncture; it is no wonder, therefore, they were rejected; and the king of England did nothing in the way of treaty for the service of his affairs, besides concluding a truce with the duke of Brittany, and another with Yolante, or Violante, queen of Sicily, and her eldest son, Lewis, for the county of Maine and the duchy of Anjou.

The winter proved very sharp, and Henry staid at Falaise till he had taken possession of the castle, which, pursuant to the capitulation, was delivered to him on the sixteenth of February, 1418; and then he sent detachments of his army, under the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, to reduce the other places which as yet held out in Lower Normandy. The first of those generals took Courtonne, Cambreys, Tibouville, Harcourt, and Bec Halouin, as the latter did Vere, Hambie, Tournay, St. Lo, Homouil, Carentan, Pont Douve, St. Sauveur le Vicomte, Briquebec, Nehou, and at length the important fortress of Cherbourg, which, in hopes of succours, held out several months, but was at length forced to surrender in August, to avoid a more dismal fate by famine. The earls of Huntingdon and Warwick, who had been likewise sent, at the head of a third division, to reduce other places, made themselves masters of Coutances and Damfront; while Henry himself made preparations for the siege of Rouen, having sent for a reinforcement of fifteen thousand fresh men from England. He reduced Ivry and Evreux in May, and then marched, in the beginning of the next month, to Louviers, which he took in a fortnight after he invested it. He next led his victorious troops against Pont de l'Arche, which being a place of greater consequence, as commanding a passage over the Seine, this siege was a more difficult enterprize; but finding means to pass part of his forces over to the north side of the river, he obliged the garrison to capitulate for a surrender, if not relieved within a fortnight. The way being thus opened to Rouen, the capital of Upper Normandy, and the taking of

* Rymer, vol. ix. p. 517.

which was to put Henry into possession of the whole of this province, he sat down before it on the twenty-ninth of July, and presently made himself master of the abbey and fort of St. Catherine, in the suburbs; but as the place was perfectly well supplied with four thousand fighting men, besides fifteen thousand inhabitants, all trained to war, Henry in vain exerted all his efforts to take it by force, and he was obliged to turn the siege into a blockade, in hopes of starving the garrison into a surrender.

It was during Henry's lying before this place, that the duke of Burgundy and the queen became possessed of Paris, and the person of the senseless king, in the manner we have already related; while the dauphin, who had made his escape from the general carnage which ensued, retired behind the Loire, and, assuming the title of Regent, threatened all who should obey the duke of Burgundy; while that prince, acting in concert with the queen, and having the king in his power, issued, in his name, such orders as they thought most conducive to their own interests.

Such was the desperate state of affairs in France, when the cardinal d'Ursini, who had been sent by Martin V. lately elected pope by the council of Constance, to France, to try to appease the troubles of that kingdom, and unite the two factions, arrived in Henry's camp, in order to pursue the same salutary work, and endeavour to persuade the king of England to moderate his terms, and agree to an equitable peace; but Henry's answer plainly shewed that he was fully determined to avail himself to the utmost of the distresses of his competitor; upon which the cardinal desisted from his mediation. Notwithstanding this declaration, Henry still continued his negotiations with the heads of both the French factions. To the dauphin he offered, that, on condition all the territories ceded to Edward III. by the treaty of Bretigny should be given up to him, with all those places in Normandy which he had not yet reduced, together with Guienne and the Marches of Calais; and that the count of Armagnac (son of him who had been murdered by the populace), and the lord d'Albret, would submit to his allegiance; and that the places so ceded might by him be held in full resort, and in full sovereignty; that then he (Henry), would march with his whole force, to deliver the king, the queen, and the princess Catherine out of the duke of Burgundy's hands: but that afterwards the dauphin should assist him in conquering Flanders from the duke of Burgundy, which was likewise to be given to the king of England in full sovereignty."

To the dauphin's immortal honour, he rejected these proposals, nobly declaring, that he never would gratify his private revenge at the expence of his country's dishonour, by aggrandizing the power of her most formidable enemy; and accordingly this treaty dropped to the ground.

During the dependence of this negotiation, which was held at Alençon in the month of November, the king of France, by Henry's own invitation to the duke of Burgundy, had nominated the bishop of Beauvais, Morvilliers, first president of his parliament, and others, as his commissioners for opening another congress at Pont de l'Arch, under the mediation of the cardinal d'Ursini; the negotiations

were opened on the twenty-second of December; but were interrupted almost as soon as begun, by a frivolous punctilio. The plenipotentiaries of Charles (or rather of the duke of Burgundy, who managed all things) demanded that the writings should be engrossed in the French language, and the English refused to comply with the proposal: in vain did the legate recommend a medium, and advise that there should be two copies written, one in French, and the other in Latin; an expedient to which Henry consented: the duke of Burgundy was inflexible, and the end of the congress was frustrated. Nevertheless, it did not fail to alarm the dauphin, who, being ignorant of the particulars of the transactions, apprehended a peace between Henry and the duke of Burgundy, which could not but be to his prejudice; he therefore sent ambassadors to Henry, desiring him to appoint a place for renewing the negotiation begun at Alençon; and the king of England, finding his account in blowing the coals of dissention, agreed to a personal conference with the dauphin, on the twenty-sixth of March following, at Louviers. Henry came in time to the place of meeting, but the dauphin not keeping his word, it was so highly repented, that a stop was put to any farther treaty.

We are now come to the close of the year 1418, distinguished by bloodshed, conquest, calamity, and civil war. But before we enter upon that in which Henry, by unforeseen accidents, acquired more than he had by his most shining conquests, it will be necessary to take a view of what passed in England while its monarch was thus engaged on the continent.

Sir John Oldcastle, ever since the defeat of his conspiracy, already mentioned, had lurked from place to place, but chiefly on the borders of Wales; at last John Grey, lord Powis, hearing where the knight was, got together five or six thousand men, and took him, after a desperate resistance: Oldcastle was immediately brought to London, to the great joy of the clergy, who bore him an implacable hatred. No sooner had they got him in their power, than they were determined to sacrifice him for a terror to the rest of the Lollards, whom they had never ceased persecuting since Henry's accession to the throne; and, notwithstanding the birth and great military merit of Cobham, he was sentenced to be hung up by the middle with a chain, and burnt alive thus hanging; a fate which he suffered with great intrepidity. He was the first nobleman who suffered on account of religion. This execution was followed by several others of a like inhuman nature, and the whole nation was filled with scenes of persecution against the poor Lollards, whose utter extirpation seemed to be the darling purpose of the souls of the clergy.

The Scots, taking advantage of the absence of the king, and of the disturbances these persecutions raised in the kingdom, entered it with two armies, one of which, under the duke of Albany, laid siege to Berwick, as the other, under the earl of Douglas, did to Roxburgh. But the duke of Bedford, who had been left regent in Henry's absence, took such prompt and effectual measures for opposing the invaders, that they were forced to retire with the utmost precipitation; the earl of Northumberland pursuing those who had laid siege to

Berwick several days marches into their own country; sir Robert Umfreville, warden of the eastern borders, doing the same by the army before Roxburgh: and for two years successively the English continued to make the severest reprisals on their country, wasting it with fire and sword for a great extent.

From Stowe, Walsingham, and Speed we learn, that, in this year, Joan of Brittany, widow of king Henry IV. and mother-in-law of the reigning king, was detected in conspiring with her confessor against the king: some add, she was condemned to a ten years imprisonment, and that her confessor was killed by the chaplain of the Tower, in a dispute upon that occasion. This is all we can say concerning that accusation, of which historians speak very confusedly. Let us now return to Normandy, where we left Henry before Rouen.

The various political measures in which he was engaged, did not at all affect his warlike operations: the siege of that capital had now lasted upwards of six months; and the besieged, after having made a noble defence, were reduced to the utmost extremity, having eaten up all their horses and domestic animals, including even rats, mice, and other vermin; the duke of Burgundy had amused the inhabitants, from time to time, with false hopes of relief; they had already seen above fifty thousand of their comrades perish amongst them, partly by famine, and partly by the chance of war, during the siege; and now, finding it impossible to hold out any longer and live, they treated, on the thirteenth of January, 1419, for a surrender. Henry, commiserating their hapless case, and reverencing valour and fidelity though in an enemy, granted them terms as favourable as they could expect in their situation, and after so obstinate a resistance; some few of the inhabitants were left to his mercy; but the rest, on paying a fine of three hundred thousand crowns, were pardoned and exempted from plunder and confiscation of their effects. The place was delivered up to the English on the nineteenth of January, and Henry's entrance into it was extremely magnificent. The surrender of Rouen was followed by that of Caudebec, Gaillon, la Roche d'Andilly, Mante, Ponte Audemer, Goulet, Honfleur, l'Islebonne, Feschamp, Montevilliers, Dieppe, Neufchatel, Eu, Gournay, and all the other strong fortresses in Upper Normandy; so great and universal was the terror with which all that province was struck by the reduction of its capital.

Henry now appeared publicly with all the distinctions of a duke of Normandy; and he settled such excellent regulations, not only in Rouen, but over all the duchy, that in a very short time the city, which had been reduced almost to desolation, recovered its former lustre; and the country grew rich, satisfied with the change of government, and full of those sentiments of respect, admiration, and affection to Henry, which a sense of the benefits they received from him, naturally inspired: and thus did all Normandy, a few castles excepted, fall again under the dominion of the kings of England, two hundred and fifteen years after it had been taken from them by Philip Augustus, in the reign of John Lackland. After the surrender of Rouen, Henry sent part of his army into Picardy, under the command of the duke of Exeter, who became

master of Montrueil, and other strong places there. We must not forget to mention with honour some of the most eminent persons who died in the English army during the siege of Rouen: these were Henry Beaufort, earl of Somerset; Edmund Beaufort, earl of Montague; sir Gilbert Talbot, sir John Blunt, the prior of Kylmainham, in Ireland, and the lord of Castrylogne, in Gascony*.

Henry still continued his negotiations with both the parties in France; with the queen and the duke of Burgundy on one hand, who, being in possession of the king's person, enjoyed the appearance of legal authority; and with the dauphin on the other, who, as he was the undoubted heir of the crown, was strongly supported by all those who wished well to the interest of their country. These two factions likewise were perpetually engaged in mutual negotiations with each other, and the terms offered by all parties were constantly shifting, according to the different merits of the war, and the greater or less prevalence of the intrigues of the cabinet: but we shall pass over the ineffectual congresses, insincere professions, and unfulfilled promises on all sides, as having nothing in them material to our history. It is sufficient to say, that at length a meeting was proposed to be held between the two kings of England and France, at Meulan. Henry, upon this, removed with his court to Mante; and the dauphin left nothing unattempted to prevent the interview, but in vain, for it was held on the thirtieth of May, 1419, at the place appointed; but the queen of France attended for her husband, who had fallen ill on his journey.

The first day the queen of France brought with her the princess Catherine, her daughter, now in all the bloom of youth and beauty, and Henry was so struck with her appearance, that he could not conceal the emotions of his heart. The artful queen beheld the effects of her daughter's charms with a secret pleasure, and thought to inflame the desires of Henry by not letting the princess appear any more: but the warrior-lover soon perceived her design, and that the young lady had been introduced only as a decoy to ensnare him; therefore, to cut short all their expectations on that head, he told the duke of Burgundy, that he was determined not to lay down his arms till he had the king and princess in his power, and had expelled that man the kingdom who should dare to oppose it: a declaration more reconcileable to the extravagance of an enamorado in romance, than a great and wise king, such as Henry V. shewed himself to be. At this first meeting nothing was concluded on besides a truce for eight days, during which time the conferences were to be managed by commissioners.

These accordingly met on the second of June, and proceeded upon the business committed to their discussion. The particulars of the propositions made on each side, are thus handed down to us by Goodwin, a careful and accurate historian.

In this conference (says he) the king of England declared, "That he desired a firm peace and alliance with the king of France, if the following conditions might be granted, viz. That all the dominions which had been ceded to Edward III. by the great peace of Bretigny, should be delivered to him and his heirs: that the whole duchy of Normandy, with all the other places he had conquered

* Goodwin's Hen. V. p. 208.

in France, should be confirmed to him, with an absolute independent sovereignty over them: that the king of France, by a writing, should renounce all future right to those dominions, and transfer it entirely to him: that, since some of the demanded towns and territories were in the hands of the enemy, therefore, as by war and conquest he should gain them, so they should remain in his possession."

The demands made by the French were:

"That the king of England, for himself, his heirs, and successors, should renounce all right and claim which he or his predecessors had to the crown of France.

To which he consented, excepting only those dominions which were due to him by the peace concluded at Bretigny, and all other places which ought and should be delivered to him by the present treaty.

"That the king of England should disclaim all right and title to the duchies of Touraine, Anjou, and Brittany, and to the counties of Picardy and Maine.

This the king wholly rejected.

"That he should swear, for himself and successors, that he would never expect nor accept of any devolution of right to the crown of France, or any of its dominions, to be made to him by any person; but that he should renounce all such title as might, for the future, be transferred to him, those places which might be given in this treaty only excepted.

To which article answer was made, that the king was well satisfied with it, upon condition that the French king would, on his part, do the same.

"That all these acts of the king should be promised, sworn, ratified, and confirmed by the king's brothers, and the three states of the kingdom.

But this the king utterly refused.

They made also this proposal, "That their king should give an equivalent, on the frontiers of Aquitaine, for the county of Ponthieu, and other places, which the king of England claimed by Monstrueil.

But this likewise being disapproved:

"They demanded, that as the king by this present treaty, was to have the duchy of Normandy, in which some towns were yet unsubdued by him, so he should resign to the French king all the conquests he had made out of that duchy; and that all persons, ecclesiastical and civil, should enjoy peaceably their living and estates, and the universities of France have the same privileges which they had before the war.

This the king freely granted, only with an exclusion of the Scots, and those who were rebels.

The French farther asked, "That the king would repay six hundred thousand crowns in gold, which were given Richard II. in part of the English hundred thousand, the dowry promised with the princess Isabella, and all her jewels and furniture, which amounted to the value of four hundred thousand crowns, which Richard II. for himself and heirs, had promised should be restored, if his queen survived him; and John, duke of Lancaster, Edmund, duke of York, Thomas, duke of Gloucester, and many others, were sureties for the performance.

To which the king answered, that though this payment could not in justice be expected from him, yet it should be compensated by a sum equal to it, viz. that which was due for the ransom of king John of France: that as for the jewels and goods of the princess Isabella, he admired to hear them prized at the rate of four hundred thousand crowns, when it was well known they did not amount to a fourth part of that value.

When the French, to conclude all, required "That these articles might be drawn up in such words as their king and his council should advise.

The answer was, that he who had a right to ask it, should come and make the demand, and all reasonable satisfaction should be given him.

The French excepted against these answers to their demands, as expressed in too general terms, and having an obscure and uncertain meaning.

The English offered to remove all such ambiguities, and to give as plain and punctual a declaration of their sense as the French, with any reason, could desire.

But the French would not enter on such a debate, and refused to treat upon any other condition than that of the king of England's giving a direct and positive answer in concession to their articles.

It is easy to perceive, by the nature of these demands, that the difficulties on either side were not considerable enough to prevent the conclusion of a peace, had both parties been equally willing; but it is plain Henry had formed a resolution to be all or nothing; and this will appear still more evident from the minutes of a very serious debate, which was held in Henry's council, concerning the manner of proceeding, the particulars of which have been transmitted to us by the last-quoted author, and will be seen by the reader at large in the note*; as also by Henry's answer, when pressed to come to his lowest demand, which was, "That he would

* It was also debated, by the king's council, in what manner the treaty, at the interview, should be managed: whether the first demand should be made in general of the crown of France, and be insisted on till the French were brought to make such offers as might satisfy the king; or whether they should presently fall to particular and lower demands, as had been practised in other treaties: and it was determined to proceed in the way of a general demand, as Edward III. had done, because it was undoubtedly just; and they might afterwards moderate it, in reverence and condescension to the authority of the pope. It was also disputed, whether, if the demand of the crown should be refused, the king of France could transfer to the king of England any part of the dominions belonging to that crown; and it was judged, that he could not, because, as such a dismembering of the kingdom was prohibited by the fundamental laws of the government, so he was sworn to the contrary: to which were added two reasons more, viz. that his dissipated mind would make the act invalid; and that the greatest part of his nobles acknowledged no subjection to him. There

was another doubt raised, whether a right of dominion could be conferred on the king of England over those subjects of France, who were not called to give their consent to it; which was resolved in the negative, upon this general reason, that acts adjudged against persons absent, did not oblige them. It was debated too, whether the king of France could abdicate his power of doing justice, in cases of appeal to him; and it was determined, that he could not; because an appeal being the last refuge of the oppressed for a remedy of their wrongs, it was contrary to the law of nature to deprive them of it. That which admitted another debate was, whether, when the general demand was made of the crown of France, the king should communicate to the cardinals des Ursins and St. Mark, the particular demands to which he meant to condescend; and it was advised, that since one of the cardinals embraced the French king's interest, it should not be done till that king, by the mediation of the cardinals, had made some considerable offers. Goodwin, p. 323, 324.

make no peace, unless the sovereignty of the places ceded by the treaty of Bretigny, and of Normandy likewise, was yielded to him by the crown of France (a concession which his own council had declared a king of France could not make); and, lastly, that the princess Catherine should be given him in marriage." To this the queen and ministers of state objected, that it was not in their power to perform the treaty of Bretigny, because many of the cities mentioned in it, being possessed by the dauphin, were not at their disposal. Upon this answer Henry broke up the conferences, declaring that he would never sheathe the sword till he had brought his enemies to accept his terms.

On this occasion Henry seems to have outwitted himself by his exorbitant demands; and, by grasping at too much, to have endangered his losing all, by pushing the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy into one another's arms. The event appears to warrant the truth of this conjecture; for all France was alarmed at this interview at Meulant, because every one foresaw that no peace could be made at such a juncture, but what must prove of infinite prejudice to their country. Several of the principal nobility, therefore, instantly laboured to procure a reconciliation between the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy, or at least a suspension of animosity; and the young prince himself was so alarmed at the near prospect of a peace so disadvantageous to France, and prejudicial to his own interest, that he yielded to the remonstrances of the nobles, and consented to a reconciliation with the duke of Burgundy, as the only expedient that could prevent the calamity with which his country was threatened. The duke, on his side, having read all Henry's secret purposes in the manner of his proceeding, joined issue in this desirable end, and several private conferences were held between commissioners on both sides, which at length ended in a mutual agreement for a coalition. Henry seems to have discovered something of what was transacting, by the hasty manner in which he broke up the conference at Meulant; and, indeed, the treaty was so far advanced between the duke of Burgundy and the dauphin, that they had an interview at Pouilli, a fort about a league from Meulant, the eleventh of July, where all differences were made up between them with the most sincere marks of a cordial reconciliation; and they both signed an agreement, by which they engaged from henceforth to act vigorously against the English and all the enemies of France.

Thus did Henry, by his unaccountable obstinacy, effect what he had the greatest cause to dread, an union among his enemies: nevertheless, this apparent union, which seemed so prejudicial to his interest, was the very circumstance that contributed most to his success, and produced the most fatal effects to France, whose safety it was intended to have provided for. Henry, finding himself thus baffled, resolved to redouble his vigour, and in a short time found means to make himself master of Pontoise, a fortified town which lay within a few leagues only of Paris, whose inhabitants were now thrown into inexpressible consternation, which was still farther increased when the duke of Clarence, with the vanguard of the English army sat down before their very gates. However, the duke of

Burgundy, being apprized of the danger of the capital, found means to throw in so strong a reinforcement, as to render the attacking that city an almost desperate undertaking, and to oblige Henry to recal the duke of Clarence, and make dispositions for reducing other places which lay on his back, in which he succeeded with amazing rapidity and success. By the surrender of Gisors and Meulant he found himself master of both the French and Norman Vexin; and the taking of Chateau Galliard and la Roche Guion, which happened somewhat later in the year, completed the conquest of Normandy. Proceeding still to farther enterprises, he reduced the castles of Montjoy and St. Germain en Laye. Upon this the duke of Burgundy, to gain time, sent ambassadors to renew the negotiations for peace; but Henry advancing to his former demands the cession of Ponthoise, and the country adjoining, the treaty came to nothing.

But an unexpected event, which now happened, did that in an instant for Henry, which would have required an age to have effected by arms. The reconciliation between the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy was far from being sincere, at least on the part of the former, who could not be prevailed on by any intreaties to come to court, while the duke held the reins of power there, and even formed the cruel design of having him assassinated. This black project was to have been executed at Pouilli, but the duke having a great force with him, it was thought necessary to defer the attempt till a more convenient opportunity should offer. The dauphin having raised an army of twenty thousand men, advanced with it near Montereau sur Yonne, and sent Tanneguy de Chatel to desire a conference with the duke, upon the bridge between the town and the castle, in order to concert measures for the campaign against the English, and to settle some other matters of consequence*. The duke of Burgundy's distrust had, however, well nigh defeated the scheme; but the duke's evil genius, and the suggestions of his mistress, Giv'e, who privately corresponded with the dauphin, overcame all the reasonable apprehensions he entertained of putting himself in the power of a party, who had been his implacable enemies ever since the assassination of the duke of Orleans by his orders: he shut his eyes to danger, and rushed upon his fate, though not without taking all the expedients for security that could be devised.

On the day appointed for the interview, which was the thirtieth of September, the two princes repaired to Montereau; the duke took up his quarters in the castle, and the dauphin in the lower town, which was separated from the castle by the river Yonne: two rails were fixed upon the bridge which lay between them, and was to be the place of meeting; the gates on each side were to be guarded, the one by the officers of the dauphin, and the other by those of the duke; the princes were to meet in the middle of the bridge, attended each by ten persons; and, with all these symptoms of jealousy and distrust, to confirm and establish a mutual friendship.

But vain are all the precautions of human prudence, where laws have no place, and where all the principles of honour are abandoned. The as-

* Monstrelet, p. 212.

assination committed by the duke of Burgundy, and, what was still more, his open avowal of the deed, and defence of the practice, tended to destroy all the ties of civil society; and even those who abhorred the example, might yet think it reasonable to make the author feel the natural consequences of his own doctrine. Tanneguy de Chatel, and others of the dauphin's attendants, were zealous friends of the house of Orleans, and gladly lent their aid to revenge the murder of the late duke by the death of the assassin. Burgundy began to have some bodings of the event, when he found the barriers shut and locked after him as he passed through them; and he was no sooner come into the presence of the dauphin, than, upon a concerted signal Tanneguy de Chatel first gave him a mortal wound in the face with his battle-axe, and the other attendants of the dauphin soon sheathed their swords in the bodies of the unfortunate duke and his ten followers.

Thus was the murder of the duke of Orleans revenged by another murder, which was so much the more detestable as being accompanied by violation of public faith: but one would be tempted to believe that this murder was not premeditated, so very badly had the authors taken their measures for supporting the consequences. Philip the Good, the new duke of Burgundy, who succeeded his father, became of course an enemy to the dauphin, through duty as well as politics. The queen, his mother, whom he had incensed, became as implacable as a step-mother; while the king of England, taking advantage of these horrid circumstances, proclaimed aloud that God led him by the hand to punish the iniquitous French †. The queen, and all the great men about court, sent to the duke of Burgundy, offering to join with him to revenge his father's murder, and a treaty was signed, on the seventeenth of October, at Arras for that purpose. The city of Paris sent deputies to desire of Henry a truce for the neighbourhood of that place till the twelfth of December, which was granted. And now the queen and the new duke of Burgundy, Philip, made overtures to Henry for a final peace, which proved more fatal to France than all the preceding wars had done; for they engaged that Henry should marry Catherine of France; that he should be declared regent of that kingdom, and govern the realm so long as Charles VI. lived, only permitting him and his queen to enjoy their royal dignity for life; and that, after the decease of Charles, the crown should descend to Henry and his heirs for ever; and that all the estates of the realm, the lords spiritual and temporal, the commons, cities, and corporations, should be sworn to maintain his regency and succession." These offers produced a general truce till Christmas-eve, and confirmed afterwards till its expiration should be declared ‡. Henry then acceded to a league between the king and queen of France and the duke of Burgundy, for revenging the late duke's death on the dauphin and his accomplices. These conventions served for the foundation of a perpetual peace between France and England; and a personal treaty was appointed between the two kings, to be held at Troye, on the twenty-first day of May the ensuing year.

We must make use of this interval of negotiating, to attend to the affairs of England.

On the sixteenth day of October, a parliament was held at Westminster, who granted the king one fifteenth and one tenth, and one half part of both. The chief public transaction of this parliament was, their passing an act for the consumption of home-manufactures, by providing, that all the English troops in France should be clothed and furnished with English commodities, manufactured in England.

In order to complete that extraordinary treaty, which was to transfer the crown of France to a stranger, Henry, attended by the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, repaired to Troye in the beginning of May, 1420. As king Charles was not fit to appear in public, the queen and the duke of Burgundy were empowered to swear to the peace in his name. The princess Catherine was also brought thither by her mother, and received from Henry a present of a ring of great value. Every thing being now ready, on the twenty-first of May the treaty was signed and sworn, with the usual formalities; and the same day Henry was affianced to the princess Catherine, but the marriage was not consummated till near a month after. The substance of this famous treaty was as follows:

TREATY of TROYE.

Whereas a final agreement and perpetual peace has been made and sworn, in the city of Troye, by us, Charles king of France, and our dearly and most beloved son Henry, king of England, constituted heir and regent of the crown of France, both by his marriage with the princess Catherine, our daughter, and by virtue of the articles of a treaty agreed on by both of us, for the good and benefit of us and our subjects, and for the safety of this nation, this is to declare, that all our subjects, and those of our before-mentioned son may converse and traffic together, as well in this country, as beyond the seas.

It is also agreed, that our son, king Henry, shall, from this time, honour us as his father, and our consort, the queen, as his mother; and that, during our life, he shall not disturb us in the quiet possession of our kingdom, in the same manner as we now enjoy it, with the royal dignity, and all the revenues, fruits, and profits of it; and that our royal consort may, while she lives, without any hindrance, take the state and dignity of queen, according to the custom of the kingdom, and possess such part of the revenues and profits of the crown as are suitable to her quality.

That the princess Catherine, our daughter, shall have such a dowry assigned to her in England, as the queens of that nation, in times past, usually had, that is, the yearly revenue of forty thousand crowns, two of which are to amount to the value of an English noble.

That our son Henry, by all ways and means that he can use, without violating the oath he has taken to observe the laws, customs, and rights of his kingdom of England, shall endeavour and make such provision, that the princess Catherine, our daughter, may be assured of her enjoying, from the time of his death, the said yearly revenue of forty thousand crowns in England.

That if the princess Catherine survive king Henry our son, she shall have paid to her yearly,

† Volt. Gen. Hist. vol. iii. p. 10, 11.

‡ Rymer, vol. ix. p. 812—889.

out of France, from the time of his death, a dowry of forty thousand livres, to be raised from the lands and principalities which the queen dowager Blanche, wife of Philip of Valois, king of France, our great-grand-father, held as her dowry.

That, after her death, for all times to come, the crown of France, with all the rights and dominions which appertain thereto, shall remain to the king of England and his heirs for ever.

That whereas we are indisposed and incapable to reign, the whole power and exercise of the power of France, shall, even during our life, be devolved on our son king Henry, in conjunction with the council of the states of the kingdom, so as our son king Henry shall endeavour, to the utmost of his power, to govern zealously, industriously, and loyally, for the honour of God, of us, and our royal consort, and for the good of the kingdom, which he shall defend, preserve in peace, and manage all affairs according to the rules of justice and equity, with the counsel and assistance of the great lords, barons, and nobles of the kingdom.

It is also agreed, that our son, king Henry, shall so make use of his power, that the parliament of France, in all and every place subject to us, be preserved and maintained, both now and for the future, in all their entire authority and sovereignty.

That our son Henry, with all his power, shall preserve and maintain all and every noble, peer, city, town, community, and every particular private person now subject to us, or who shall be so, in their rights, privileges, dignities, liberties, and freedoms, belonging to them in all places of our dominions, or which shall be reduced to our obedience.

That our son, king Henry, shall diligently, loyally, and with all his power, endeavour that justice be administered in his kingdom of France, according to the ancient laws, rights, and customs of it, without partiality to any person; and shall uphold all the subjects of it in tranquility and peace; and, to his utmost ability, defend it from all violence and oppressions.

That our son, king Henry, shall, with all his ability, take care and provide that the offices of justice in parliament, of bailiwicks, seneschalships, and provosts, and other places of trust in the government, shall be conferred on persons qualified, useful, and fit for the good, just, peaceable, and quiet administration of affairs in the kingdom committed to them; and that they shall be such as the laws do authorize and appoint to be in those offices; and such as ought to be employed, to be serviceable for our good, and the prosperity of the nation.

That our son, king Henry, shall make use of all the power of his arms to reduce to our obedience all the towns, cities, castles, countries, and persons, which are yet in rebellion against us, siding with that party which is commonly called the party of the dauphin and of Armagnac.

That, to make the government more easy, free, and safe to our son, king Henry, the great lords, barons, nobles, the estates of the kingdom both spiritual and temporal, the cities, the considerable communities, and citizens and burghers of the towns now under our obedience, shall take the following oaths: 1. That all things, tending to the preservation of the government, they will humbly and obediently obey the commands of king Henry, as having the full power and authority to reign.

2. That they will, in their own particular, punctually observe whatever has been agreed between us, our royal consort, our council, and king Henry, or what shall hereafter be agreed; and will use all their power and care to see it observed by others. 3. That, from the time of our death, and ever after it, they will be faithful subjects to our son, king Henry, and his heirs; and will, without any contradiction, opposition, or difficulty, receive him for their sovereign lord, their liege and true king of France, and obey him as such; and that they will not be obedient to any other, as king or regent of France, our own person excepted. 4. That they shall not engage in any design or attempt to cause him to lose life or limb, to be taken prisoner, or to suffer damage or diminution in person, estate, honour, or goods; but that, if they know of any conspiracy against him, they will do all they can to prevent it, and discover it to him the first opportunity, by a messenger or letter.

It is also agreed, that all the conquests which our son, king Henry, shall make out of the duchy of Normandy, in the kingdom, shall appertain to us; and that he shall employ all his power that all estates and principalities, found in those new conquests to belong to any who are now good subjects, and will swear to observe our present agreement, shall be restored to their true proprietors.

That all beneficed ecclesiastics in the said duchy of Normandy, or in other places of France, subject to us, or our son, king Henry, or favouring the party of our beloved son the duke of Burgundy, who will swear to observe the present agreement, shall peaceably enjoy their benefices.

That in like manner, all who are the subjects of our son, king Henry, and who shall swear to observe the present agreement, shall peaceably enjoy their ecclesiastical benefices and preferment in all places of our dominions.

That all churches, universities, and ecclesiastical colleges, being in places subject to us, or which shall be so, or in the duchy of Normandy, or in any places of the kingdom of France, which are subject to our son, king Henry, shall enjoy their rights, possessions, rents, prerogatives, liberties, franchises, and honours; with a reserve to the rights of the crown and of any others.

That when our son, king Henry, shall come to the crown of France, the duchy of Normandy, and all other places conquered by him in France, shall be under the jurisdiction, obedience, and monarchy of the said crown.

That our son, king Henry, with all his power, shall procure, that all persons obedient to us, and favouring the Burgundian party, who have principalities, lands, revenues, and possessions in the duchy of Normandy, or other parts of France conquered by his arms, which have been given by him to them, shall, without any diminution of the crown of France, have compensation made to them by us, out of the lands conquered from those who are in rebellion: and if in our life this compensation be not made, our son, king Henry, shall make it when he comes to the crown of France; but if those principalities, lands, rents, or possessions were not given by him, they shall, without any delay, be restored to the proprietors.

It is also agreed, during our life, that whereas in all places subject to us, or which shall be so, the writs of common justice, the gifts of lands and benefices,

benefices, the grants of pardons and privileges, are not valid, unless they be issued out under our name and seal; yet, since some cases and occasions may occur, to make it necessary or convenient for our son, king Henry, to do this, it shall be lawful for him to do so in our name, and his own as regent.

That, during our life, king Henry shall not assume the title of king of France.

That as long as we live, we will always give to our son, king Henry, the title of our most dear son, king of England, and heir of France; and in Latin we will stile him, "*Noster præcharissimus filius Henricus, rex Angliæ, heres Franciæ.*"

It is also agreed, that our son, king Henry, shall not lay any taxes on our subjects but such as are reasonable and necessary, and to be employed for the public; nor shall he raise them by any other means than such as are agreeable to the laws and custom of the kingdom.

That, to preserve peace and concord between England and France, and to prevent any causes of difference for the future, our son, king Henry, shall take effectual care that, by the advice and consent of the three estates of both kindoms, it be ordained, that whenever our son, king Henry, or any of his heirs, shall come to wear the crown of France, the two kingdoms shall be for ever united under one king, that is, under king Henry, as long as he lives, and, after his death, under his heirs in a continued succession, and shall not, at the same time, be governed by two kings; and yet the rights, liberties, customs, usages, and laws of each kingdom, shall be kept distinct and inviolable, without subjecting one to the other.

That, from this present moment, all hatred, animosities, divisions, and wars shall cease between the two nations, and the people be fixed in this settled concert, mutually united in affections, counsels, joint-assistance, and defence against all enemies; and shall converse and traffic with one another, paying the usual customs in both kingdoms.

That all our confederates and allies, as also those of king Henry, who, in eight months after the publishing of this treaty of peace, shall declare their desire to be compromised in it, may be taken into it; reserving only to the two kingdoms, to us with our subjects, and to king Henry with his, all rights, actions, and remedies, in respect to those allies or confederates.

That our son, king Henry, with the advice of our most dear son, Philip, duke of Burgundy, and of other nobles of the kingdom, who may meet to consult about this affair, shall make an honourable provision for the maintenance of our person, suitable to our royal state and dignity; and that they shall so order things as that none, whether nobles or others, shall be admitted into our service, or to any offices about our person, nor be entertained as our domestics, but those who are natives of France, or where the people speak the French language; and also, that due choice should be made of such persons who are wise, loyal, and well qualified for our service.

It is also agreed, that we will have our residence in such places as are considerable, within our dominions, and not be confined to a mean and obscure retreat.

That, considering the horrid and enormous crimes perpetrated in this kingdom of France, by

Charles, who calls himself the dauphin de Viennois, neither we, nor our son, king Henry, nor our dearest son Philip, duke of Burgundy, will make any treaty of peace or concord with him, nor so much as enter into a treaty, without the advice and consent of all three, and of the three estates of both kingdoms.

It is also agreed, that, besides our letters patent concerning these particulars, agreed and sealed with our great-seal, we will also give to our son Henry letters patent, confirmed and signed by our royal consort, by our son the duke of Burgundy, and other princes of the blood, by other great lords, barons, cities, and towns under our obedience, as king Henry shall require.

That our son, king Henry, besides his letters patent sealed with his great-seal, shall also give to us others, as we shall be pleased to require, confirmed by his brothers and the rest of the royal family, and by the great lords, barons, and cities of his dominions.

Now, to perform all and every one of these agreed articles, we, Charles, king of France, for ourself and our heirs, have, without fraud or dissimulation, promised, and do promise, have sworn and swear, in the word of a king, upon the Holy Evangelists, touched by us, that we will observe, and cause to be observed, both by ourself and subjects, all these articles; and that neither we, nor our heirs, will ever act contrary to any of them, neither judicially nor extra-judicially, neither directly or indirectly; and that this may be firmly established for ever, we have caused our seal to be set to these present letters.

Given at Troye, May 21, 1420, in the five-and-fortieth year of our reign.

Three weeks after this treaty was concluded, it was approved of, and ratified by the parliament of Paris; and the citizens of that capital took an oath to observe it. In all public deeds Henry held the title of Regent and Heir to the crown of France: his court and equipage at Troye were extremely magnificent; his guards amounted to above sixteen hundred, richly dressed and completely armed; and the duke of Burgundy, in honour of the king of France, fell little short of Henry's splendor.

On the thirtieth of May, Henry's marriage with the princess Catherine was solemnized in St. John's church, in Troye, by the archbishop of Sens. This lady was the greatest fortune and the finest woman of her time; but Henry suffered not his interest to give way to amorous dalliance: he was sensible that he owed all the important advantages he had gained, to the feuds and animosities which now prevailed in the courts of France and Burgundy; and that he should be in danger of losing them the moment the French nobility recovered the use of reason and reflection; and that those houses who had been excluded the succession in favour of a stranger, would not fail to unite together against him, as soon as the mist of passion should be cleared up; he therefore wisely resolved to give them no time for repentance.

All this time the dauphin behaved with surprising spirit and intrepidity. He had dispatched the count of Vendosme to solicit a supply of men from the Scots, whose king still remained a prisoner in England. These people, wisely considering, that if Henry became absolute master of France,

France, they themselves must next fall victims to his ambition, resolved to assist the dauphin; and a supply of seven thousand men were sent over to him, under the command of John, earl of Buchan.

The dauphin had, in the space of a few months, taken the towns of Pont de l'Esprit and Nîmes, in Languedoc; and had thrown strong garrisons into Melun, Montereau, Montargis, Meaux, and Compeigne; and had ordered a general rendezvous of all his forces to be held at Bourges, in Berry. Henry had advice of all these proceedings; and, having paid the tribute due to decency and conjugal affection, he tore himself from the arms of his beloved consort, and reserved all his attention to the operations of the campaign. The first place he reduced was Sens, which submitted after a faint opposition: with the same ease he reduced Montereau, and recovered several other towns from the dauphin. He next resolved upon the siege of Melun, an enterprize attended with no small difficulty, great part of the city itself being encompassed by the river Seine, and the whole defended by a strong wall, flanked with towers and bulwarks: the place was commanded by de Barbaçon, one of the best officers in France, who made an admirable defence, from the twelfth of July, when Henry sat down before it, till the eighteenth of November, when it was forced by famine to surrender, on condition that none of the garrison or inhabitants should be put to death, except such as were concerned in the murder of the late duke of Burgundy: these last were to be tried, and suffer the punishment due to their crime; the rest were to be imprisoned at Henry's discretion, till they should give sufficient security for their not bearing arms against him for the future. The governor, Barbaçon, was condemned, as one of the assassins of the duke, by the parliament of Paris, to which venerable tribunal Philip, duke of Burgundy, applied as soon as Melun was yielded, for justice on his father's murderers; but Henry, having fought with Barbaçon hand to hand in a mine, in the course of the siege, saved his life out of a point of honour received in those days, and he was detained prisoner above twenty years, till the French recovered Chateau Gaillard.

After the surrender of Melun the two courts returned to Paris, where Henry made a magnificent entry on the first Sunday in Advent. Here he governed without controul, while Charles VI. continued shut up, with a few domestics, in the Hôtel de St. Paul, at which place Philip, duke of Burgundy, appeared in the presence of both kings, and of the few remaining nobility of the kingdom there assembled, and solemnly demanded justice for the murder of his father. Upon this the parliament summoned the dauphin to appear at the Marble Table*, and answer the charge preferred against him; but not appearing, he was condemned for contumacy. That prince, finding all sorts of means were used to deprive him of the crown, appealed to God and his sword, from all that was or might be transacted against him, in the name of the king his father; and continued still to assume the title of Regent. As such, he removed the parliament and university of Paris to Poitiers, where some of the mem-

bers of those two bodies repaired. Thus were seen at the same time in France, two kings, two queens, two regents, all the officers of the crown double, seven or eight marshals of France on each side, two parliaments, and two universities of Paris. Towards the latter end of this year, the states of France were assembled, and granted Henry a large supply, without any debate. Let us now take a view of affairs in England during this year.

The death of Lewis II. king of Naples, which happened two years before, had given birth to a negociation which seemed to be big with great consequences to this kingdom; for, on his decease, a dispute happened between his son Lewis, duke of Anjou, and Joan, sister of Ladislaus, formerly king of Naples, about the succession to that crown. The claim of the princess was at first favoured by pope Martin V. who was the superior lord of that kingdom, Naples being a fief of the holy see; but the queen refusing to engage so deeply as he wanted her in his quarrel, the pontiff, and her own general, Forza, divested her of her crown, and invited the young duke of Anjou into Italy, and actually declared him king of Naples. The queen, finding herself thus abandoned, first strove to make up matters with the pope, and applied to the duke of Bedford, the regent of England, for his assistance: and one de Pisis coming over this year as her envoy, presented to the duke his credential letters, who received his proposals with great caution, but without rejecting them. They were, that the queen of Naples should adopt him as her heir and successor, provided he would march to her assistance with all his forces. Hereupon the duke ordered one Phiton to go to Naples, and enquire more minutely into the terms of the adoption; and, after several conferences, the following articles were secretly agreed upon by both parties.

"That nothing should be firm and ratified, which the pope did not approve.

"That it being probable that the French, observing the queen's design of introducing their enemies into her kingdom, would join with her rebellious subjects and, raise war against her, it was necessary, to enable her for a defence, that the duke should remit to Naples fifty thousand ducats, which should be secured in the hands of the bankers till the forts and cities of Blandusium and Regium were delivered to him; and that he should be obliged to come, eight days afterwards, into the kingdom of Naples.

"That, with the pope's consent and approbation, the queen should adopt him her son and heir, and to have the right of succession not only to the aforesaid kingdoms, but to the county of Provence, and any other territories which belonged to her.

"That she should create him duke of Calabria, and deliver to him all the castles and towns which were in her power.

"That he should be obliged to serve the queen in person, with one thousand men at arms and two thousand archers, at his own charge for six months, and after that time at the queen's.

"That he should not, farther than it pleased the queen, intermeddle in the government, the dukedom of Calabria only excepted, which he might rule with full authority.

* This is a large table, which was used, in the time of St. Lewis, for receiving the fines paid for vassalage, at the tower

of the Louvre, and which ever after, remained as a kind of mark of jurisdiction. Volt. Gen. Hist. vol. viii. p. 13.

"That

"That in all councils and assemblies, respect should be paid to him as the queen's son.

"That all the riches he gained from the enemy should be to him and his heirs.

"That he should promise and swear to defend and maintain all principalities, cities, benefices, and offices conferred by the queen on any person.

"That, by these articles, no power was granted to one party over the person and estate of the other.

"And lastly, That, after the duke's arrival at Naples, the queen should cause her arms to be quartered with his, as her true and lawful son."

These articles sufficiently shew the duke of Bedford's reputation upon the continent. But, flattering as they were to his ambition, the state of Henry's affairs, and the duke's own employments both in England and France, did not suffer him immediately to embrace them; the queen therefore, while the duke took time to deliberate, found herself besieged in Naples by the Anjovin party, and she was obliged to have recourse to Alphonso, king of Arragon: that prince, embracing the proffers which had been made to the duke of Bedford, immediately marched to her assistance, and raised the siege.

The negociation between the queen of Naples and the duke of Bedford thus failing, Henry, who tenderly loved all his brothers, made several other attempts to raise that duke's fortune; first by proposing a match between him and the heiress of Nuremberg, and afterwards with the daughter of the duke of Lorraine, both which proposals came to nothing, and the duke remained unmarried till his brother's death. But to return.

Henry's coffers being almost exhausted, he found it absolutely necessary to make a voyage to England, to procure a fresh supply, that granted by the French states not being nearly adequate to his necessities; he therefore proceeded to settle the government of France in his absence. He appointed sir Gilbert Umfreville to be governor of Melun, in the room of the earl of Huntingdon, who was made governor of the castle of Vincennes; the duke of Exeter was appointed a kind of guardian to the person of the king of France, and governor of Paris; and the command in Normandy was given to his brother, the duke of Clarence; and Thomas Montacute, earl of Salisbury, was appointed his deputy in that province.

Having settled these matters, he set out for England, in the beginning of January, 1421, taking his young queen with him; and on the sixteenth of that month, while he was at Rouen, in his way to England, he, as duke of Guienne, received the homage of the d'Albret family, they renouncing the benefit of appeal which their grand-father, Charles d'Albret, had formerly put in before the peers of France, against the Black Prince, while governor of Aquitaine: the example of the d'Albrets was followed by the Armagnac family; and all of them were put in possession of their estates, which had been confiscated to the king of England.

On the twenty-eighth of January Henry crossed the sea from Calais to Dover, from whence he proceeded to London, into which he and his queen made a most magnificent entry: the coronation of the latter was performed, on Sunday the twenty-third of February, at Westminster; and, when this solemnity was over, the king made a progress into Wales, and into the North of England as far as

York, not only to shew the queen the country, but to see how justice was administered, and returned to his capital in the latter end of April. On the second of May he convened a parliament at Westminster, in which the peace of Troye was approved and confirmed by the three estates of the realm; at the same time they voted him a large subsidy for the prosecution of the war, though they also presented an address, in which they observed, that the conquest of France would probably be the ruin of England, which would be in danger of becoming a province of the former kingdom. In answer to this address, he assured them, that he would never suffer any of his conquests to prove detrimental to his natural subjects.

But while matters were going on successfully in England, Henry's affairs in France took an unsuccessful turn, which obliged him to go abroad sooner than he proposed. Great numbers of the Norman and Anjovin noblemen had joined the dauphin, whose troops had seized Villeneuve le Roy, and daily cut off the provisions that were conveying to Paris. The inhabitants thereupon began to murmur and throw out several disrespectful expressions on the English: the marshal de l'Isle Adam, who had for some time been greatly discontented at the growing power of the latter at court, seemed rather to encourage these murmurs of the populace; upon which the duke of Exeter gave orders for arresting him: as the marshal was extremely popular, upwards of a thousand of the Parisians took to their arms, and opposed the carrying him to prison; but the duke of Exeter, putting himself at the head of a chosen body of English archers, the mob presently dispersed, and he lodged his prisoner safely in the Bastille, where he remained in confinement all the rest of this reign. This disturbance was followed by an unlucky event in another part of the kingdom, which gave Henry no small uneasiness, and quickened his return to the continent.

The dauphin had, during the siege of Melun, reduced Languedoc to his obedience; and being master of all the French territories beyond the Loire, had advanced as far as Tours, at the head of a numerous army. Thomas, duke of Clarence, who had been left with the command of the English troops, made several irruptions into Anjou, to harass the dauphin's party. At length, he penetrated as far as the village of Baugé, where hearing that the earl of Buchan, with five thousand Scots, and a body of French detached from the dauphin's army, under la Fayette, a marshal of that prince's creation, were on the march to attack him, he resolved to anticipate their design; but as his troops were dispersed about the country, intent on plunder, and his archers were at some distance, the earl of Huntingdon pressed him to wait their coming up; but the duke's heat, pride, and obstinacy would not let him hearken to this prudent advice: so taking with him the few noblemen, officers, and men at arms that were about him, he marched through a narrow pass over a brook near the castle of Baugé, to meet the enemy; but having made his onset too rashly, and pursuing without any order a small party of horse which he had broken at the first charge, he on a sudden found himself surrounded by a strong body of Scots, under one Swinton, who had lain in ambush behind an hill to take advantage of the impetuosity of the English. The duke of Clarence

being singled out by the Scottish knight, was first wounded in the face, and afterwards ran through the body; most of the gentlemen that followed him were also slain, as were sir Gilbert Umfreville, the earl of Kent, and the lords Grey and Ros: the earls of Somerset, Huntingdon, and Strafford, the lord Fitz Walter, and others, were taken prisoners, and the allies lost upwards of eleven hundred men. The earl of Salisbury, coming up with a fresh body of English, offered to renew the battle, which was declined by the earl of Buchan. This action happened on the twenty-second of March, 1421.

Upon this defeat of the English by the Scots, the dauphin, in order to engage that people more firmly in his interest, and reward the bravery and conduct of Buchan, created that nobleman constable of France, who thought to improve his victory by the taking of Alençon; but was obliged, by the earl of Salisbury, to raise the siege of that place, and retire with his forces.

Henry no sooner heard of the fate of his brother Clarence, and the defeat of his troops, than he instantly prepared for another voyage to France, and crossed the sea, on the tenth of June, from Dover to Calais. According to Monstrelet, he carried over with him an army of four thousand men at arms and twenty-four thousand archers. He left his brother, the duke of Bedford, regent of England in his absence. On his arrival at Calais, he heard that the duke of Exeter was almost blocked up by the dauphin's troops in Paris; upon which he sent a considerable detachment before him to the duke's relief; and another, under the duke of Gloucester, to recover certain places in Picardy, of which the dauphin had lately made himself master. Then marching in person with the rest of his army, he came to Bois de Vincennes, from whence he afterwards went and joined his father-in-law in Paris. When he had dispatched his affairs there, he proceeded to join the rest of his forces in Normandy, and led them to the relief of Chartres, which had been for some time besieged by the dauphin, who, knowing himself unable to make head against such a numerous army, retired beyond the Loire, the English pursuing him to the very gates of Orleans. Henry then investing Dreux, a strong place on the borders of Normandy, took it, on the twentieth of August, by capitulation; and soon after reduced Tilliers, Nogent, Gallardan, with other castles in the neighbourhood. Upon advice that the dauphin lay, with a great army, on the banks of the Loire, preparing for a general engagement, he marched to Baugenci, and, taking the place, waited there a fortnight, in hopes of that prince offering him battle; but the enemy dispersing, he turned off to Villeneuve sur Yonne, which had been lately taken by the dauphin; and having recovered that place, he sat down, on the sixth of October, before Meaux, a strong town situated on the Marne. This siege he undertook at the desire of the Parisians, who were greatly harassed by the garrison of that place. Whilst the king was employed in this operation, he received the agreeable news of his queen's being safely delivered of a prince, on the sixth of December, at Windsor, who was named Henry, and was afterwards the unfortunate Henry VI.

Before we conclude the transactions of the year 1421, it will be proper to take some notice of the affairs of Scotland, which we have forbore intro-

ducing sooner that we might not break the thread of the history.

The check which his brother Clarence had met with from the Scottish auxiliaries in the service of France, had given Henry no little uneasiness, and he used all his endeavours to persuade his prisoner, James, king of Scotland, to recal the troops which had been sent over to France, under the command of the earl of Buchan; and that prince, in consequence of some private stipulations with the king of England, laid his commands upon his subjects to quit the service of the dauphin; but the earl returned for answer, that they did not think themselves bound by any tie to obey the orders of their king, while he remained in the hands of his adversary, and might be supposed to act from compulsion. This order of James, however, furnished Henry with a pretext for treating as rebels all the Scots that were taken in the service of the dauphin. By this time the duke of Albany was dead, and was succeeded in the regency of Scotland by his son Murdoch, earl of Fife, who had been lately released from his captivity in England. It was since his accession to the ministry that the auxiliaries had been sent to France, and therefore he became disagreeable to the king of England; who, in order to encourage a party that should counterbalance his interest in Scotland, permitted James to revisit his own country, on his giving security for his return, and assuring Henry he would do his endeavours to dissolve the alliance between Scotland and the dauphin.

The siege of Meaux proved a work of great difficulty: it was strongly fortified by art and nature, and provided with a numerous garrison, commanded by the bastard of Vaurus, who had distinguished himself by his activity and rancour against the Burgundians. This place, as we have already observed, was invested by Henry on the sixth day of October, 1421; it continued to make an obstinate defence all the winter, and the English had lost a great number of men by the inclemency of the weather and fatigue, as well as by the valour of the besieged. The town was divided into two parts, called the City and the Marché, or Market-place; the first of which was taken by storm in the winter, but the other was defended with infinite resolution. The lord Cornwall's son, a youth of great expectation, and the earl of Dorset, both lost their lives at this remarkable siege, besides a great number of other gallant officers, in two successive assaults, both of which miscarried in spite of all Henry's conduct and intrepidity. At length the garrison, being reduced to the utmost extremity, after a defence of seven months, demanded a capitulation on the second of May, 1422, which Henry granted on the following terms: "That all the inhabitants and soldiers should have their lives, but nothing else, saved: that the English, Welsh, Irish, and Scots, bearing arms in the place, should be entirely in the king's mercy, together with the bastard of Vaurus and three other officers of the garrison: and that the place, with all the neighbouring forts, should be surrendered by the eleventh of May." The besieged were obliged to submit to these terms. After Henry had taken possession of the town, he commanded these officers to be instantly beheaded; and likewise put to death, without mercy, all the English, Scots, and Irish, who were found among the defendants, with all those who had been concerned

concerned in the murder of the duke of Burgundy. As for the governor, Vaurus, he underwent an exemplary fate: the bravery of this officer could be exceeded by nothing but his cruelty; he was wont to hang, without distinction of age or quality, all the English and Burgundians that fell into his hands: Henry, highly incensed at such a barbarous and shocking practice, caused him to be hanged on the same tree which he had made the instrument of his inhuman executions, and which from thence was distinguished by his name.

The reduction of Meaux was soon followed by that of Compeigne, Gamaches, and St. Valery, and Henry saw himself master of all France on this side the Loire, except Anjou and Maine, and the castles of Guise and Crotoy, in Picardy. To add to his satisfaction, soon after the surrender of Meaux, his queen arrived from England, attended by the duke of Bedford, who had left the regency to the duke of Gloucester, his brother, lately sent over thither by Henry, on some private business. The two courts joining at Bois de Vincennes, went from thence soon after, to keep the Whitsun-holidays at Paris, which they did with great splendor.

But the moment was fast approaching, in which Henry, who seemed now to have almost attained the summit of human grandeur, was to find his course stopped short by the hand of nature, and all his mighty projects made to bow before an universal conqueror. Whilst he was preparing to renew the campaign, interrupted by the queen's arrival, news came that the dauphin had taken la Charité, which opened him a passage over the Loire, and was thereby enabled, without opposition, to form the siege of Cosne, which being ill provided for a defence, agreed to capitulate, if not relieved by the twenty-sixth of August, by the duke of Burgundy.

Henry received the account of those successes with sensible chagrin, and put himself immediately at the head of the army, in hopes that he should be able to force the dauphin to fight, who had hitherto carefully avoided a decisive engagement, and, by his cautious yet active conduct, had given Henry no little disquiet: but, whilst this latter was pleasing himself with the hopes of a victory that would render him absolute master of all France, he was seized at Senlis with a violent illness, which obliged him to travel in a litter; and finding himself grow worse at Corbeil, the conduct of the enterprize was given to the duke of Bedford, with the earl of Warwick as his assistant, whilst Henry returned to Bois de Vincennes.

The duke of Burgundy was then at Vezelay, waiting to be joined by the English, which being effected, his army greatly out-numbered that of the dauphin. This determined the latter to abandon his enterprize upon Cosne, and even to quit the banks of the Loire, which he had once resolved to defend, and to retreat to Bourges, to avoid the hazard of a battle. Thus the duke of Burgundy and the English, when in high expectation of effectually terminating the war, found themselves baffled by the prudent precaution of the dauphin, and obliged to retire towards Troye.

In their march thither the duke of Bedford received the melancholy news that Henry's disorder, which was a pleuritic fever, was increased so much as to leave very little hopes of recovery. The duke upon this set out, accompanied by the earl of

Warwick, for Vincennes, and arrived just in time to receive the great Henry's dying commands, who, finding himself near his end, and being acquainted with his brother's arrival, ordered that he, with the earl of Warwick, the duke of Exeter, and all the English nobility who happened to be near him, might be brought into his bed-chamber, to give them his last instructions: the substance of his speech on this occasion, as we find in several historians, was as follows:

He began with observing, "that though his life had been short it had been replete with glory, and employed in endeavours to promote the happiness of his people: that though his pretensions to France had occasioned much bloodshed, yet that calamity ought not to be charged to his account, the guilt resting with those who, by their obstinacy and injustice, had forced him to have recourse to arms, by refusing to accept of a reasonable peace. The approach of death, he said, would have been beheld by him without concern, were not his last moments somewhat imbittered by the reflection of the doubtful event of the war he was engaged in, and the infancy of his son, which rendered him incapable of finishing a work so happily begun; he therefore besought the duke of Bedford and the rest of the nobles, who knelt in silent grief around him, that they would unite strictly in the service of their infant king, and take every possible care of his education. He added, as his last advice, that they should never make peace with the dauphin without having it as a preliminary, that the duchy of Normandy should be for ever annexed to the crown of England: and especially recommended to them, always to keep well with the duke of Burgundy; and not to release the duke of Orleans, the count d'Eu, the lord de Gaucourt, and the sieur Guichard de Sisay (who had been taken prisoners at the battle of Agincourt), till his son was of age. Lastly, he expressed a desire that the duke of Bedford might assume the administration of France, and that the duke of Gloucester might act as regent during his son's minority, the care of whose education he committed to the earl of Warwick."

Having thus delivered his sentiments concerning the management of public affairs, and received the solemn assurances of the nobles present, that they would faithfully obey these his dying injunctions, he ordered his confessor to attend, and received the final preparations for his approaching dissolution, in which devout exercise he soon after gave up the ghost, on the thirty-first of August, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, after reigning nine years, five months, and eleven days.

Immediately upon Henry's death, the duke of Burgundy came to Vincennes, and had a conference with the duke of Bedford and the English council, and they altogether set out for Paris, to which place the royal body was conveyed by torch-light. The funeral was afterwards performed with great magnificence, the particulars of which are thus given us by Goodwin, in his history of that great prince, concerning whom even the most trivial circumstances are interesting:

The body was placed in a rich chariot; on a bed, in the same chariot, was laid the figure of the king, with a crown of gold on his head, a sceptre in his right hand, and in his left a globe, both of the same metal. The covering of the bed was a vermillion silk, embroidered with gold: over the cha-

riot was a rich silk canopy. Thus, with great pomp the funeral procession moved from Rouen to Abbeville. The chariot was drawn by six horses, in rich harness, each of them having a banner or streamer fixed to the harness; the first bearing the arms of St. George; the second, those of Normandy; the third, of king Arthur; the fourth, those of St. Edward; the fifth, the arms of France; the sixth, those of England and France quarterly. James, king of Scotland, followed the chariot, as principal mourner, attended by the duke of Exeter, the earls of Warwick, Marche, Stafford, and Mortaigne, the lords Fitz Hugh, Hungerford, sir Robert Robesart, lord Bouchier, sir John Cornwall, lord Fanhope, and the lord Cornwall. The banners of the saints were borne by the lords Lovel, Audley, Morley, and Zouch: the baron of Dudley bore the standard, and the earl of Longueville the banner. The hatchments were carried by twelve captains, and around the chariot rode four hundred men at arms, all in black armour, their horses barbed black, and their lances borne with their points downwards. A great company cloathed in white, bearing lighted torches, also encompassed the chariot. The officers and servants of the royal household followed, cloathed in black; and after them the royal family, in mourning: the queen, with a great retinue, followed, at a league's distance. The body was set in the church of St. Ofra, at Abbeville, where, as well as in all other places to which it came, masses were said, without interruption, from the first dawn of the morning till midnight. From Abbeville the procession came to Calais, where crossing to Dover, it continued with the same pomp to London. When the body approached that city, it was met by fifteen bishops in their pontificals, and a number of abbots in their mitres and vestments, with a great number of priests, citizens, and people; the priests performing all the way through the streets the funeral devotions, till they arrived at Westminster abbey, where the royal corpse was interred at the feet of Edward the Confessor, in a little chapel, afterwards enlarged and beautified with two iron gates by king Henry VII. On his tomb of grey marble, erected by his queen, was placed a royal image, of silver gilt, which remained there till about the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. when the head, which was of massy silver, was broken off, and conveyed away with the plates of silver that covered the trunk, which now only remains of heart of oak.

Henry is represented to us as of a stature somewhat above the middle size; he had a beautiful countenance, a long neck, a thin and slender body, fine and elegant limbs, and was possessed of a surprising degree of strength and agility. He excelled all his contemporaries in personal courage and military prowess: he was hardy, patient, laborious, and more capable of enduring the extremes of cold, hunger, and fatigue, than almost any soldier in his army. He was in his manners affable, polite, generous, and magnificent: he had an excellent understanding, with a clear head and sound judgment, and admirable talents for the cabinet and field. But the glare of his successes, or the lustre of his great qualities, will not be found sufficient to conceal the defects in his character; nor can we, without shuddering, hear him appeal with his dying breath to the awful tribunal of Heaven, in defence of his public conduct: had he any just pre-

tensions to the crown of France, in the pursuit of which he sacrificed so many thousand innocent lives, while Peace and Justice were his words of battle? how then could he presume to remove the guilt of all this bloodshed from his own door, to lay it at that of a people, whom he had so unjustly invaded, and so cruelly oppressed? Truth obliges us to confess, that Henry, during his life-time, shewed that he could not distinguish between the art of war and the trade of death, nor knew to join the feeling to the manly heart; and in the hour of his exit, he was a striking example how easily conscience is brought over to espouse the cause of any ruling passion; for, as we cannot suspect him of any dissimulation at such a juncture, we must suppose that he died in full conviction of having acted according to the dictates of equity; though impartial posterity will count him among the number of those warriors, whose ambition has spread ruin and devastation through the earth; and who sacrifice the character of humanity to acquire that of the hero.

It now remains to mention the wife and issue of this great king. He was married, as we have already seen, to Catherine of Valois, daughter to Charles VI. king of France: she was born in the year 1400, so that Henry left her a young widow, of immense fortune, the highest qualities, and most tempting beauty. After Henry's death she fell in love with and married a Welsh knight, named Owen Tudor, said to be sprung from the ancient princes of that country: she bore him two sons, Edmund and Jasper, of whom the elder was created earl of Richmond, and the second earl of Pembroke. The family of Tudor, which was first raised to distinction by this alliance, afterwards ascended the throne of England.

The only issue of Henry by this queen was Henry of Windsor, prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester, to whose reign we shall next proceed.

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES.

On the day of his coronation, there happened a tempest of wind, snow, and hail; the snow was most taken notice of because it was most prevalent; on which the people made superstitious observations: some thought it presaged, that the new king would be cold and negligent in the administration of the government, or wrong and oppress them; others took it for a good omen, that, having dispelled those clouds of vice which had darkened the nation, brightness and serenity would succeed the storm.

In the third year of his reign, the church service was changed throughout England, from the use of St. Paul to the use of Sarum. On Candlemas-day seven dolphins were discovered playing on the river Thames, and four of them were taken.

The first commission of array, which occurs in the English history, was issued in the course of this reign. The military part of the feudal system was now entirely abolished; and could no longer serve for the defence or security of the kingdom. For this reason, when Henry went to France in 1415, he empowered certain commissioners to take a review of all the free-men in each county able to bear arms, to form them into companies, and to keep them in a constant readiness to oppose any attempts that might be made by the enemy.

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History of England.



S. Wale delin.

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HENRY VI.

It was also this king that first instituted the office of Garter King at Arms, and made several regulations concerning that most noble order, which the curious reader may see in Ashmole's Institutions, &c. p. 252, &c. He also appointed a

new herald, by the title of Agincourt King at Arms.

King Henry, among other works of charity and magnificence, rebuilt the royal palace of Shene, now called Richmond; and the castle of Kenelworth.

H E N R Y VI. furnamed Of W I N D S O R*. The third King of ENGLAND of the LANCASTRIAN Family. A. D. 1422.

BEFORE we enter upon the transactions of this reign, so very different from the last, we shall introduce our readers to an acquaintance with the great personages, especially those of the royal blood, who are to make the principal figures therein, and the knowlege of whose histories and characters will serve as a clue to guide us through the scenes we are now to tread.

It may be remembered, that, besides Henry V. the fourth Henry left three other sons; Thomas, duke of Clarence; John, duke of Bedford; and Humphrey, duke of Gloucester. We have already mentioned the death of the first of these, which happened without his leaving any lawful male issue. The next of the surviving brothers, and the third son of Henry IV. was

John, duke of Bedford, who, though not possessed of those shining talents which distinguished Henry V. was yet formed with virtues more capable of making a people happy. He had given the most indisputable proofs of his great abilities for government, by his conduct while regent of England during his royal brother's absence on the continent; for under his administration the nation enjoyed plenty and tranquility at home, her commerce flourished, her agriculture was improved, and the public monies were strictly and beneficially employed. These qualities placed him high in the esteem of his elder brother, who, as we have elsewhere observed, sought all opportunities of raising his fortune.

Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, the younger brother of Henry V. was also one of the most accomplished princes of his age; the chief failing with which he is justly chargeable, was his suffering an impetuosity of temper sometimes to get so much the better of his prudence as to hurry him into acts or expressions that laid him too open to the malice or ill-will of his enemies; but his sincerity and freedom deservedly made him dear to every honest and noble mind, and he possessed no inconsiderable share of his royal brother's affection and esteem, who in his knowlege of mankind yielded to none of the age he lived in.

We shall now proceed to give an account of the other more remote branches of the royal family. Of these, the first in years and dignity was

Henry Beaufort, cardinal of St. Eusebius and bishop of Winchester. He was son to John of Ghent, duke of Lancaster, by that nobleman's second marriage with Catherine Swinford, and consequently uncle to Henry V. He was a man of profound sense and great eloquence, as may be gathered from his speeches at the opening of many sessions of parliament, which are still extant upon the rolls: but the chief power of this prelate undoubtedly lay in the vast riches he had amassed; for, as he had more ready money than any other subject in England, he claimed a kind of merit in supplying the necessities of the crown, though at an extravagant interest†. But his avarice was even exceeded by his ambition; and he was alike impatient either of a superior or an equal. The great countenance which had for some time been shewn to the church, and his own near relation to the crown, gave him many extraordinary advantages; so that, upon the whole, he was esteemed one of the chief persons in the kingdom.

Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter, third son of John of Ghent, by his second marriage, was a prince well versed in business, and had filled several principal posts both in the state and army, with reputation to himself and advantage to his country. In the fifth year of Henry IV. he had been made lord high-admiral of England; after that, governor of Calais, lord-chamberlain, and then created earl of Dorset and knight of the Garter. By Henry V. he was advanced to the dignity of a duke; and that monarch honoured him with a farther mark of his esteem, by making him governor of Harfleur, and earl of Harcourt in Normandy. The post he enjoyed in the beginning of the reign we are entering upon, was that of governor to the king, and commander in chief of the English forces in France: nay, if we may believe some authors, Henry V. had so great an opinion of him, that he appointed him, and not the duke of Gloucester (as Elmham has it), by his dying words to be protector of England.

Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, was by Henry V. designed tutor to his infant son, under the duke of Exeter. This nobleman was not only the most accomplished soldier, but generally allowed to be the finest gentleman of his time. He

* From the place of his birth. It is reported by most of our historians, that Henry, who was in France when this prince was born, on enquiring where his queen was delivered, was answered at Windsor; upon which, in a kind of propetic despondency, he said to the lord Fitz Hugh, his chamberlain, "I Henry of Monmouth shall short time reign, and much get; Henry of Windsor shall long time reign, and all lose: but God's will be done." However, this saying

seems to have been more political than predictive; for it was no hard matter for Henry, at that time, to conceive that he could not hope, in the common course of things, to establish the crown of France in his own family.

† In the year 1416, he lent his nephew, Henry V. no less than four hundred thousand marks on his crown and other regalia. Rymer, vol. ix. p. 405, 416.

had been employed at most courts in Europe, where he distinguished himself by his address and politeness †. He was, indeed, universally beloved and esteemed by all who knew him, either abroad or at home; and the great estate which he possessed, the number of his relations, all of whom were persons of considerable consequence, joined to the strength of his alliances, gave him a greater national interest in the country of England than, perhaps, any other subject, not immediately of the royal blood, then enjoyed.

The other personages of note, though inferior to these, who composed the young king's court, were Richard, duke of York, son of Richard, earl of Cambridge, who was beheaded at Southampton, and grand-son of Edmund of Langley, duke of York, a prince who afterwards claimed the crown as heir of Mortimer: Humphrey, earl of Stafford, son of Anne of Gloucester, daughter to the unfortunate duke whom Richard II. caused to be murdered at Calais: Henry, viscount Bouchier, afterwards created earl of Essex, uterine brother to the earl of Stafford, and married to Isabel, the duke of York's sister: Ralph Neville, earl of Westmoreland, allied to the royal family by his marriage with Jane Beaufort, sister to the duke of Exeter and the bishop of Winchester: Thomas Courtenay, earl of Devonshire, married to the sister of the earl of Somerset: Henry, lord Talbot, who had espoused the sister of the earl of Essex: Henry Holland, earl of Huntingdon, descended from an uterine sister of Richard II. Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland: and John Fitz Alan, earl of Arundel.

Having thus prepared the way to a clearer understanding of the ensuing scene of action, by this short account of the principal persons concerned in public affairs, we shall now continue our history.

It would seem that the death of Henry V. was concealed for some time; at least the news of it arrived so slow in England, that no step was taken towards recognizing the rights of his infant son till a month after his decease; for we find by the public records, that it was not till the twenty-ninth of September that the duke of Gloucester, at that time regent of the realm in the absence of the duke of Bedford, in consequence of the news of king Henry's death, issued writs in the new king's name for a parliament to meet on the twenty-ninth of November following. Two days after, viz. the first of October, 1422, young Henry being carried to London, was proclaimed there, not being full nine months old when he ascended the throne.

The parliament meeting according to appointment, made several regulations for the better exercise of the government. Thomas Langley, bishop of Durham, was appointed chancellor of England; William Rendraffe lord high-treasurer; and John Stafford keeper of the privy-seal. It appears, however, that Henry's dying request was not very strictly attended to, for, notwithstanding his verbal declaration, appointing Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, regent of England during the young king's minority, the two houses thought fit to confer that important post on the elder brother, John, duke of Bedford; but, at the same time, the duke of Glo-

cester was fixed upon to supply that high office in his absence, and allowed to assume the same title. Not approving the title of Regent, Tutor, Guardian, or any other which imported power in a high degree, lest it might be abused, they chose that of Protector and Defender of the Realm and Church of England, and chief Counsellor of the King; at the same time assigning a salary of eight thousand marks per annum for the support of this dignity. The duke of Bedford being then beyond the seas, the said title and salary were conferred on the duke of Gloucester, to be by him had and received in absence only of the aforesaid duke: at the same time Gloucester was constituted lord-chamberlain and high-constable of England.

To guard against any encroachment, under colour of a title which, if it conveyed no authority, was, however, very pompous and high-sounding, they appointed a council, by whose advice all the affairs of the kingdom were to be administered, the protector having no prerogative in respect of its resolutions, but that of a double voice in case of an equality. This important point being established, they made some other regulations touching sheriffs, bailiffs, and justices of the peace; and having continued the tonnage and poundage, with the subsidy on wool, for two years longer, they broke up, on the eighteenth of December. Before they rose, however, they appointed governors to take care of the king's person and education: these were Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter, and his brother Henry, bishop of Winchester and cardinal, the king's great-uncles.

While these matters were under consideration, advice came of some commotions in Wales and the neighbouring counties, raised probably by the Mortimer interest in that part of the country. These disturbances appear to have been somewhat serious, since we find commissioners appointed to enquire into, and suppress them. In all probability this writ had the desired effect, as we hear of no consequences that attended these insurrections*.

Thus was the infant son of Henry V. placed in quiet possession of the throne after his father, notwithstanding there was a person then living in the kingdom (Richard, duke of York, son of the late earl of Cambridge), who, as undoubted heir to the families both of York and Mortimer, was certainly the nearest in blood from Edward III. to the crown of England. But it is now time to turn our eyes towards France, and see what was transacted there in consequence of the death of its conqueror.

Charles VI. survived his son-in-law but fifty-five days, dying at Paris on the twenty-first of October, 1422, and his death occasioned a total revolution in the affairs of that kingdom. Many of the French nobility, who had considered themselves as obliged in duty to obey the king, without enquiring strictly whether his commands were conducive to the interests of their country, now looked upon themselves as under the same obligation to the dauphin, notwithstanding the treaty of Troye, which they considered as extorted from their late weak sovereign by force and fraud.

† While this nobleman was governor of Calais, he entertained the emperor Sigismund, in his way to England, with so much civility and gallantry, that his imperial majesty, on his arrival here told king Henry V. that no Christian king could boast of a knight equal to him for wisdom, good-breeding, and courage;

and that if all courtesy was lost, it might be found in the earl of Warwick; who from thence was afterwards called the Father of Courtesy. Dugdale's Warwicksh. p. 327.

* Rymer, vol. x. p. 253—268. Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. VI. n. 16, 24, 25, 41. Ibid. 2 Hen. VI. n. 15.

The dauphin, though his interest was lower than ever, was yet master of the counties of Berry, Bourbon, Languedoc, Lyonnois, Forrez, Auvergne, a great part of Xaintonge, Poictou, with the earldoms of Comminges and Armagnac, bordering on the Pyrenees. He was extremely well served both by his officers and ministers, and his accession to the crown could not fail of having a great effect in his favour.

The duke of Bedford was too sagacious not to foresee the consequences that must naturally result from such a change in the face of affairs, and therefore, the instant Charles VI. expired, he proclaimed Henry VI. king of France, and, agreeable to the will of his late brother, assumed to himself the title of regent of that kingdom; he also caused a new great-seal to be made, with the arms of France and England impaled, and on the other side the effigies of the young king, holding a sceptre in each hand. He next assembled at Paris all the great men attached to the English interest, and, in a set speech, exhorted them to acknowledge young Henry for their sovereign. This they immediately complied with, swearing allegiance to Henry as king of France, and doing homage to him, in the person of the regent, for the lands they held of that crown; and the same security was afterwards exacted from all the towns that were under the dominion of the English: at the same time the city of Paris sent deputies to London, to perform the same ceremony to the infant king in person, and congratulate him on his accession to the crowns of the two kingdoms. These deputies were ordered to take the Low Countries in their route, and exhort the duke of Burgundy to adhere steadily to his alliance †.

We have already taken notice of the places yet in the possession of the dauphin; on the other hand, Henry was in possession of Normandy and Guienne, Picardy, Champagne, la Brie, the Isle of France, and the city of Paris, besides the two Burgundys, Flanders, and Artois, which belonged to the duke of Burgundy, his vassal and ally. The duke of Bedford, who was his regent in France, and, as we have already observed, one of the most accomplished princes in Europe, whether considered as a soldier or a statesman, was assisted by officers alike distinguished for their personal courage and military talents; the chief of these were the duke of Somerset, the earls of Salisbury, Warwick, and Arundel, sir John Fastolf, and sir John Talbot. Hence it appears that the war might have been carried on in all the provinces of France, except Brittany, whose duke, John V. had hitherto observed a strict neutrality, which had greatly enriched his dominions, both in wealth and people. The duke of Bedford, sensible how necessary it was for him to strengthen his political interests by more numerous attachments, gave in charge to the ministers who were to call upon the duke of Burgundy, to use all their endeavours to obtain of the count of Richemont, brother to John, that he would use his interest with that prince to bring him over to the party of England. The count, who was under the strongest obligations to the English court ‡, applied himself so strenuously to com-

ply with the regent's desire, that he at length prevailed with his brother to enter into measures with the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy; and a meeting of these four princes was appointed to be held at Amiens the beginning of the next year, which accordingly took place, and a treaty of alliance was concluded between them against the new king of France, to which the prince of Orange and the duke of Savoy were invited to accede*.

Whilst the duke of Bedford was thus taking every necessary precaution to serve the interests of the king his nephew, the dauphin was no less intent to his. He was at Espalay, a house belonging to the bishop of Puy, when he heard of his father's death; upon which he immediately caused himself to be proclaimed king of France, and repaired to Poitiers, where he was crowned with all the pomp and solemnity which the situation of his affairs would permit, the wayward state of which had no other impression on the young king, but to make him redouble his efforts in regaining his right; and though the season of the year was so far advanced, he found means to make himself master of Meulant, on the Seine, which surrendered to him on the fourth day of January, 1423.

As this place lay in the neighbourhood of Paris, the regent looked upon the reduction of it under his eye, as an insult offered to his arms, and therefore resolved to retake it at any hazard: accordingly, about the beginning of February, he in person formed the siege of it, accompanied by the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, the lords Scales and Poynings, sir John Fastolf, and others of his best officers. As a number of other fortresses in those parts, which were filled with Charles's troops, must be obliged to surrender as soon as Meulant should be retaken, that prince determined to spare nothing to maintain possession of it: he therefore ordered the count d'Aumale, and Stuart of Aubigny, general of the Scottish auxiliaries in the room of the earl of Buchan, then in Scotland, to march to its relief; but whether these officers could not agree about the chief command, or thought the attack impracticable, when they were advanced within a few miles of the place, they suddenly turned short, and marched off, Aumale towards Anjou and Maine, where he commanded for Charles, and the Scots towards their former quarters. This retreat exasperated the garrison so much, that Gravelle, who commanded the place for Charles, ordered the French standards to be torn from the battlements and thrown into the ditch, and instantly delivered up the place||, the surrender of which was followed by that of the fortresses of Marcouffi, Montléri, la Ferté, Milan, Compeigne, and others of lesser note.

This place capitulated on the second of March, and soon after the regent repaired to Amiens, where, on the eighth of April, he concluded the treaty of alliance and confederacy already spoken of; and this alliance was cemented by a marriage between Bedford and Anne, sister of the duke of Burgundy. The former consummated his marriage at Troye, and, in his way to Paris with his consort, took Pont sur Seine by assault. In the

† Monstrelet. Charier, Hist. Charles VII.

‡ Arthur, count de Richemont, brother to the duke of Brittany, was taken prisoner at the battle of Agincourt, in 1415, and carried into England, where he remained till 1420. Mean while the duke, his brother, being seized by the Pen-

thievrian party, he desired king Henry's leave to go to endeavour to free him; which was granted him by that monarch. Rapin. Aët. Pub. vol. x. p. 5, 8.

* Rymer, vol. x. p. 280.

|| P. Daniel, vol. vi. p. 8.

mean time John Montacute, earl of Salisbury, being appointed governor of Champagne and Brie, invested the strong castle of Montaigne, and, leaving the earl of Suffolk to command the blockade of that fortress, undertook in person the siege of Ver-tus, Sefanne, and Epernay, all which he reduced with very little trouble.

The blockade of Montaigne still continuing, and the French king understanding that the earl of Suffolk had but a few troops under his command, ordered Tanneguy de Chatel to attempt to raise the blockade; but this design was defeated by the vigilance of the earl of Salisbury, who obliged the French general to retire behind Maçon, a town in Burgundy, which Charles's troops had surprized; and then the earl of Salisbury, thinking the blockade of Mortaigne secure, turned short, and surprized Crevante, a strong place on the river Yonne, four leagues from Auxerre. Stuart of Aubigny, at the head of a body of Scots, and the count of Ventadour, with a considerable body of French troops in the interest of Charles, were sent by that prince with orders to raise the siege of Crevante, or, if the place was taken before their arrival, to use their utmost endeavours to recover it out of the hands of the allies. They punctually followed their orders, by investing the place a few days after it had surrendered to the English; and there being but a scarcity of provisions, it was soon reduced to great extremity.

The dukes of Burgundy and Bedford hearing of the distress of the besieged, sent a strong reinforcement to the earl of Salisbury, under the command of Toulangeon, marshal of Burgundy, with orders at all events to relieve the place. Toulangeon found means to force the enemy to a battle, which was fought with great obstinacy by both sides; but victory declared for the English, who routed the French, with the loss of twelve hundred of their own people, and near three thousand Scots slain in the field, besides prisoners, among which were the Scottish general and the count of Ventadour. In consequence of this victory, Mortaigne was immediately surrendered to Suffolk; Coucy, and other places about Maçon, submitted soon after; and, towards the end of the year, Crotoy and Guise, the only strong holds that remained to Charles in Picardy, capitulated for a surrender, if not relieved before the month of March following, when they were accordingly delivered.

These military achievements were greater than could be reasonably expected, after two such blows as the English interest had received in France, by the deaths of Henry V. and Charles VI. but the duke of Bedford well foresaw, that, without the utmost circumspection, they must be but transitory; the French in general were untractable under their new government; a young prince, expelled his native throne by the rebellion of his own subjects, and by the arms of strangers, could not fail to excite the compassion of all his people whose hearts were unbiassed by faction; and the present situation of France naturally engaged the attention even of the meanest persons, and became a common topic of conversation: add to this, that he found the earl of Richemont to be a froward, haughty, and troublesome ally, and withal of a brave, intriguing, and intrepid disposition: again, it was

far from being improbable, notwithstanding the late advantages gained by the English, that the war might take an untoward turn for them, should the Scottish regency continue to supply the French king with troops: he reflected upon the ill success which had attended the detaining the king of Scotland a prisoner in the English court, which had been done from a supposition that the Scots would be deterred from joining the French in a war against England, as long as their king was a prisoner there; but the late hearty assistance they had given Charles proved this to be a mistaken notion. The Scottish nobility had always been desirous of getting their king home; but the duke of Albany, late regent, had found means to elude all their efforts for that purpose: Murdoch, earl of Fife, had succeeded his father in that post; and finding the people in general refractory under his government, he resolved to divest himself of so ungrateful an office, and accordingly, concurring with the desires of the great men, he sent ambassadors to England, in July this year, to treat for the king's liberty. This perfectly well corresponded with a project the duke of Bedford had formed; who being made acquainted with this application, gave it as his positive advice, that the wisest method of the English court would be to consent to the release of king James upon reasonable terms, since they already experienced how little the Scottish regency was affected to their cause; and that much might be expected from James's friendship, when laid under this obligation for his crown and liberty.

The council in England concurred with the duke in his reasons, and commissioners were appointed to manage the conferences for the release of the Scottish king: those on the side of the English were, Thomas, bishop of Durham, chancellor of England: Philip, bishop of Worcester; Henry Piercy, earl of Northumberland; and Mr. John Wadeham: those for Scotland were, William, bishop of Glasgow; George, earl of Marche; James Douglas of Balgeny, his brother; Patrick, abbot of Cambuskenneth; John, abbot of Balmerino; sir Patrick Dunbar, of Bole; sir Robert Lauder, of Eddrington; Mr. George Borthwick, archdeacon of Glasgow; and Patrick Houston, canon of Glasgow*.

The conferences were opened at the city of York in the beginning of September; but it was the tenth of February, 1424, before all matters were settled, and then they came to the following agreement.

"I. That the king of Scotland, and his heirs, as an equivalent for his entertainment while in England, should pay to the king of England, and his heirs, at London, in the church of St. Paul, by equal proportions, the sum of forty thousand pounds.

"II. That the first payment, amounting to the sum of ten thousand marks, should be made six months after the king of Scotland's entering his own kingdom: that the like sum should be paid the next year, and so on during the space of six years, when the sum would be cleared, unless after payment of forty thousand marks, the last payment of ten thousand should be remitted at the entreaty of the most illustrious Thomas, duke of Exeter.

* Rymer, vol. x. p. 294, 296.

"III. That

“ III. That the king of Scotland, before entering his own kingdom, should give sufficient hostages for performance on his part. But, in regard that the Scots plenipotentiaries had no instructions concerning hostages, it was agreed,

“ IV. That the king of Scotland should be at Branspath, or Durham, by the first of March next, where he should be attended by the nobles of his blood, and other subjects, in order to fix the number and quality of the hostages.

“ V. That, to cement and perpetuate the amity of the two kingdoms, the governor of Scotland should send ambassadors to London with power to conclude a contract of marriage between the king of Scotland and some lady of the first quality in England.

In pursuance of the last article, other two persons were added to the Scottish commissioners, and all together proceeded in a body to London, where they gave security upon the four principal boroughs in Scotland, viz. Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen, for the payment of the forty thousand pounds, and stipulated the hostages, the number of which were twelve, all of the noblest blood in Scotland, their names as follow: David, eldest son and heir of the earl of Athol; Thomas, earl of Murray; Alexander, earl of Crauford; Duncan Campel, lord of Argyll; William Douglas, son and heir of the lord of Dalkeith; Gilbert, son and heir of William Hay, constable of Scotland; Robert Keith, marshal of Scotland; Robert Erskine, lord of Erskine; Walter, lord Dirleton; Thomas Boyd, lord of Kilmarnock; Patrick Dunbar, lord of Carnoch; Alexander, lord of Gordon †.

Besides these hostages, who were actually delivered up to the English, the following were appointed to supply their places, in case the former should fail by death or otherwise: William, lord of Abernethy; Hugh Fraser, lord of Lovat; James Dunbar, lord of Frendraught; Andrew Gray, lord of Fowlis; Robert Livingston, lord of Livingston; John Lindsay; Robert de Lyle; James, lord of Calder; James Hamilton, lord of Cadrow; William, lord of Ruthven; William Oliphant, lord of Aberdalgy; Robert, son and heir of Robert de Maitland; David Menzies; David Ogilvie; Patrick, son and heir of lord John Lyon.

At the same time it was determined, that the king of Scotland should marry Jane Beaufort, daughter to the earl of Somerset (who was a son, by the second marriage, of John of Ghent), and niece to the duke of Exeter and the bishop of Winchester. This match was procured by that prelate, in order to strengthen and support his family by an alliance with Scotland; and the English council agreed to abate ten thousand marks of the ransom-money, by way of equivalent for the lady's portion. Then the commissioners of both nations signed a truce for seven years, namely to the first of May, 1431, by which James engaged to recall his troops from the French service by the month of June following, though he could not promise they would obey his orders. Thus James, after a captivity of seventeen years, was restored to his kingdom ‡. This treaty was confirmed by the parliament, which met on the twentieth of October; and having sat to the seventeenth of December, was adjourned to the fourteenth of January.

In this parliament a new council was appointed for the government of the realm, by the arts and intrigues of the bishop of Winchester, who, having had some dispute with the duke of Gloucester, raised an opposition in parliament, with a view to restrain the power of the protector by extending that of the council, which was accordingly enlarged.

Whilst the king of Scotland's liberty was negotiating in England, the war was continued in France with various success. In the beginning of the year 1424, Charles received a reinforcement of one thousand men at arms, and five hundred lances, from Philip Maria Visconti, duke of Milan; and these troops invading the Bajolois, not only saved the town of Bouffiere from falling into the hands of Toulangeon, marshal of Burgundy, but also attacked that general, who was taken prisoner with seven hundred men; but he was immediately exchanged for Stuart, the Scottish general, who had been taken at the battle of Crevante. Beaumont upon the Oyse, in the Isle of France, was also seized by a party of French royalists; but, on the other hand, the English and Burgundians surprized Gallion upon the Seine, and la Charité upon the Loire, the taking of which had, during the war, given Charles so many advantages. Several other actions of lesser note passed between the two parties; but the duke of Bedford could not, without great chagrin, behold his plan of clearing all the provinces north of the Loire of Charles's troops, attended with greater difficulties than he imagined; for he had no sooner subdued a place by force, than the enemy retook it by surprize, so that his task appeared to be equally laborious and ineffectual.

The French king was not a little indebted for the success of his arms to the bravery and conduct of his Scottish auxiliaries, of which he had at this time no less than fifteen thousand in his service: Charles looked upon them as his deliverers, nay as his guardians; he distinguished their officers by very particular marks of favour; the earl of Buchan he had already made constable of France, and he now created general Stuart, baron of Aubigny and count (or earl) of Evreux; and on the earl of Douglas, who had lately come over from Scotland with a fresh reinforcement of troops, and who was esteemed the most accomplished general of his time, he conferred the dignity of duke, by the title of duke of Terouranne: and so great was his opinion of the fidelity of the Scots, that he chose a company of them for the guard of his own person, which still subsists in name, and was actually existing till the time of James I. of England.

In the month of June the regent duke received advice that one of Charles's partizans had reduced Ivry, on the frontiers of Picardy; and as this was a place of great consequence, he was determined at any rate to regain it, while Charles was equally as determined to preserve it, that he might still continue the war to the north of the Loire. The regent marched thither in July, and made his dispositions so well, that the governor of the place agreed to surrender it, if not relieved by the fifteenth of August. Charles, apprized of this agreement, ordered the flower of his troops to assemble, determined to succour the place, though at the hazard of a battle. His forces rendezvoused in le Maine,

† Ibid. p. 327—333.

‡ Abercromby. Buchanan.

and, upon a muster, were found to amount to twenty thousand men, composed of French, Scots, and Italians. The command of this army belonged to the earl of Buchan, as constable of France; but he being willing to resign that honour to his father-in-law, the earl of Douglas (duke of Terouranne) Charles sent that nobleman a patent, constituting him his lieutenant-general of the whole kingdom, otherwise the constable could not have been under his command. Douglas ordered the army to advance towards Chartres; but when they came within six leagues of Ivry, they heard that the place was surrendered, upon which the constable went to reconnoitre the English camp, which he found too strongly fortified to be attacked without evident disadvantage, and therefore the army was ordered to wheel round, and coming to Vernueil, a town belonging to the duke of Alençon, but then in the hands of the English faction, the place was summoned to surrender. On this occasion the French made use of an artifice, that had the desired effect; the messengers sent to the garrison had orders to tell them, that the constable and the earl were just come from gaining a complete victory over the regent duke, whose army they had cut in pieces, and that himself had with great difficulty escaped out of the field with a few followers only: this tale gained such belief, that the place immediately surrendered, and Douglas filled it with a garrison of French loyalists.

Upon the first news of the march of the French army, the regent sent to the earl of Salisbury for a reinforcement, and that nobleman joined him on the fourteenth of August, with a thousand horse and two thousand archers, which made the English army about fifteen thousand effective men: thus strengthened, the duke of Bedford advanced towards Vernueil, in order to force the enemy to an engagement.

When he arrived within a league of their camp, he sent a herald to offer Douglas battle, which the latter did not seem to decline, but without moving from his situation. This was some disappointment to the duke of Bedford, who had founded his principal hopes in the impetuosity of the French: but it was not long before those hopes were amply satisfied. The regent had pitched upon an advantageous spot for the field of battle, flanked by a hill, on which he posted a body of two thousand archers, and furnished his other soldiers with sharp stakes, like those that were used by the army of Henry V. at Agincourt, to oppose the onset of the French cavalry. Douglas, having surveyed the situation of the English camp, insisted that it would be the interest of the French to stand on the defensive, and not begin the charge, as the enemy had chosen their own ground, where they could not be attacked without manifest disadvantage. This prudent advice, which was seconded by the constable and all the officers of experience, appeared to Aymer, viscount of Narbonne, an headstrong and imprudent man, as the effect of fear or cowardice; nor did he spare to upbraid the commanders, in express terms, with dishonouring by their tameness the arms of France. Vain of superior numbers, he indulged that failing of headstrong impetuosity which has so often proved fatal to his nation: he

was joined by all the young nobility, who were eager to signalize themselves; no reasons could be heard, no remonstrances were attended to: at length Narbonne, snatching up one of the standards of the division, exclaimed, "Let all who love their sovereign, follow me!" and rushing out of the line, he advanced at the head of all those under his command to begin the charge. Douglas and the constable, finding their advice neglected, and their authority despised, had now no other concern but how to perish as honest men and brave soldiers, as they foresaw inevitable destruction must be the consequence of this headlong rashness in their troops*.

The English were that day commanded by the duke of Bedford in the rear, with the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk on the wings; the regent had ordered all his horse to dismount, and placed between the main body and camp, which was the rear, forming round them a kind of barricade with the carriages of the army: in this position he waited the attack of the French. Before these latter came in sight of the English, their breath and spirits were almost exhausted; their generals in vain made an attempt to form them into some kind of order, they still refused to listen to any advice, and the French and Scots seemed to vie with each other in rushing forward to their own destruction.

Notwithstanding this disorder, their attack was so furious that a body of their horse on the right wing broke the opposite wing of the English, and advanced as far as the barricade which surrounded the horses, behind which was placed a body of archers, which received them with so terrible a discharge, as obliged them to wheel round and give back; while those that were posted upon the hill so overwhelmed the Italians, who were marching up in another line, that they betook themselves to flight in the very beginning of the battle, leaving the Scots and French to stand the whole brunt of the fight. This gave the body of reserve an opportunity of forming themselves, and advancing to the support of the main battle, where the fight had continued with great obstinacy for three hours, without either side being able to challenge the advantage; but this seasonable reinforcement fixed victory entirely on the side of the English: the French horse, as usual, were driven back by the arrows of the English bow-men upon their own foot, and a dreadful scene of slaughter ensued.

Douglas and the constable, seeing their defeat inevitable, scorned to survive the disgrace, and rushing into the thickest of the fight, fell in the midst of their enemies. Besides these two great generals, the headstrong Narbonne, author of this their fatal overthrow, the son of earl Douglas, the counts of Aumale, Ventadour, and de Tonnerre, the lords Grandville, Manni, Gamaches, and Guetri, with many of Charles's best French and Scottish officers, and a vast number of private gentlemen, with a thousand common soldiers, lay dead upon the field of battle; while the duke of Alençon, the bastard his brother, the marshal de la Fayette, and the lords Gaucourt and Mortemar, were taken prisoners. Nor did the English obtain a bloodless victory; they lost about seventeen hundred of their best men, who were left dead upon the spot, and

* P. Daniel, Hist. de France, vol. vi.

among them some officers of distinction*. The day after this victory Vernueil surrendered to the conquerors; and there being no longer any army to oppose the English in the field, they made themselves masters, one after another, of the strong fortresses of Rambouillet, Mayenne le Juhez, Vitry en Patrois, and la Ferté Bernard, with other places in the neighbourhood.

The situation of Charles VII. was now deplorable: he had lost the bravest of his troops, and the flower of his nobility, by the late fatal defeat: his party was dispirited; he had scarce money sufficient for the common necessities of life, much less to pay an army; and he could raise none from among his subjects, without causing a general discontent, which, in his present circumstances, it was in a particular manner his interest to avoid. We may form some idea of his distress from what the French historians tell us, that he was reduced to make the silver mark pass for ninety livres in the places subject to his command, instead of half a livre, which it was formerly worth. But at the very time that his affairs seemed beyond the possibility of being restored, fortune, or rather Providence, that prescribes bounds to all mortal grandeur and depression, interfered in his behalf. The duke of Bedford was called off from pursuing his victory, by the necessity he found himself under of meeting the duke of Burgundy at Paris, in order to try at accommodating matters between the dukes of Brabant and Gloucester, which last had landed about that time, with a strong army of English at Calais, from whence he had marched and taken possession of the chief towns of Hainault, on the following occasion.

Jaquelina, daughter of William V. duke of Bavaria, and heiress of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, had been married to John, dauphin of France; and, after his death, compelled by his mother to wed the duke of Brabant, whose person she detested. Indeed this aversion seems to have been reciprocal; and after they had lived together for some time, in continual dissention, she made an elopement to England, where she was hospitably received by the late king, and through his mediation, applied to the pope for a divorce; but as this could not be obtained, she gave her hand to the duke of Gloucester, by virtue of a licence from the anti-pope Benedict, and the nuptials had been celebrated in England with great solemnity, soon after the accession of the present king. It was about the end of October this year, that the duke of Gloucester carried over his consort, with an army of five thousand men, to take possession of her hereditary estates.

This marriage was, indeed, universally considered as a glaring outrage upon justice and decency; but the duke of Brabant, husband of this lady, must have been less than man not to have resented this double injury, both to his honour and property. Accordingly, he not only put himself in a posture of defence, but applied to the duke of Burgundy for assistance. This prince who thought no other than that the duke of Gloucester was come over with troops to reinforce his brother the regent,

was not a little surprized when he heard that the duke had traversed his dominions, and that all the towns of Hainault had submitted, and taken the oath of allegiance to him and Jaquelina; and resolved to succour the injured duke of Brabant to the utmost of his power: however, unwilling to come to a rupture with the duke of Bedford, whom he knew to be strongly connected with his brother of Gloucester, he desired a meeting with the former, at Paris, in order to engage him to interfere his good offices, and even authority, to prevail with the duke of Gloucester to desist from his unjust pursuit. The regent readily agreed, and an interview was held at Amiens, between the four dukes, in which the regent laboured to persuade Gloucester to agree to an accommodation, or at least a cessation of arms, till he could be supported with the united strength of France and England: but the latter, blinded by love and ambition, was deaf to all remonstrances, so that the conferences were broke up entirely through his obstinacy.

The duke of Burgundy, justly irritated at the behaviour of the duke of Gloucester, put a stop to the career of his own successes against the French king, that he might the better check the progress of the other; and he was continually at war, either in Hainault, Zealand, or Holland, against the partizans of Jaquelina and the English succours sent her, till the year 1426, the repeated endeavours of Bedford not having been able in all that time to bring his brother Gloucester to reason, though the parliament had earnestly recommended an accommodation. To make matters still worse, the duke of Gloucester, thinking his honour injured by some expressions that the duke of Burgundy had let fall in the heat of his passion, sent to challenge him to single combat, and the very day was appointed; but the matter never came to that issue. Those differences, however, threw a total damp upon the English affairs in France, which the regent duke saw with the utmost concern, but without being able to remedy the evil: for by Gloucester's employing the forces, which should have been sent to reinforce his brother Bedford, in his wars in Flanders, and the army of the latter being mostly divided among a great number of castles and towns, which he was obliged to garrison, he found himself disabled from prosecuting his conquests. Thus, by the obstinacy and ambition of the duke of Gloucester, and his duchess, the English interest in France, after the battle of Vernueil, was able to make no great effort for pushing the war over the Loire.

In this dilemma the regent duke resolved to pass over to England, in order, if possible, to put matters upon such a footing as to be insured of a better supply for carrying on the war in France. His presence was likewise necessary for composing some differences which had arisen among the ministry here: the bishop of Winchester, who was a prelate of great capacity and experience, but of a turbulent overbearing disposition, had quarrelled with the duke of Gloucester, and their dispute threatened some serious consequences; nay, the duke of Gloucester had gone so far as to draw up a set of ar-

* By the report of Montjoy, French king at arms, and the English heralds then present, there were slain of French and Scots nine thousand seven hundred, and of the English two thousand one hundred: two hundred gentlemen, besides many

common soldiers, were taken prisoners. This battle, which Rapin, Carte, and others place on the sixteenth and seventeenth of August, is said by Hall to have been fought on the twenty-seventh of that month. Hall, p. 90.

ticles by way of impeachment against the bishop. The regent duke hoped, by his presence and authority, to quiet these jealousies and distractions, and accordingly prepared for his voyage.

But before he left France, he gave orders to the earl of Salisbury to make fresh attempts for reducing all places which held for the French king in Maine and Anjou. Accordingly that nobleman, assisted by the lord Scales, sir John Montgomery, and sir John Fastolf, putting himself at the head of the few troops that could be spared, had for some time surprising success: the consternation of the French, after their late defeat, was such, that they gave up, almost without resistance, the strong castles of Beaumont le Vicomte, Teune, Sally, Osce, Roufie, Vafce, and about twenty more, in less than a month. At last, the earl laid siege to Mans itself, the principal city of the province, and being provided with a dreadful train of artillery for those days, he soon obliged the garrison to capitulate. The taking of this place was attended with great advantages to the English, and opened the way for the conquest of St. Susanne, the inhabitants of which were obliged to pay two hundred thousand crowns, barely to have their lives spared.

In the course of this year, sir John Mortimer, uncle to Edmund, earl of Marche, having been some time prisoner in the Tower, was charged with attempting to make his escape, in order to raise an insurrection in Wales. It was pretended that his design was to proclaim the earl of Marche, his nephew, or, upon his refusal, to proclaim himself. Whether his crime was proved, or it was thought proper to make away with a person who, in case he had escaped, might have done mischief, he was condemned and executed*.

The earl of Marche, his nephew, did not long survive him: he died in Ireland about the latter end of the year, without issue. By his death the title of earl of Marche, and his right to the crown of England, from which he was excluded by the election of Henry IV. descended to Richard Plantagenet, his nephew, son of Anne his sister, and the earl of Cambridge, beheaded at Southampton, in the beginning of the reign of Henry V. This young nobleman, who was at this time under age, was afterwards created duke of York, as will be seen in its place†.

In April, 1425, a parliament was held at Westminster, partly with a view to accommodate matters between the bishop of Winchester and his brother of Gloucester, who, in consequence of a short truce made with the duke of Brabant, had come over to England, leaving his duchess Jaqueline behind him, in Mons, whose citizens had engaged themselves by a solemn oath to guard her safely with their lives. The bishop of Winchester had gained so great an ascendancy in England, by the absence of the duke, that he was in this parliament made chancellor, in the room of the bishop of Durham, and opened the session in that quality: at the same time sir Thomas Newton was chosen speaker for the house of commons.

In this parliament a fierce dispute happened between John Mowbray, earl-marshal, and Richard, earl of Warwick, about precedency: this affair was very puzzling and intricate; but the earl-marshal demanding to be restored in blood to the

dukedom of Norfolk, the same was granted, which of consequence gave him the precedency over his antagonist.

This difference, however, was but of small importance compared to that which was daily increasing between the duke of Gloucester and the bishop of Winchester, and was near producing a civil war, insomuch that the parliament found itself under a necessity of renewing the antient writs for prohibiting any person repairing in arms to the house during the session, which with some few adjournments continued to the end of the year. Notwithstanding this prohibition, the violent party-men, though they laid aside their arms, furnished themselves with clubs or batts, and had frequent rencounters, which as frequently ended in blood: for this reason this parliament was called the Parliament of Battis.

Notwithstanding these private feuds, this session distinguished itself by its zeal for the glory of the infant king: all the necessary supplies were voted, and many salutary acts passed for the advancement of commerce, the improvement of agriculture, and other matters conducive to the ease and benefit of the subjects, all which will be found under the head of Laws belonging to this period.

Towards the latter end of this year, and not before, the duke of Bedford arrived in England; and taking upon him the charge of protector, by his authority put a stop to the fatal quarrels that had disturbed the peace of the realm: he at first endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between the duke and the bishop; but finding his own influence insufficient for that purpose, he persuaded them to submit their dispute to the decision of parliament; and, after the matter had been fully discussed, they were both obliged to promise before that respectable body, to bury all their quarrels in utter oblivion: this did not happen till the month of March, in the following year. But it is now time to resume the affairs of France, and trace those causes which brought about the total decay of the English power there.

Whilst the war in Hainault was carrying on between the partizans of Jaqueline and those of the duke of Brabant, her former husband, assisted by the duke of Burgundy, which suspended all military operations in France, Charles was not an indolent spectator of these events: he resolved to improve this lucky diversion to his own advantage, and he could think of no method so effectual as that of detaching the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany from their alliance with the English. He knew that the former had openly broke with the duke of Gloucester, and that the other was wholly under the influence of his brother, the count de Richemont, who entertained a secret dislike to the duke of Bedford, for having refused him the command of the allied army during his absence in England, and conferred that post on the earl of Warwick. Charles was likewise encouraged and assisted in this scheme by some accidents which fell out about the time we are speaking of, and of which the following may serve as a concise account.

The duke of Burgundy had lately married Bona of Artois, widow of the earl of Nevers, and sister to the count of Eu, who still remained a prisoner in England, and half-sister to the count of Clermont;

* See Cotton's Abridgement, p. 568.

† Hall. Stowe.

princes zealously attached to the Valois family: moreover, the duke of Burgundy had procured a bull from pope Martin V. which not only annulled the contract of Jaqueline with the duke of Gloucester, but likewise declared, that, even in case of the duke of Brabant's death, it should never be lawful for her to marry an English nobleman. Gloucester, thus disappointed in his hopes, espoused another lady, of inferior quality, named Eleanor Cobham, daughter to Reginald lord Cobham, of Sterborough, who had been his mistress: the news of this coming to the ears of Jaqueline, she threw herself entirely upon the protection of the duke of Burgundy, and even put on the appearance of a reconciliation with her husband, the duke of Brabant; and he dying shortly after, she appointed the duke of Burgundy her heir, in case she died without male issue, and promised never to marry without his consent. The great accession of dominion likely to fall to him by this compact, as it alarmed the English, so it not a little raised the duke's idea of his own consequence; and the quarrel between him and the duke of Gloucester still rankling at his heart, he affected on all occasions to treat the English with a superciliousness which they could not bear, and which gave rise to frequent disputes, so that it was easy to foretel that a total dissolution of their alliance might be brought about without a miracle.

Charles was not wanting, by his intrigues and emissaries, to make the most of appearances so favourable to his interest: he knew, as we have already observed, that the count de Richemont was incensed against the duke of Bedford; he was likewise well acquainted with the pride and vanity of the count, which he took care to flatter in the manner most likely to gain him. The staff of constable of France had not been disposed of, since the earl of Buchan's death, and Charles thought it the most proper bait he could lay before the count's eyes, at the same time causing him to be told how great an esteem he had for him, and that he should deem himself invincible if he had him at the head of his army. This was attacking Richemont in the most sensible part; he now thought he had a glorious opportunity of triumphing over the duke of Bedford, who had so scornfully refused him the first command in his absence: in a word, he yielded to the solicitations of Charles's emissaries; he accepted of the constable's staff, and even undertook to bring over his brother, the duke of Brittany, to the interest of Charles, provided that prince would banish from his councils Louvet, one of the principal authors of the Penthievrian confederacy against the duke.

Charles accordingly declared him constable of France; and next set about founding the duke of Burgundy, on whom he thought he should easily prevail, considering how highly he was exasperated against the English government, for supporting the duke of Gloucester in the affair of Hainault; but in the course of these negotiations the French monarch found that the duke, notwithstanding his resentments against Gloucester and the English in general, had not so entirely forgotten his father's assassination, as to listen readily to proposals from the author of his murder; and the bishops of Puy and Chartres, who had been sent by Charles with a *carte blanche* to the duke of Burgundy, could make very little impression upon him: in vain did

they plead that Charles was innocent of the blood of his father; or that, if he had any knowledge of, or part in it, his youth at that time was to be considered, and that he had been under the guidance of evil counsellors, by whose pernicious advice he had been misled against his own sentiments. The duke returned no other answer to these excuses, only that when the king should have given proof of his disapprobation of that act, by removing from his presence those evil counsellors, or others who had availed themselves of his authority to perpetrate it, that it would then be a proper time to talk of accommodations. This answer, however, carried with it a kind of insinuation that he was not inexorable, especially as he had already consented to the count de Richemont's acceptance of the office of constable.

Charles, however, was not a little perplexed how to act on this occasion: the obnoxious persons, Tannegui de Chatel and Louvet, had sacrificed all considerations to his service; and he thought he could not, without great ingratitude, give them up to the power of their enemies. Tannegui, however, with a noble fidelity, resolved to rid his master of his embarrassment, and insisted upon quitting his court, and retiring to end his life in some remote corner of the world. Charles could not, without great reluctance, comply with his request; but knowing that his affairs were inevitably ruined, if he could not effect a reconciliation with the dukes of Brittany and Burgundy, both of whom were implacably irritated against the two favourites, he at length yielded to necessity, and dismissed Tannegui de Chatelet to the government of Boquere; but Louvet, deaf to all considerations but that of his own interest, clung as close to his posts as if he had resolved that his own fall should bring along with it that of his master; he even insinuated to Charles, that the views of the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany were no other but to amuse him with false appearances, and at length deliver him up to the English. Distress is ever suspicious; Charles began to think himself betrayed, and took such steps in consequence of this false notion inspired into him by the self-interested favourite, as must have brought instant destruction upon him, had not all the noblemen of his party, by a seasonable boldness, declared that they would abandon him to a man, if he neglected the only means in his power of making the two dukes his friends. Unable to withstand these dispositions, and, perhaps, shamed into compliance by the generous example of Tannegui, Louvet at last retired into Provence; and the constable de Richemont, having gotten rid of a person so obnoxious to him, performed his promise in bringing over his brother, the duke of Brittany, who came and did homage to Charles at Saumur, for his duchy and for the earldom of Montfort, on the seventh of October, 1425; and at the same time concluded a treaty with him, whereby he engaged to assist him in driving out the English from France, upon the following conditions: 1. That Charles should be reconciled to the princes of the blood, particularly to the duke of Burgundy. 2. That he should desist from prosecuting the earl of Penthievre. 3. That the duke of Brittany should have the administration of the finances in the Languedoit, that is, the country between the Loire and Languedoc: but this was provisionally, in case the duke of Bur-

gundy

gundy could not be brought to break with the English likewise*.

The duke of Bedford perceiving the untowardly turn the English affairs were taking in France, hastened his departure for England, that, by removing all animosities there, he might direct the united efforts of all parties against their common enemies. He no sooner arrived, than summoning a parliament, he laid before them the perfidy of the court of Brittany, as he chose to term their conduct, and gave it as his opinion, that the only method to prevent the duke of Burgundy from pursuing the same measures, was to declare war against the Bretons, and to push it with the utmost vigour. This advice of the regent was unanimously approved; and, early in the year 1426, it was agreed by the parliament to declare open war against the duke of Brittany. In what manner the regent duke quieted the animosities between his brother and uncle, we have shewn already, and therefore shall only observe that the bishop seemed still to retain some sentiments of disgust, as we find him in this parliament desiring to be discharged of his office of lord chancellor, which was accordingly done, and the great-seal was delivered to the bishop of London.

In the mean while the earl of Warwick, who had been left governor of France during the absence of the regent duke, took the field in person, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, and, laying siege to Pont Orson, carried it by assault, and afterwards took and fortified the town of St. Jaques de Beauvron, where he fixed his head-quarters, and from thence terribly ravaged the adjacent country, up to the very gates of Rennes. But the constable de Richemont, having gotten together an army of twenty thousand men, put himself at their head, and, entering Brittany, besieged and took Pont Orson, the earl of Warwick not daring to oppose him, on account of his great inferiority of numbers, contented himself with calling in all his detachments, and shut himself up in Beauvron with his little army, amounting to no more than eight thousand men. The constable now thought he was at the eve of gaining great honour, and giving a mortal blow to the English interest by taking this place with the earl shut up therein; this he proposed to do by blockade, from a persuasion that so numerous a garrison must soon be starved into a surrender. But de Giac, who had succeeded Louvet in his place in the king's councils, and had a hatred to the constable, neglecting to send him the necessary supplies of men and money, Richemont despaired of effecting his purpose; yet, mad with the thought of being baffled in his first campaign, he rashly resolved upon a general assault, but the garrison made so brave a resistance, that he was beaten back to his camp, and the besieged, observing the disorder of his ranks, sallied out, and, falling upon them in the rear, put them to flight with great slaughter, taking all their baggage and artillery. The constable was almost at his wits end at this disgrace; he vowed the severest revenge against de Giac, whom he looked upon as the author of it, which he soon after found means to effect, by causing that minister to be strangled and thrown into the Loire. However, he found means after his late defeat to get together the scattered remains of his army, which he led into An-

jou, and made himself master of la Flèche and Galarande belonging to the English.

All this while the regent duke was acting the part of a great and wise prince in England, by endeavouring at a reconciliation of all parties. With this view, having effected an apparent reconciliation between his brother and uncle, he next procured Richard Plantagenet, son of the late earl of Cambridge, to be restored to the honours and estates of the late duke of York, his deceased uncle, and to the honours and estates of the earldoms of Ulster, Marche, and Rutland, belonging to the Mortimer family: at the same time this young lord, with twenty-one other noblemen, together with young king Henry himself, received the honour of knighthood from the hands of the protector.

The earl of Warwick seeing that the constable's defeat before Beauvron, the desertion of his troops, and the broils in Charles's council had disabled the French from appearing with any numbers in the field, formed a design of making himself master of Montargis, the possession of which place would greatly facilitate the regent's intentions of carrying the war on the other side of the Loire: the earl accordingly set down before it with a small but well-provided army, and was assisted in his operations by the earl of Suffolk and his brother, John de la Pole, both experienced officers; and they had taken their measures so well, that the place was reduced to the last extremity, when the bastard of Orleans, afterwards the famous count de Dunois, resolved to march to its relief. This officer was not then above three-and-twenty years of age, but had served with vast reputation in eight campaigns. He was natural son of that duke of Orleans who was assassinated by the duke of Burgundy, and had been bred to the church; but the good genius of France had so ordained it, that he had changed an ecclesiastic for a military habit. With a body of no more than sixteen hundred men, this gallant young leader ventured to approach the English camp, and, with his handful of troops, made so furious an attack upon the enemy, who knew nothing of his approach, that he not only forced his way into the place, but even gave such a severe blow to the English, as obliged the earl of Warwick to abandon the siege. This was the first action which discovered the great military genius of Dunois, and laid the foundation of that high character which he afterwards attained. However, the earl of Warwick lost neither credit nor power by this misfortune; for we find that about this time he was nominated to succeed the duke of Exeter, deceased this year, as governor to the king; but he resided long after this in France.

But the regent Bedford, who returned to France in the beginning of the following year, 1427, soon after his arrival, restored the honour of the English arms by an important enterprize, which he accomplished with a success equal to the wisdom with which he had planned it.

Having privately assembled a numerous army on the frontiers of Brittany, he fell so unexpectedly into that province, that the duke, unable to stop his progress, and the duke of Burgundy still refusing to declare himself against the English, the former was glad to comply with all the terms which the enemy thought proper to prescribe; and, after having

* Du Tillet, p. 309, 363. P. Daniel, tome vi. p. 29.

seen his territories wasted with fire and sword during the whole summer, he at length consented to an interview with the regent duke, and, on the eighth of September, a treaty was signed between them, by which the duke of Brittany not only returned to his old engagements with the English, but also signed the treaty of Troye, acknowledged the duke of Bedford for regent of France, and engaged to pay homage to the king of England for his duchy of Brittany, in the same manner as his predecessors and he himself had used to pay it to the kings of France †.

The regent duke justly looked upon this treaty as a great acquisition; he now saw himself delivered from a troublesome enemy, who lay behind him; he next resolved to make himself master of Pont Orson, the only place which now stood in the way of his carrying the war beyond the Loire; besides, being in the hands of the French (for the reader may remember, that this place had some time before been taken by the constable de Richemont), it gave them an inlet into the dominions of the duke of Brittany, whom he now considered as his ally. Accordingly he sat down before it, but met with a very vigorous resistance, till at length the earl of Warwick coming to his assistance with seven thousand men, he obliged the place to capitulate, and made the lords Rois and Talbot governors of the same, the latter of whom had lately distinguished himself in recovering the town of Mons, which had been taken by treachery by the count de Foix, who was very near making the earl of Suffolk, who commanded therein, prisoner, had he not retired in time to the citadel; but Talbot arriving with a reinforcement, the French were driven out of the place with great loss.

The regent duke, encouraged by his successes, determined to attempt an undertaking, which, if crowned with like success, would give a fatal blow to the affairs of Charles, and pave the way for the final reduction of France. With this view, after committing the care of the army to the earl of Warwick, he set out for Paris, there to concert the operations of the great expedition he meditated.

The bishop of Winchester had by this time got himself dignified with the title of cardinal, which put him under the court of Rome's particular protection, and the pope having also invested him with a legatine power, his credit was so increased, that he had greater sway in parliament than ever. The duke of Gloucester, notwithstanding the late seeming reconciliation, could not without jealousy behold so much weight given to the cardinal; and some reflections which the latter threw out against his authority, as if he was no more than a substitute to the duke of Bedford, nettled Gloucester so much that he made an attempt, in a parliament which was held this year, to increase his authority, either by change of his title into that of regent, agreeable to the declaration of the late king on his death-bed, or by getting some new powers annexed to his office of protector, but without success; for, after deliberating upon the request of the duke, the lords

declared and signed the following resolution, which was delivered to him in form:

“That he ought not to have been protector; notwithstanding, to satisfy his desire, it was granted that he should be protector, and have farther power, as in anno 1 Hen. VI. The which name of protector, or defender, importeth only a personal duty of attendance to the actual defence of the realm against foreign enemies and inward rebels; and not any special government, as properly belongeth to tutors, lieutenants, governors, or regents; for if they had otherwise meant, they then would have expressed more whereby (i. e. by the office of protector) in council, as privy-counsellor, he had pre-eminence; but in parliament he had no other place than as duke of Gloucester; so as they wished him to supply his place in parliament, and to be content with the power aforesaid, for the other they would not grant *.”

We find little else remarkable in this parliament, which was held at Westminster the thirteenth day of October, except an act which passed, that knights of the shire, who, in case of an undue election, were, by 11 Hen. IV. to lose their wages, and sheriffs who, making a false return, were, by the same statute, to pay an hundred pounds, should be permitted to have their answer and traverse to offices before any justices of assize ‡.

It was towards the close of this year that the affair of Jaqueline and Hainault was terminated by that lady's giving herself and dominions up to the duke of Burgundy, in the manner we have already related. The duke of Bedford had all along formed the design of attacking Charles in the provinces beyond the Loire, which had as yet felt nothing of the ravages of the war; but the quarrel between the dukes of Burgundy and Gloucester had forced him to suspend its execution: that dispute being now determined, and the war of Hainault at an end, he knew that all the strength of England might be united for the conquest of France, which seemed the more easy as Charles had not one body of troops in the field, and had lately given himself up to the pleasures of indolence in the arms of a beautiful mistress, named Agnes Sorel, as if he had laid aside all thoughts of opposing the progress of the enemy.

The duke of Bedford therefore assembled the states at Paris early in the year 1428, and proposed to them the laying siege to Orleans, the taking of which would cover all the places on this side the Loire, whilst those beyond that river would be open to the ravages of the English. This enterprise was unanimously approved, and it was resolved to carry it into execution as soon as the earl of Salisbury should arrive with the supplies which were daily expected from England §. It was near Midsummer, however, before that nobleman came over with those troops, which amounted to eight thousand, and, with the forces already in France, were thought sufficient to effect the conquest they meditated. Upon the arrival of the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Warwick departed for England, to take upon him the education of the king.

† Act. Pub. vol. x. p. 378, 385. Du Tillet. p. 363.

* Cotton's Abridgment.

‡ Rot. Parl. 6 Hen. VI. n. 24.

§ This nobleman's reputation as a general, was so high that he contracted to raise six hundred men at arms, six knights bannerets, thirty-four knights bachelors, and seventeen hundred

archers, all well armed and provided; and for their pay he was to have himself six pence three farthings sterling per day, for each knight banneret four pence sterling, for each knight bachelor two pence; for every man at arms twelve pence per day; and each archer six pence: he likewise had an allowance for his artillery. Rymer, vol. x. p. 392.

The arrival of the earl of Salisbury gave prodigious spirits to the English party in France, and the regent duke immediately committed the management of the enterprize against Orleans to his care, who began his march from Paris with a body of sixteen thousand men, about the latter end of July, attended by the earl of Suffolk, the lord Talbot, sir John Fastolf, with other excellent officers. He immediately advanced through the county of Beauffe, and made himself master of all the towns which lay in his way to Orleans †, and sat down before that place on the twelfth of October, upon the side of Sologne, having passed the Loire at Beaugenci.

The French easily perceived, by all the English general's motions, that he meditated the siege of Orleans; accordingly, whilst he was employed in reducing the places he found in his route, they exerted their utmost endeavours to provide for the safety of this important city; and, above all, the count de Gaucourt, an officer of great courage and consummate experience, inviolably attached to the Orleans family, was appointed to defend it. Many other officers of distinction threw themselves into the place; the troops which they brought with them, were accustomed to war, and familiar with dangers, and even the citizens had acquired that military turn which was so much the mode of the age, and were thereby extremely well qualified to assist the regular forces in the defence of the place: add to this, that they burnt with resentment against the English, for making their master, the duke of Orleans, suffer so strict, so long, and so rigorous a captivity. Many new fortifications were raised, and the old ones put in repair; and we are told by Monstrelet, that they pulled down all the most considerable buildings in the suburbs, and among the rest twelve churches and several monasteries, that the English might not make use of them in carrying on the siege. The eyes of all Europe were fixed upon this important object, as it was commonly imagined that the French would exert their utmost efforts in supporting the rights of their king and the independency of their kingdom.

The first operation of the English † was against a bulwark, which the besieged had raised in order to cover the little castle of Tourelles, which defended the head of their bridge over the Loire. This bulwark was attempted by mine; but the English perceiving they were countermined, their general, the earl of Salisbury, desisted from that way of proceeding, and prepared to attach the bulwark with his cannon: these soon ruined all the parapets, and a breach being made sufficiently large, the English prepared to storm it: the French, on the other hand, sensible of the importance of the place, defended it with surprizing courage, and the earl of Salisbury ordered a retreat to be sounded, leaving two hundred and fifty of his best troops dead before the breach. This repulse, however, served only to increase the vigour of the besiegers; they continued their batteries with such incessant fury, that, on the twenty-third of October, the place, being no longer tenable, was abandoned by the French, and the English took possession of it the next day. The besieged, apprehensive of this

event, had erected a new fort between the Tourelles and the town, and had demolished some arches of the bridge between them, leaving only some beams of timber to serve for a communication.

The English having made themselves masters of the Tourelles, erected four great towers, two above the bridge and two below, upon the banks of the Loire, from whence they battered the city itself. But all this time the place was invested only upon the side of Sologne, and all access to it on the side of Beauffe was still open; by this side, two days after the taking of the Tourelles, the bastard of Orleans found means to throw himself into the city with a reinforcement of eight hundred men, accompanied by la Hire and several other gallant adventurers; and the English not being numerous enough to encompass the city, it was continually receiving reinforcements, insomuch that the garrison, which originally consisted of twelve hundred men, was, by the latter end of December, augmented to three thousand. In order to deprive the town of all possibility of receiving future succours in this manner, the earl of Salisbury ordered sixty small forts or redoubts to be built around it; but whilst he was taking a view of the several spots most proper to erect them on, a stone discharged from a cannon of the city took away half his face with the right eye. He was immediately carried to Melun, and died there on the third of November, universally regretted by the army, who thought themselves invincible while under his command. After his death numbers deserted, and returned to England. Thus fell the gallant Thomas Montacute, earl of Salisbury: he was the lineal descendant of Montacute, the favourite general of Edward III. and died without male issue, leaving only one daughter, married to Richard Neville, third son of the earl of Westmoreland, afterwards created earl of Salisbury in right of his wife*.

The death of this nobleman was a great loss to the English; for though they were in no want of able generals, they had few so well experienced in the art of attacking and defending places. However, the siege continued to be carried on with great vigour under the direction of the earl of Suffolk, who now took the command, assisted by the renowned Talbot, one of the greatest captains which that age produced: but as it would be tedious to relate all the particulars of this siege, the attacks, sallies, and daily skirmishes, either to introduce or repulse convoys, I shall therefore content myself with observing in general, that, on the twenty-first of December, a fresh reinforcement of English and Burgundian troops, to the amount of eight thousand, arrived to invest the city on the side of Beauffe, and took post in the suburbs; nevertheless, the army of the besiegers was not yet numerous enough to encompass the whole extent of so large a place, and the forts which had been erected in consequence of the earl of Salisbury's plan, were at such a distance from each other as still allowed the enemy to introduce into the place succours of men with large quantities of ammunition and provision, magazines of which had been prepared at Blois, in order to be thrown into the town

† Such as Nogent le Roi, Neufchatel on the Loire, Puifet and Thuri en Beauffe, Melun upon the Loire, Marignan, Beaugenci, Jargeau, and some other places. P. Daniel, tome vi. Monstrelet.

† Mézerai. P. Daniel. Monstrel. Hist. de Charles VII.

* Dugdale's Baron. vol. i. p. 652. The earl's widow was afterwards married to William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk. His body was brought over to England, and interred at Bisham, in Berkshire. Ibid. p. 653.

as opportunity might offer; the count de Clermont had also taken up his quarters in the last-mentioned town*, with a large body of troops, for the greater security of their own convoys, and for intercepting those of the English in their way from Paris to supply the army with necessaries.

Four months had already been spent in continual sallies and engagements, when the regent ordered a convoy to set out from Paris, with salt-fish, herrings, and the like kind of provisions, for the use of the besiegers in Lent. This convoy was escorted by a guard of seventeen hundred men, under the command of sir John Fastolf, an officer of approved valour and great experience. Charles, who had come to Chinon, a town in Touraine, about twenty leagues distant from Orleans, that he might be nearer to this great scene of action, receiving intelligence of the day on which sir John was to begin his march, ordered the count de Clermont to attack him with three thousand men, on his road to Orleans; and that nobleman, agreeable to his orders, set out at the head of his party, and came in sight of the enemy on the twelfth day of February, 1429, at Rouvrai St. Denis, in Beaufle. Fastolf being apprized of his approach, and knowing himself too weak to encounter in open field an enemy so much superior in numbers, drew up his men behind a barricade of waggons, where they sustained the first shock of the French, who attacked them with their usual impetuosity; but, far from being able to break through this entrenchment, they met with such a warm reception as threw them into confusion, and the English commander, seeing their disorder, caused openings to be made in his barricade, through which his men charged the enemy before they could rally, and routed them with great carnage.

In this action, called the Battle of the Herrings, one hundred and twenty noblemen and officers of distinction lost their lives, besides a great number of common soldiers. The bastard of Orleans (whom we shall henceforth call the count de Dunois) having received notice from Clermont of his intent to cut off this convoy, had found means to get out of Orleans, and join the count with a body of veteran troops; however, he secured his retreat to the town with four hundred men, in good order, accompanied by the count de Clermont.

This defeat, and the untoward face of Charles's affairs in general, had filled that monarch and his whole court with so great a despondency, that it was absolutely proposed in the council to abandon the Orleanois, Touraine, and Berry, and to retreat into Dauphiné: however, willing to try every expedient that was left, and had the air of practicability, he sent Xaintrailles to the regent at Paris, to propose that Orleans might be sequestered into the hands of the duke of Burgundy until the war should be finished. This proposal being rejected by the duke of Bedford, Charles endeavoured to obtain a farther supply of men from Scotland. A treaty of marriage had been some time on foot between the eldest daughter of James I. of Scotland, and the young dauphin of France, Charles's son; and now offers were made to James, to conclude the match on any terms, provided the latter would send six thousand men to the assistance of the loyalists in France; but James, who had, ever since

his restoration, been upon good terms with the English, could not be brought to do any thing till the truce with England was expired. Much about the same time Charles's court seems to have renewed its negociation with the duke of Burgundy, in hopes of detaching him from the interest of England; but that prince was not to be then prevailed on to listen to their proposals.

Charles, thus baffled in every attempt to ward off the impending blow which threatened the loss of his crown and dignity, actually laid aside all thoughts of farther opposition, when his affairs were suddenly restored by the strangest and most unlooked-for revolution ever recorded in history.

In the village of Domremi, or, as Rapin calls it, Dompré, near Vaucouleurs, on the borders of Lorraine, lived a lusty stout virago of a girl, about twenty-seven years of age, named Joan d'Arc, who was servant in a small inn; and, being of a masculine turn, used to take care of the horses, and ride them to water, and do many other offices of that kind, which are generally performed by the ostler. It is allowed on all hands, that the girl's character for chastity remained wholly unimpeached. She possessed a genius superior to most in her class of life. Baudicourt, governor of Vaucouleurs, having seen and conversed with this girl, probably thought her properly qualified for acting the part of a divine missionary, and raise the drooping spirits of the French, naturally of a superstitious disposition, and, in their present situation, eager to catch at any thing that promised safety, and to embrace even the most distant prospect of assistance and relief from the successful arms of the English. This girl having been a proper time in training, and Charles and his court having been apprized of the part she was to play, Baudicourt sent her to that prince, who was then at Chinon. Care was taken, however, to prepare the way for her reception among the people, by spreading the most amazing stories of her supernatural knowledge, intrepidity, virtue, and other qualifications never yet found in a mortal, especially one of her sex. Charles, on his side, being informed that Joan was upon the road, declared that Mary of Avignon, a nun and reputed saint, had formerly told him, that Heaven would deliver France from its enemies by the arm of one of her sex; adding, that, perhaps, this girl was the person designed by Heaven. The opinion of a king is generally that of his courtiers, at least outwardly so; the complaisant infection catches, and each subordinate class thinks, or appears to think, like its superiors; so that every one of the loyal party seemed to be satisfied before-hand, that Joan of Arc had a miraculous call in their behalf. This will clearly account for the most surprizing parts of the following relation.

When she arrived at Chinon, which was about the latter end of March, 1429, she appeared at court in a man's dress, and was received there in the manner most proper to favour the deceit. Being required to give an account of herself, and upon what foundation she built her belief of being divinely commissioned, she made no other reply than by immediately discovering to the king a secret known only to himself and his favourite mistress, Agnes Sorel. The whole court appeared struck

* Of Blois, which is about ten leagues, or thirty miles, to the southward of Orleans. Busching.

with amazement; and this circumstance, so well calculated to strike the minds of the vulgar with admiration, was carefully circulated. However Charles, willing to keep an appearance of impartiality, declared himself not thoroughly satisfied, and that he was resolved to have her examined. The divines who had the interrogating her, declared (upon what grounds I leave the intelligent reader to judge) that her mission was of Heaven. After this she was sent to the parliament of Poitiers, who were of the same opinion. Lastly, to put the matter beyond doubt, the king declared that she had demanded of him, as the instrument of her future victories, a particular sword which lay in the church of St. Catherine de Fierbois, and which, though she had never seen it, she described with such a number of circumstances as plainly proved her supernatural knowledge: in a word, the affair was so well managed, that the French common soldiers, heretofore trembling at the name of the English, by whom they had been so often beaten, now felt themselves revigorated; and believing that Joan of Arc, to whom they gave the name of la Pucelle, or the Maid, was sent from God to save France, they gave credit to all her predictions, and were ready to rush into the most daring actions, from an assurance of victory; while the wench, on her side, kept her imagination warm by incessantly declaring that she had been told by a celestial visitor, that she should relieve Orleans, conduct Charles VII. to be crowned at Rheims, and deliver France from its enemies, the English*.

Thus far, as Mr. Rapin very judiciously observes, here is nothing that appears very strange: it is easy to conceive that the whole might be a contrivance to revive the courage of the French, and perhaps of the king himself, dismayed at so many losses, and beholding the kingdom ready to fall under the dominion of foreigners. But that this contrivance should succeed according to the design of the authors, is what may, indeed, be just cause of admiration, and afford ample matter for moral and political reflections. But to return.

This extraordinary engine being thus prepared, it was resolved to try its force upon the enemy. The sword of St. Catherine was sent for, and presented to Joan; she was armed cap à pié, mounted on a fine steed, and in that military garb suffered to harangue the troops every day. At length she had the command given her of a large convoy of provisions, for the besieged in Orleans. A body of twelve thousand chosen men were prepared to escort it; and, to manage as much as possible the honour of the new female military saint and prophetess in the first enterprize, the lords of Gaucourt, Ray, and St. Severe, the admiral de Crevant, and other excellent officers were ordered to assist her; and Florentine d'Illiers, governor of Chateaudun was sent the day before, with a party of four hundred men at arms, who got into Orleans, and gave the garrison intelligence of the design. A great number of boats were prepared to waft the convoy over the Loire; and when the escorte drew near the town, on the side of Sologne, on the twenty-ninth of April, the count de Dunois made a vigorous sally upon the English on the side of Beaussé, to keep them from sending succours on the other side

of the river, whilst the boats were taking in the provisions destined for the town. The English on that side were too weak to encounter so strong a force as escorted the convoy, and their inaction being interpreted by the French as a terror imprinted on their minds by Heaven, to facilitate the enterprize of the Pucelle, they fell upon the English with enthusiastic fury, who, after a long resistance, were defeated, and obliged to suffer the convoy to pass in. A natural event served not a little to heighten the superstition of the French: during the whole time of the action there was a most violent storm of thunder, lightning, and hail: it may easily be supposed this was taken for the voice of Heaven declaring in their favour. However, Joan made her entry into Orleans amidst the generals, and with the repeated acclamations of the people, who ascribed to her presence the success of that day.

The Maiden was now looked upon with adoration, and the French troops glowed with impatience to retrieve their honour under the auspices of the female champion. She herself appears to have worked her mind into a state of enthusiasm, and to have mistaken the warmth of her own passion to render herself remarkable, for the impulses of heavenly inspiration; for, while she was at Blois in her way to Orleans, she sent the following letter to the regent and the English generals, to be by them communicated to their king.

“ King of England,

“ Give an account to the King of Heaven for his royal blood; surrender up to the Virgin the keys of all the good towns which you have taken by force; she is come from Heaven to vindicate the royal blood of France, and is very ready to make peace, if thou wilt submit to reasonable terms; and, as equity and justice require, restore what thou hast taken from him. King of England, if thou wilt not do this, I am the captain of the wars; and in whatsoever part of France, I shall find any of the English nation, I will drive them out, whether they will or no; but if they will submit, I will take them to mercy: I am come from the King of Heaven to expel you out of France; and if you will not obey, I will make such a slaughter and stir among you, as hath not been these thousand years in France. Believe me, the King of Heaven will give me and my forces such irresistible courage and strength, as you shall not be able to oppose: go, in God's name, into your own country, and be not obstinate to your own opinions, for you shall not hold France of the King of Heaven, the son of the Virgin Mary; but Charles the true heir of it, shall again possess it, and be king of it; for God hath given it him, and he shall enter Paris with a goodly train. You, William Pawlet, earl of Suffolk †; John, lord Talbot; Thomas, lord Scales, lieutenants of the duke of Bedford; and you, duke of Bedford, who callest thyself regent of the kingdom of France, be sparing of innocent blood, and give Orleans its liberty: if you will not do justice to those whom you have wronged, the French will do the noblest exploit that ever was done in Christendom. Mind this wholesome advice given you by God and his Virgin.”

* Histoire de Charles VII. Pasquier Recherches, liv. vi. chap. v.

† An egregious blunder in this pretended prophesy; the earl of Suffolk's name being de la Pole.

And when about to begin her march for Orleans, she commanded the soldiers to make confession; and ordered a standard to be made, which she carried in her hand at the head of the troops, in which God the Father was represented grasping the globe of the earth, encompassed by fleurs de lis: and she insisted, by virtue of her prophetic spirit, that the convoy should enter Orleans on the side of Beaufle; but the count of Dunois, who thought it more prudent to adhere to the rules of military art than to her inspirations, ordered it to approach by the other side of the river, where he knew the weakest part of the English army was posted. This alone is sufficient to shew what the real opinion of men of rank and understanding in France was of Joan's divine mission.

However, not to let the spirit of the soldiery cool after the late event, Joan was sent, on the fourth day of May, to attack the fort of St. Loup, which was one of those the English had raised for the blockade of the place, and after a furious dispute of four hours, carried it sword in hand, against a garrison of twelve hundred men, four hundred of whom were killed in the assault, and, amongst the rest, William Gladdisdale, captain of the fort, and the lords Molings and Poynings. Two days after this action, our heroine proceeded against the fort of St. John, where she met with very little resistance from the English, who had well nigh abandoned it before her arrival. Having secured this conquest, she attacked the fort of London, as it was called, which was the most considerable of all, and took it by storm, after a very obstinate engagement. Encouraged by this success, the troops were led, without giving them the least respite, against the fort of Tourelles, but, for want of day-light, were obliged to postpone the attack till next morning, when the French, with Joan still marching with her standard in the van, began the assault, which lasted fourteen hours without intermission: the French were repulsed four several times, and as often returned to the charge, this extraordinary female always appearing in the foremost ranks. Under her eye the French thought themselves invincible; they performed prodigies of valour, and at length made themselves masters of the fort, when six hundred of the garrison were put to the sword. During the action, Joan was wounded in the neck by an arrow; but instead of discovering the least dismay thereat, she stepped aside, pulled it forth, and returned to the fight as if no such accident had befallen her. But we cannot pass by unnoticed the words of Monstrelet, a French author, who lived in the time of these events, who, in speaking of the Pucelle, thus expresses himself; "Notwithstanding that in these three assaults [of the forts], Joan is reported by common fame to have had the chief command, and the glory of them; yet they were chiefly performed by those noble knights and captains, who had so bravely defended Orleans." And in another place he says, speaking of the march of the French army, after

the raising of the siege of Orleans, "Joan was ever in the front before her standard; and in all the marches her fame was cried up as if there had been no other general but herself."

In these attacks the English lost near eight thousand men, and the French not above one hundred. Such a series of misfortunes filled the former with terror and consternation: treating the divinity of her mission with contempt, they conceived a notion rather more absurd, and supposed she acted by compact with the devil*. The common soldiers were struck with an unaccountable panic, and trembled with the very apprehension of being led against this terrible enchantress. The earl of Suffolk, with the lords Talbot and Scales, beheld these attacks, and the loss of the forts, without being able to succour their party, having scarce men enough to defend the forts on the side of the Beaufle. There was now in Orleans an army full as strong as that of the besiegers, and a free communication was now opened with Berry, by taking the forts on the other side of the river, so that the English general, finding it impossible to reduce the place whilst it could receive succours every day on the side of Sologne, raised the siege on the twelfth of May, and abandoned the enterprize, after having lain before the place full seven months. Such was the issue of the siege of Orleans, on which the fall of France had, in a great measure depended, and the miscarriage whereof gave a fatal blow to the English affairs in that kingdom.

Charles, to improve his success while his troops were in heart, and terror possessed the English, summoned the noblesse from all the provinces which acknowledged his authority; and they attending him in great numbers, with a body of ten thousand men, he put them under the command of the duke of Alençon, who had lately recovered his liberty upon the payment of his ransom. The constable de Richemont joined him at the same time with a corps of twelve hundred Bretons; and these forces being daily strengthened by the arrival of fresh supplies, resolved to take the field in pursuit of those from whom they had so long fled.

The English, by an inconceivable mistake, after retiring from before Orleans, instead of keeping their forces in a body, had distributed great part of them into places near the Loire, which they had subdued before they laid siege to Orleans. The enemy thus divided, the French found little resistance in the places they attempted. Joan still kept along with their troops: the troops, with her at their head, looked upon themselves as invincible. Gargeau, a small fortress, into which the earl of Suffolk had been so imprudent to throw himself with four hundred men only (probably seized with the general panic), was obliged to surrender at discretion, and the earl was taken prisoner. Melun had the same fate, with many other towns and castles that the English had garrisoned: Beaugenci only held out, and this place it was necessary to take before the entrance into Beaufle

* Even the regent duke himself appears to have had the same belief, for in a letter addressed to king Henry he expresses himself thus:

"And alle thing there prospered for you, till the tyme of the siege of Orleans taken in hand, God knoweth by what advis. At the whiche tyme, after the adventure fallen to the persone of my cousin of Salysbury, whom God assoile. there falle, by the hand of God as it seemeth, a great strook upon your people that was assembled there in grete nombre, caused

in grete partie, as y trowe, of lakke of fadde beleve, and of unlevefulle doubte, that thei hadde of a disciple and lyme of the seende, called the Pucelle, that used fals enchauntments and forcerie. The whiche strooke and discomfiture nought oonly lessed in grete partie the nombre of youre people there, but as well withdrowe the courage of the remenant in merveilous wyse, and couraiged your adverse partie and ennemys to assemble hem forthwith in grete nombre," &c. Rymer, vol. x. p. 408.

could be secured: accordingly Alençon formed the siege of it, and in a few days, compelled it to open its gates to him.

Of the two-and twenty thousand English lately before Orleans, there were left but six thousand, under the lord Talbot, who had taken the command of the army after Suffolk was made prisoner. As soon as the French were masters of Beaujenci, they marched after this little army (themselves near twelve thousand strong), and overtook it, on the eighteenth of June, near Patay. The English general would willingly have declined a battle till his men were recovered of the general consternation into which the pretended mission, and almost miraculous successes of the Pucelle, had thrown them; but there was no remedy, and the event proved such as might naturally be expected, when a handful of men, and these under the power of superstitious prepossession and panic fear, are attacked by numbers greatly superior to themselves, and encouraged by a series of success. The English were totally defeated; two thousand of them lay breathless on the field; and upwards of two hundred were taken prisoners, among whom were the lords Talbot, Scales, and Hungerford, sir Thomas Rempston, and several other officers of note. Monstrelet tells us, that the English troops were in such astonishment at beholding the banner of the Pucelle displayed in the front of the French line, and advancing towards them, that they forgot to fix the stakes, with which they were provided, to keep off the enemy's horse, and ran away shamefully at the first onset. In consequence of this day's action, Jonville, a strong place near Patay, though provided with a good garrison, submitted to the victors without any resistance; and all the castles which held for the English about Orleans, were abandoned immediately, the garrisons retiring to Paris: in a word, both valour and victory seemed now to have changed sides, and the once all-conquering English now fled like a herd of timorous deer before the ensigns of a female plebeian.

Charles VII. had never yet appeared at the head of his troops; but encouraged by this victory, declared he would take the field in person. This resolution was worth an army to him: the French nobility, ever accustomed, on such occasions, to attend their sovereign, even at their own expence, flocked from all quarters with their followers, to range themselves under their famous oriflame*. Lewis III. duke of Anjou, and king of Sicily, Charles's brother-in-law, brought, immediately after the battle of Potoy, a supply of several brave officers, who had attended him into Italy some time before, and were come back with him into France: in a word, Charles soon found himself at the head of a considerable force, and his adherents daily increasing; while the duke of Bedford was obliged to confine himself within the walls of Paris: so greatly had the late success on the part of the French, and misfortunes on the part of the English, altered the state of affairs.

Charles now made a general review and muster of his troops at Gieau, and found that they amounted to fifteen thousand fighting men; five of which he sent off in two detachments, one un-

der the command of the constable de Richemont, to make a diversion in Normandy; and the other to carry the war into the heart of Guienne, under the conduct of the count de Pondriac. The king himself, at the head of the remaining ten thousand, began his march for Rheims, at the pressing instances of the Pucelle, who promised him that he should be crowned in that city without opposition. The event answered the prediction; and, indeed, from the then situation of affairs, it required no supernatural gift to divine it would. Charles, in his route, received the submission of Troye and Chalons, while the inhabitants of Auxerre followed the example. The citizens of Rheims were no sooner apprized of the king's approach, than they drove out the English garrison, and sent deputies with their keys to Charles, who entered the place in triumph; and in a few days after, viz. Sunday, July 17, was crowned there with great solemnity. As soon as this ceremony was at an end, the Maid of Orleans (for by this name Joan was called, ever after the raising of that siege), very prudently desired leave to retire, affirming that she had now accomplished the design of her mission; but the king was, or seemed to be, unwilling to part with his benefactress, and she was at length persuaded to continue at court, where it was more than probable her presence might be still thought necessary.

During this surprising revolution in the affairs of Charles, the court of Henry in England was again embroiled by the revival of the quarrel between the duke of Gloucester and the bishop of Winchester, whose new dignity of cardinal, while it added both to his power and riches, had rendered him so insolent and overbearing that the duke of Gloucester resolved to check him in his career; and, in order to humble his pride, he made a motion in the council, that he might not be permitted to keep the bishopric of Winchester at the same time with the dignity of cardinal. After a very serious debate on this important point, the assembly, which consisted of most of the peers, spiritual and temporal, decreed, "that, because it was an unknown thing to hold a cardinalship and the bishopric of Winchester in England, they neither durst nor would prejudice the king during his nonage, nor was it their intention to prejudge either him or the church; therefore they request that the cardinal should not appear as bishop of Winchester next St. George's day, at Windsor†." This was a severe stroke to the cardinal's pride; nevertheless, he still retained his temporalities and powers, and he now affected to decline the title of cardinal of Eusebius, under which he first received his hat, and to assume one less foreign in its room, namely that of cardinal of England; and, to console him for his late disgrace, his good friend the pope appointed him his legate in Germany, and general of a crusade against the Bohemian heretics, who were known by the name of Hussites, and of whom we shall have occasion to give a full account in our review of the State of the Church, at the end of the reign of Henry VII.

The cardinal was no sooner invested with this commission, than he applied to the council for leave to raise five hundred lances, and as many thousand

* The royal standard of the ancient kings of France.

† Though prelate of the order of the Garter, of which that

saint is patron. The above are the express words of the record, which see in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. x. p. 414.

archers,

archers, for that expedition; and his demand being granted, under certain restrictions and limitations †, he began his levies with great diligence, and they went on with equal success. I cannot help observing here, that it is amazing, at a time when the English were so much distressed in their own interests, they should consent to support so romantic, so ridiculous an enterprize: in the end, however, this step of the council happened to turn to the advantage of the nation.

For when the levies were completed, news came of the loss of the battle of Patay by the English, and the imminent danger in which the duke of Bedford and Henry's affairs were in France. Upon this a council was held, on the first day of July, at Rochester, in which it was proposed to employ the troops, designed for the crusade, in the French war, and they entered into an agreement with the cardinal, who engaged to serve in France, under the duke of Bedford, till the end of December, with the troops of the crusade, provided they were not employed in any siege *. In a few days after this agreement the council received letters from the English regent and council in France, setting forth the successes of king Charles, whom they style the dauphin, desiring a reinforcement might be sent over with all expedition, and in particular earnestly requesting that the young king should, with all convenient speed, be sent over to be crowned in Paris, which, if complied with, might, they thought, remove a great number of inconveniencies they then laboured under †.

But before this last request could be complied with, it was thought proper that Henry should be solemnly crowned in England, which was performed upon the sixth of November, at Westminster, Henry being then in the eighth year of his age: the duke of Gloucester acting as lord high-steward in his own person, and as lord high-chamberlain by his deputy.

The parliament, which was convoked on this occasion, voted that the names of Protector and Defender of the Nation, ought not, from thenceforth to exist, as being inconsistent with the majesty of a crowned head §. And a committee of the lords being sent to acquaint the duke of Gloucester with this resolution, he very readily came into parliament, and expressed his acquiescence in it; but with a salvo to all the pretensions which his brother, the duke of Bedford, might have. The house then voted the king a subsidy on tonnage and poundage, as formerly, and then broke up. We shall now resume the state of affairs in France.

While the English government was employed in making preparations for the king's voyage to France, the duke of Bedford repaired to Picardy, where he intended to wait for the succours from England; and Charles in the mean time made himself master of Soissons, Pervins, Chateau Thierry, Cressi, and several other towns and castles in those parts.

The regent being at length joined by the troops belonging to the cardinal, as also by another body sent from England, under sir John Radcliffe, he found himself enabled, in the beginning of August, to bring near twelve thousand men into the field, at

the head of whom he advanced as far as Montereau on the Yonne, and from thence sent a challenge to Charles, who was then at Mont Nangi, offering to give him battle in any indifferent place he should name, to end the war by a general engagement, if it could not be done by a reasonable treaty; but Charles, grown wise by his past misfortunes, forbore hazarding his present successes on so precarious an issue; and he knew the arms of the English too well, to think of attacking them in their trenches: thus the two armies continued to face each other for some days, without either venturing to attack his opponent. At length the duke of Bedford, deceived in his expectations from the impetuosity of the French, and seeing that Charles had the advantage of him by reason of the country being plain and level, which admitted this last to make use of the superiority of his horse, the regent returned back to the Isle of France, in order, by his presence, to keep the towns from revolting, as those of Champagne had done, as also to keep the French nobility in temper, who began to grow tired of a campaign, in which they all served at their own expence.

Charles, on his part, proposed to pass the Seine at Brai, and retire into Berry; but this project being frustrated by an English garrison entering Brai the night before his arrival, Charles crossed the Marne, at Chateau Thierry, and advanced to Dampmartin, the duke of Bedford following him close; but as both sides were determined to run no hazard without an apparent advantage, and la Pucelle, who still attended Charles's camp, varying in her opinion, declaring at one time for, and at another against an engagement, they parted at last without coming to a general action.

Charles returning to Crepi en Valois, made new proposals for bringing the duke of Burgundy over to his interest; but though his ambassadors were received with great respect, and Charles had many advocates among the duke's council, in hopes of preferments and favours, which the ambassadors were very liberal in promising, the negotiation proved unsuccessful. He received, however, the submission of Compeigne, Creil, Pont St. Maizant, Beauvais, and other places; and had he advanced to St. Quintin, Corbie, Amiens, and Abbeville, these towns would likewise have received him with open arms: but the inhabitants of Senlis took arms, and expelling the English garrison, submitted to Charles ||.

It may be easily supposed that these losses must have given the duke of Bedford sensible uneasiness, and the more so, as it was partly in his power to have prevented them; but he had now an alarm from another quarter, whence he least expected it. The constable de Richemont, who had lately retired from the French court, in some disgust with the ministry, being joined by his friend the count de Marche, who had also withdrawn on the same occasion, they both resolved to sacrifice private pique and resentment to the good of their country and the service of their prince; and, uniting their forces, which amounted to about twelve hundred men, over-ran all the country about Evreux, in Normandy, with great success; they even took the

† Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. x. p. 420.

|| Monstrelet. *Journal de Charles VII.*

* *Ibid.* p. 422.

† *Ibid.* p. 432.

§ *Ibid.* p. 436.

strong castle of Galliard, where they found the brave Barbason, the same who had defended Melun against the late king Henry*, and whom they now set at liberty; and this brave officer, second to none in his age, immediately went and joined Charles, and was received by that prince with all the distinction due to his merit. The loss of this place, together with that of Aumale, and some others of importance upon the confines of Normandy, alarmed the duke of Bedford so much, that, leaving two thousand men, under Radcliff, in Paris and recommending the government of the city to Lewis Luxemburg, bishop of Torouanne, Henry's chancellor in France, and Morluer, the provost of Paris, he marched with the main body of his troops to Normandy, to stop the constable's progress there.

Charles thought the absence of the regent a favourable opportunity for making an attempt upon Paris, whither he now marched. Lagni and St. Denis making no resistance, he posted his troops at Montmartre, Aubervilliers, and the neighbouring villages, in hopes of some commotions in the city; but the regent had taken such salutary precautions, that not a man stirred. Disappointed in this respect, he yielded to the continual instances of la Pucelle, who was still in high vogue with the people; and on Monday the twelfth of September, made an assault on the suburbs of St. Honoré: the event proved rather disgraceful to the prophetic talents of the Maid, who was herself wounded in the attack, and the French were repulsed with great loss; upon which Charles, seeing no likelihood of carrying his point, marched off with his troops, and retired into Berry. His departure was probably hastened by receiving news that the regent was about to return from Normandy, which he accordingly did, after having drove the constable out of that duchy; and, soon after his coming back to Paris, recovered, by escalade, St. Denis and Lagni, which very much annoyed that city: Chateau Galliard was also retaken in the month of December.

Before we close the occurrences of this year, it will not be improper to take a view of the conduct observed by the duke of Burgundy, since the revolution in the English affairs. Though this prince had about eight hundred men all this time in the service of England, yet nothing is more certain than that, ever since the siege of Orleans, he had not acted with the same spirit and forwardness in the common cause, as he had shewn before that time: and the event pretty clearly shewed that he had formed other measures. His policy suggested to him, that by assisting the English too powerfully, he might procure himself troublesome masters, as he had already experienced in the affairs of Hainault; and therefore, since he was to have a sovereign, he chose rather to have a prince of his own blood in possession of the throne of France than a foreigner: his own subjects were also greatly prepossessed in favour of the house of Valois. Nevertheless, he carefully concealed his own sentiments, lest both parties should take the advantage of them against him; and he resolved to continue

to assist the English, but at the same time to give Charles some hopes that his resentment for the assassination of his father was not insurmountable: in a word, his intent appears to have been to have made his own terms at the expence of the English, though he did not think fit to open himself so early. The duke of Bedford, on his part omitted no means for fixing this important ally; and a conference having been held between them at Paris, in the month of September, they entered into fresh agreements: but, from the effect of that insincerity too common among men, and from which princes in particular are not free, notwithstanding their treaties, they could not trust one another, but lived in continual fear of being deceived, and that either the one or the other would, without scruple, break his engagements upon the prospect of any considerable advantage.

During those busy scenes in France, very little of any importance seems to have passed in England: in short, the principal thing we find done this year in England, was confirming the truce with Scotland, by a meeting of the commissioners from both kingdoms, by which the supplies which king James had stipulated to send to France, were farther delayed†: nor, indeed, did they take place till some years afterwards.

The year 1430 was opened by the duke of Bedford by a fresh negotiation with the duke of Brittany, to whom he resigned all the English pretensions in Poitou. Having thus fixed this prince and the duke of Burgundy in the interest of England, at least for some time, the regent next applied to the duke of Savoy, who was, to appearance, a zealous partizan of the house of Valois; but as that prince was both needy and ambitious, a little money and large promises soon gained him from the French interest; and, together with the prince of Orange, it was agreed that he should attack Charles's dominions on the side of Dauphiné. The prince of Orange was to have Vienne, and all its dependencies, for his share; while the duke was to possess Grenoble and the rest of Dauphiné. Gaucourt, who acted for Charles in those parts, soon had intelligence of this treaty, and managed matters so well, that he surprized the prince of Orange, who was to carry on the enterprize, and cut in pieces his troops, while he himself narrowly escaped being made prisoner; but it was only to see his whole principality and city of Orange fall into the French king's hands.

The revolution of affairs in France gave occasion to great murmurs and complaints in England; and the parliament meeting in the beginning of this year, several warm debates ensued upon this subject. There were not wanting many who accused the generals of negligence and remissness in the execution of their duty; while others ascribed the bad success of the English to the misconduct of the king's council, and particularly to the ambition of the duke of Gloucester, who, by his obstinate prosecution of the war in Hainault, had occasioned such a diversion to the English arms, as had prevented the entire conquest of France, which must have

* See p. 24. of this volume. The deliverers of this great man being about to bring him forth in triumph, he absolutely refused to stir, having given his word and honour to sir William Kingston, the English governor of that place, not to leave his confinement without his knowledge or consent: Bar-

bason's friends therefore were obliged to apply to Kingston, who was about to leave the place in virtue of the capitulation, and who readily gave his consent. Monstrelet.

† Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. x. p. 450.

been the certain consequence of the whole strength of England being united.

But what gave rise to the warmest altercations in this assembly, was the opinion of a certain party, who insisted that the untoward situation of affairs on the continent, had been owing to the imprudence of the council in detaining the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon prisoners in England, at a time when, had they been sent home, they would probably have renewed their old quarrels and dissensions with the duke of Burgundy, which had brought so much advantage to the English heretofore; and that prince, having these powerful adversaries to encounter, would have found his interest in assisting the English more heartily than he had done of late: in short, the detaining these two princes captive, had procured France a tranquility destructive to England. It was farther urged by the abettors of this opinion, that it was not yet too late to release them; and that, in the present state of the English finances, their ransoms might afford a reasonable recruit.

This last argument had such weight with the parliament, that nothing but the express desire of the late king could have prevented them from practising an expedient which bore so plausible an appearance. At length it was thought that the government might dispense with the royal restriction, in favour of the duke of Bourbon, who, by a private contract with the late king, had engaged to swear to the peace of Troye, to pay a certain sum by way of ransom, and to deliver his two sons, and two fortresses, as hostages for the performance of his promise; and though Henry V. died before this treaty could be executed, it had been renewed, with some alteration, in 1428, and young Henry, as king of France, received the duke's homage: the treaty was ratified, but some intervening obstacles retarded the duke's release, and, after a captivity of eighteen years, he died at last a prisoner in England, in the beginning of the year 1434.

The parliament was the more disposed to this accommodation, as it would have afforded a fund to defray the expences of the king's voyage to France; but this resource failing, they practised another shift, which answered the purpose: all persons possessed of lands to the value of forty pounds per annum, were summoned to receive the honour of knighthood; the jewels of the crown were pawned; and large sums were borrowed from the towns, corporations, and individuals; and cardinal Beaufort, who accompanied the king, supplied him, on this occasion, with about ten thousand pounds for his use.

Every thing was in readiness for the king's voyage about the beginning of May this year. The duke of Gloucester was named keeper of the kingdom during the royal absence in France, and Henry, with his court, set out for Canterbury, on his way thither; but the English in general were so deeply impressed with the notion of Joan's magic sorcery and diabolical power, that many officers and soldiers, belonging to the forces who were to accompany the young monarch over, deserted before their embarkation; and several of those who had actually crossed the sea, terrified with the accounts they heard of the surprizing achievements of la

Pucelle, withdrew privately and returned to England.

Henry arrived on the nineteenth of May at Calais. The council of England had consented to this voyage as a step that was absolutely necessary for retrieving their sovereign's affairs; but thinking his person would be too much exposed at Paris whilst the enemy was strong in the neighbourhood, they insisted on his residing at Rouen, till he might remove to the capital of his French dominions with safety†. Accordingly Henry, instead of marching directly to Paris, after reposing some time at Calais, went to Rouen, where he continued most part of the year.

But this step had almost lost Paris to Henry; for the French interest in that capital, perceiving the affections of the duke of Burgundy's party sensibly cooled towards the English, laid a plan for betraying the city to Charles. The vigilant duke of Bedford, however, who was always on the watch against designs of this nature, having discovered the plot by intercepted letters, and by the confession of the bearer, one hundred and fifty of the conspirators were seized, and many of them executed with great severity. This was done by way of example, to strike terror into others; but, at the same time, it greatly alienated the affections of the Parisians from the duke of Bedford, who thus secured his master's interest at the expence of his own popularity.

Whilst young king Henry was at Rouen, the regent, apprehending that the duke of Burgundy began to lend a favourable ear to the proposals that were incessantly making to him by the emissaries of Charles, endeavoured to attach him more firmly to his interest by yielding to him all the places that the English held in Champagne and Brie; but by this cession the regent knew he should be enabled for some time to stop the progress of Charles, who had carried on his conquests with wonderful rapidity.

The duke thus influenced, entered France at the head of a powerful army; and, after having reduced Torcy and Soissons, he ordered the earls of Suffolk and Arundel to join their troops with his, and to invest Compeigne. This place was defended by Flavi, a brave experienced officer, and provided with whatever could serve to make a long and vigorous resistance. Upon the first news of this enterprize, the Maid of Orleans and Xaintrailles, one of Charles's best generals, threw themselves into the place, which gave new spirits to the garrison.

This happened on the twenty-fifth of May. Next day, which was the last of her liberty, Joan put herself at the head of five or six hundred men, with whom she made so furious a sally upon the quarters of John of Luxemburg, count de Ligny, the Burgundian general, that she drove him from his post; but, in making her retreat into the city, she was intercepted by a party of the English, and, after a most heroic defence, and having her horse killed under her, she was obliged to deliver herself prisoner to the bastard of Vendosme, who immediately gave her up to the Burgundian general*.

The English, long unaccustomed to decisive advantages, looked upon the capture of the Maid in that light: Te Deum was publicly sung at Paris;

† Rymer, vol. x. 449—459.

* P. Daniel. Monstrelet, p. 58.

the duke of Burgundy, and all his chief officers, sent for her, to satiate their curiosity by gazing on the person, before whom they had solately trembled. Luxemburg, whose prisoner she was adjudged to be, sent her to be confined in a castle on his own estate. The garrison of Compeigne, however, still continued to make a gallant resistance under its brave governor, till the latter end of the year, when it was relieved by the count de Vendosme: besides, the army of the besiegers was, during the course of the siege, much weakened by the duke of Burgundy's going off with a large corps, in order to take possession of the duchies of Brabant and Limburg, which had fallen to him by the death of his cousin Philip; and by the sending off another detachment to oppose the Liegeois, who had invaded the county of Namur†.

Nothing could have happened more lucky for Charles than this advantage at that time. It re-animates his party, who thereby saw that his fortune was not fled with the liberty of the gallant Maid. Many places in the neighbourhood of Compeigne surrendered to the French, and Xaintrailles defeated Henry, a Burgundian general, at Germini, where sir Thomas Knyvet, a brave English officer, who had some time before defeated the count de Clermont near Beauvais, was taken prisoner.

The king of England remained all this time at Rouen. The various successes of the war had for some time suspended all talk of his coronation; but the duke of Bedford, who seems to have resided all this summer at Paris, pressed it so warmly, that, about the middle of November, Henry set out for that city, to be crowned, accompanied by the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy, and a splendid train of nobility of both nations. The ceremony of the coronation was performed in the church of Notre Dame, on Sunday the seventeenth of December, and was as magnificent as the nature of circumstances would admit; but the cardinal of England was so impolitically ambitious as to place the crown upon his head, to the great disgust of the archbishop of Paris and the French nation in general.

We shall spare our readers the dry and uninteresting detail of the numberless attempts and skirmishes between the troops of Charles and Henry, as they contributed but little to the decision of the general affair. It will, however, not be improper to recount one instance of the deep impression that Joan's pretended inspiration had made upon the minds of the French: a shepherd, in the neighbourhood of Rouen, addressing himself to the marshal de Bouffac, assured him that, by virtue of a revelation from Heaven, he could conduct him through a secret path into the very heart of Rouen; and the marshal communicating the proposal to Xaintrailles, they agreed to embrace the opportunity, which they thought was offered them by Providence. Having, therefore, assembled a body of chosen troops, they followed the shepherd, who conducted them into an ambuscade formed by the English, who destroyed the greater part of their forces, and took Xaintrailles prisoner.

With a view to convince their enemies of the mere mortality of this heroine, but more especi-

ally to cure their countrymen of the terrors with which the belief of her supernatural agency had filled their minds, the English generals resolved to leave nothing undone to get her into their power, that, by interesting religion in the case, by proceeding in the forms of the church against heretics, and, by getting her condemned as a forceress and an impostor, they might more effectually answer the end they aimed at, of erasing from the minds of the people the idea of her virtue and divine commission. Accordingly the duke of Bedford demanded her so earnestly of the count de Ligny, that this general could not refuse his request: he required, however, a reward suitable to the importance of such a prisoner; and Joan, being delivered up to the English, was brought to Rouen.

As she had been taken in the diocese of Beauvais, Peter Cauchon, bishop of that city, obtained leave of the chapter of Rouen (the see being vacant) to exercise his jurisdiction there, and proceed against the captive Maid. His request was granted; and, in conjunction with a brother-inquisitor, he began the process, which lasted between four and five months; and being carried on with all the formalities of justice, was approved by the faculties of law and divinity, and in the parliament of Paris. Whether the imagination of this Maiden was really struck with the notion of her being destined to be the deliverer of France, or she had coined her story in order to make a figure in the world, she appeared before her judges with an air of intrepidity that struck all present with awe and admiration: she boldly avowed the designs she had formed against the English; she told them, with an air of confidence as from God, that they should ere long be driven out of France.

Being interrogated about her pretended revelations, and whether she would submit to the judgment of the church in that point? she only answered, "That she was certain they came from God, to whose judgment she would leave the decision; determined not to give them up to any other authority, even though the church should declare them to be illusions." This declining the judgment of the church was made use of, by her examiners, as a sufficient ground to charge her with heresy. When she found these consequences, she would afterwards have submitted to the pope, on condition she might be sent to Rome; but it was not the practice to admit such appeals in cases of heresy, and the proposal was considered as a mere contrivance to gain time for making her escape*: and as she still persisted in the story of her heavenly visitation, she was at length condemned "as a blasphemer against God, and an impious pretender to divine inspiration, and the knowledge of future events; and as an idolater (on account of her kneeling to the saints, angels, or spirits which appeared to her as she pretended), a witch, a heretic, a breaker of the decorum and modesty of her sex, by going in man's apparel, and leading the life of a soldier, and as an impudent impostor; and as such condemned to perpetual imprisonment†.

† Hall, p. 115.

* As she had before attempted to do, while under the custody of Ligny, by jumping from the top of the tower, where she was confined, down to the ground; but she was

so bruised with the fall as not to be able to walk, and was retaken, and put into irons.

† Monstrelet, p. 71. Pasquier Recherches.

While this sentence was reading on a scaffold, erected for the purpose, before the abbey of St. Ouin, in the hearing of a vast concourse of people, Joan interrupted the officer that read it, declaring "That she submitted to the church and her judges; that, since they were of opinion she ought not to maintain her revelations, she should not do so for the future; and that, as the spirit which spoke to her had assured her she should be delivered, she was fully convinced she had been deceived." After which she made and signed a full recantation, in the presence of all the spectators.

She now left off her man's dress, which she could never before be persuaded to lay aside, though tempted by the promise of being admitted to hear mass and to communicate, from which she was debarred whilst she wore it: but as she still discovered a strong inclination to that garb, those who were bent on her ruin having, to tempt her, left a man's suit in the room by her all night, she was found dressed in it next morning, pretending that she had a vision the preceding night, commanding her so to do. The fact being proved, the court met again, and declared her a relapsed heretic, and delivered her over to the secular arm, to be burnt alive; which sentence was executed upon her in the Old Market-place of Rouen, on the thirtieth day of May, 1431.

Such was the end of this famous amazon, la Pucelle, or the Maid of Orleans, whose reputation in point of chastity was never impeached even by her enemies. Her actions were certainly extraordinary, and her courage can never be too much admired, whether it arose from her natural constitution, or was the effect of enthusiasm. The French had such a regard for her memory, that, on a revision of her process, in which, not so much the form, as the substance of the affair was examined, she was, on the seventh of July, 1456, adjudged innocent. Father Daniel tells us, that there were several descendants from her family living in his time, who took the surname of du Lys*.

It cannot be denied that the English, on this occasion, appear to have been actuated by a barbarous policy and bigotted superstition, in thus condemning to death a person, whose noble achievements, in defending the liberty and independence of her country, ought to have recommended her to the esteem of every humane and generous breast: besides, they were guilty of a flagrant act of injustice, in punishing one who, being a native under another government, and taken in fair war, could neither legally be tried by their courts, nor put to death by their award. But it is now time to see what was transacting in England, during the course of this year.

Soon after Henry's departure for the continent, the duke of Gloucester, taking advantage of the cardinal's absence, who had accompanied the king over sea, declared in the council that Winchester intended to quit the king and return to England, to excite fresh troubles in this kingdom, as well

as to avail himself of the pope's authority for dissolving his engagement to serve against the French king. This remonstrance met with such credit, that the council published a proclamation, forbidding all the king's subjects, of what rank or condition soever, on pain of imprisonment, to accompany the cardinal, should he leave the king without the royal permission†.

On the eighteenth of November, a truce for one year was concluded at London with the king of Castile, to commence on the first of May, 1431‡.

About the middle of December the ambassadors of England signed, at Edinburgh, in Scotland, a five years truce with that nation, to begin the same day with that made with Castile||.

On the twelfth of January, 1431, a parliament was held at Westminster by the duke of Gloucester, keeper of England, which gave the king one tenth and one fifteenth, and a third of both; a grant of tonnage and poundage for two years, with a subsidy of like value on all merchants strangers, over and above the said tonnage and poundage§, with other grants, and several public acts were also made, which will be found in their proper order under the head of Laws.

When the sinews of war are defective, no great enterprizes can be expected: the most considerable undertaking on the continent this year, was the raising of the siege of Vaudemont by the troops of the duke of Burgundy, who supported Anthony, count de Vaudemont, in his pretensions to the duchies of Lorraine and Barr, as heir male of his uncle Charles, the late duke, in opposition to René of Anjou, who claimed these two duchies as husband to Isabella, daughter to the aforesaid Charles. René and the famous general Barbason rising from before the town which they had beleaguered, met the Burgundians at Sandricourt, and offered them battle, which the others accepting, a bloody engagement ensued, in which the troops of René were routed, himself taken prisoner, and the gallant Barbason left dead upon the field of battle. All the advantages gained by the English consisted in the recovery of Louviers, which had been surprized by Stephen de Vignolles, called la Hire; and in defeating a party of French, near Beauvais, by the earl of Arundel. It is extremely difficult to trace all the rambling encounters which happened at this juncture, or to fix either the times or scenes of action: we must not, however, pass by unnoticed the surprisal of Montargis by the English, through a correspondence they held with a young woman, who prevailed with her lover to admit them into the town by a back gate. On the other side, Loré, a French captain, made an inroad to the very gates of Caen, upon a fair-day, and carried away two thousand persons, with a very great booty: after which he retired to Sellé le Guillaume, a small town in Maine, where he was besieged by the earl of Arundel; but the duke of Alençon suddenly coming to his relief, obliged the English to retire¶.

* There appeared such another extraordinary maid in the last century, in Muscovy. After the suppression of a rebellion against Alexis, father of Peter the Great; amongst the prisoners brought to the general there was a nun, who wore a man's habit, over that of her order.—She had commanded seven thousand men, and shown great bravery on all occasions. Death did not terrify her, though she was condemned to be burnt, for leaving her monastery; and when she went to the place of execution, she said, if every one had behaved as

valiantly as herself, the general and his whole army would have been cut to pieces. Mem. of the reign of Peter the Great.

† Aët. Pub. vol. x. p. 472.

‡ Ibid. p. 473.

|| Ibid. p. 482—487.

§ Cotton's Abridgment, p. 597, 598. Rot. Parl. 9 Hen. VI. n. 1, 13, 15, 18.

¶ Complete Hist. Rapin. J. Chartier Hist. de Charles VII.

This is all that passed worth notice in France between the two parties. In England, the duke of Gloucester proved successful in quieting some commotions which appeared there during this year. It seems the spirit of the lower people under Tyler and Straw, in the reign of Richard II. was not yet entirely rooted out of the nation; for, soon after the rising of the parliament, numbers of disorderly people assembled near Addington, under one Mandeville, a weaver, and bailiff of the place. This Mandeville took the name of Jack Sharp of Wigmoreland, in Wales; which being the chief manor of the Mortimer family, carries an appearance of some important design being in agitation, though it has not come to our knowledge: it is certain that the duke of Gloucester thought it of so much consequence, that he went down himself, at the head of some troops, and dispersed the insurgents. Their leader, Mandevil, was taken prisoner, and, according to Stowe, from whom we have inserted this transaction, he confessed that the intention of his party was to have destroyed all the priests: upon this confession, and his overt-acts of treason, he was executed as a traitor at Addington, his head was set upon London bridge, and the rest of the principal abettors were put to death in other parts of the kingdom.

Young Henry had, soon after his coronation, left Paris and retired to Rouen, where the duke of Bedford thought him in greater safety; but here he was in danger of being surprized in the night of February 3, 1432. One Peter Audebœuf, a native of Bearne, but in the English service, entered into a plot with one Ricarville, a French officer, to get possession of the city and Henry's person, by introducing Ricarville, with one hundred and twenty men, into the great tower of the castle: and had this small party been supported by a larger corps of troops, which were posted within a league of the place for that purpose, it is more than probable the design would have succeeded; but the officers quarrelling about sharing the booty which they supposed they should find in the place, many of them refused to march, though they had advice of the lucky beginning of their enterprize by the safe introduction of Ricarville and his party, and the whole body returned to Beauvais. Those who had entered the great tower being thus abandoned, were forced to surrender at discretion: Audebœuf, the traitor, was quartered; fifty of the French had their heads struck off, and the rest detained prisoners of war. The French had better success in their attempt upon Chartres, which, on the twentieth of April, was surprized by the count de Dunois, and the garrison, consisting of five or six hundred English, taken prisoners.

The late danger which he had so narrowly escaped alarmed king Henry to such a degree, that he immediately set out for England, and arrived at Dover the middle of February. He was received with great shew of affection by his English subjects: and the first act of his government, after his arrival, was to take the great-seal from the chancellor, the archbishop of York, and give it to the bishop of Bath and Wells: and a parliament being summoned on the ninth of May, the bishop, in consequence of his new dignity, made a speech at its opening. John Russel, esq. was chosen speaker to the commons.

The differences between cardinal Beaufort and the duke of Gloucester appear to have been revived with great bitterness in this parliament. It seems the duke had, as keeper of the kingdom, given orders, some time before, for seizing at Sandwich some of the king's jewels, which were mortgaged to the cardinal, and which the latter intended to carry over with him to France, whither he was going to join the king. The cardinal complained of this to the house as a violent insult offered to his person and property, and prayed that the duke might be obliged to make restitution; but the affair being strictly enquired into, the house made an order, that, before they were restored to him, he should pay the king six thousand pounds more on them, and lend him ten thousand marks besides. The cardinal, who seems now to have been worth more money than almost all the other noblemen of England, submitted to this mulct; and it was moreover ordered, that, if it should appear upon a fair and equitable trial, that the baggage had been justly seized, the money should be forfeited to the king. The cardinal, however, apprehending some other attacks against him from the same quarter, made such interest in the parliament, that the commons were prevailed on to present a petition in his favour, and by which he, the cardinal, obtained an ample pardon, with a Non obstante of all statutes and ordinances, for all the offences and actions he might have been guilty of, either against the king or the state †.

Very little else of moment passed in this parliament, which now proceeded to grant the king a continuance of the subsidy upon wool, tonnage, and poundage: and, before the house broke up, Richard Plantagenet, son to the earl of Cambridge, beheaded in the beginning of the late reign, being now of age, was restored to all the hereditaments belonging to the late Edward, duke of York (slain at the battle of Agincourt), and of Edmund Mortimer, earl of Marche; and sir John Cornwall was, by a very honourable patent enrolled in full parliament, created baron of Fanhope ‡.

In the course of this year several skirmishes and surprizes happened between the troops of Charles and those of the regent duke, chiefly to the disadvantage of the latter; but the losses of the English were in some measure repaired by the surprize of Montargis, which facilitated, some time after, the recovery of Pre vins: but, in the month of July, Bedford having laid siege to the town of Lagni on the Marne, with an army of six thousand men, notwithstanding all his vigilance and precaution, the count de Dunois (bastard of Orleans) found means to throw succours into the place; and afterwards marching with all his forces towards Paris, the duke of Bedford, alarmed at this step, and fearing that he might be in private correspondence with the Parisians, raised the siege, and retired with his troops to cover that capital. Here he was mortified by an event that gave the English interest a great blow: his wife Anne, sister to the duke of Burgundy, and the chief means of that harmony and friendship which had hitherto subsisted between them, died on the fourteenth of November, and was buried in the church of the Celestines, in the city of Paris*.

† Rymer, vol. x. p. 590—593.

‡ Dugdale. Sandford.

* Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 201.

The regent duke had always taken a particular care to keep the duke of Burgundy and the duke of Brittany in the English interest, to which the latter was but very little inclined; and it was purely owing to his fear of not being able to defend himself from the resentment of the English, that he had not long ago quitted their party, and openly sided with king Charles, a step which his brother, the count de Richemont, was incessantly soliciting him to take. The death of Anne of Burgundy dissolved the close connection that subsisted between her brother Philip and the regent duke; and a step which the latter took soon after, helped to bring matters to an open rupture between them. Bedford, being a widower, married, in March, 1433 (not quite four months after the decease of his late duchess), Jaquelina of Luxemburg, a young lady of about seventeen years of age, eldest daughter of Peter of Luxemburg, earl of St. Pol†. This hasty marriage was extremely resented by the duke of Burgundy, who not only considered it as a slight put upon the memory of his sister so lately deceased, but as an affront to himself, it having been done without his knowledge, whereas he thought the duke of Bedford should have shewn him more respect, since, besides the consideration of the many ties by which they were united, he married the daughter of one of his vassals. The duke of Bedford, who was very prudent and circumspect, had doubtless his reasons for acting with such secrecy and reserve: be that as it may, several bitter recriminations were thrown out on this occasion by both sides; and cardinal Beaufort, fearful of the consequences, laboured to make up the quarrel, and prevailed so far upon both parties as to obtain their consent to a conference, in May, at St. Omer's, in order to adjust all differences. The two dukes came to the place appointed, but an unhappy dispute about precedence prevented their reconciliation, and caused them to part extremely disgusted with each other. It seems the conference was to have been held at a third place, and not at either of their houses; the duke of Bedford, however, insisting on the first visit, the other refused to comply with it, though in a town of his own dominions, and that the other was the son, the brother, and uncle to kings, but, above all, the representative of his nephew, who, as king of France, was the duke of Burgundy's master. But the truth seems to be, that the latter had already resolved to desert the English interest, and laid hold of this pretext to break with the regent; though, at the same time, he determined to have it in his power to extort such terms from Charles as he should think proper to prescribe, and for that reason he still continued his hostilities against the French. Thus the war continued to be carried on, not only in Burgundy, where Philip's forces acted alone, but also in Picardy, where they were joined by the English, and where the French had surprized several places: the most considerable of these was St. Valery; but it was afterwards recovered by the earl of St. Pol, the duke of Bedford's new father-in-law, and the lord Willoughby; but the death of St. Pol, who was soon after carried off by a pestilential distemper, which raged this year in all the English part of France, almost ruined the regent duke's best-concerted schemes; for there being no general of eminence to take the command

of the troops, the war was left to the conduct of the commanders of garrisons, and produced nothing but depredations, which ruined all the provinces on this side the Loire, rencounters of small parties, and attempts on petty forts, without giving occasion to one remarkable action. It was on this account that the duke of Bedford proposed to king Charles the exchange of the gallant lord Talbot for Xaintrailles; and his offer was accepted. The duke of Bedford could not do without such a general as Talbot, though, to procure him, he was forced to give his equal to the enemy.

If the affairs of the English were upon an ill footing in France, they wore not a much better face in England, where the people began to be heartily tired of the war, and were extremely desirous of procuring a fair and equitable peace, so that there was an universal murmuring throughout the nation, and the parliament granted subsidies with the greatest reluctance. The duke of Bedford had severely felt the effects of this backwardness, and, desirous to carry on the war with such a force as, whilst Charles's affairs were low, might at once clear the provinces on this side the Loire of the enemy, and, by the reputation which such success would give to the English arms, keep the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany firm in their alliances with England, appointed a meeting with the duke of Gloucester at Calais. He expected some comfort, or at least council, at this conference; but Gloucester giving him no hopes of obtaining any aid from England, unless he came over himself, the regent duke, though he could be very ill spared from Paris, was forced to take this step, and set out for England about the middle of June.

On the eighth of July this year, the parliament met at Westminster; and on the thirteenth the duke of Bedford appeared in the house, when he acquainted the assembly, that, however necessary his presence might be in France, the service of his king had required his attendance in England: he then proceeded to give the two houses an account, as well of what had passed of late years in France, as of the present state of that country. His conduct was unanimously approved, and the parliament not only expressed their high opinion of his services in France, but requested him to stay in England, and take the direction of affairs upon himself; with which the duke complied for the present, and actually remained in England till the year 1434.

In the mean time the duke of Orleans, who had, ever since the battle of Agincourt, been a prisoner in England, and who had long solicited his freedom in the most earnest terms, but to no purpose, thought he now found, in the general dispositions of the English towards a peace, a favourable opportunity for recovering that inestimable blessing. As he was indulged with a free correspondence with France, he was perfectly well acquainted with the dispositions both of that court and its enemies. There had lately happened a revolution in Charles's court: Tremouille, the first minister to that prince, having rendered himself obnoxious to the queen and the princes of the blood, they, with his capital enemy, the constable de Richemont, conspired to destroy him: the design took effect; Richemont found means to seize his person at Chinon, where

† Hall. Monstrelet, p. 87

the French court then resided, and caused him to be carried to the strong castle of Mount Trefor, and there shut up. Charles at first appeared greatly enraged at this insult put upon himself in the person of his minister; but soon growing calm, he received Charles of Anjou, count of Maine, as his prime minister; and in a short time the count became a greater favourite than his predecessor.

This change in the French ministry proved of infinite advantage to Charles's affairs. New schemes for peace were now laid, and hopes were entertained, that, if an interview could be brought about between Charles and the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, these princes might be induced to exert their endeavours for that purpose, or be brought to desert the English, if they continued obstinately bent to prosecute the war. The bringing about this desirable interview was now undertaken by the duke of Orleans, who wisely judged, that if the parties could securely trust each other, they would be all of one mind, and join in ridding their country of an enemy who had lorded it there in the most imperious manner.

To bring about his favorite view, therefore, he, in August this year, gave in a paper of proposals for a general congress towards establishing a peace. He proposed that the queen dowager of Sicily, her son, Charles of Anjou, the duke of Brittany, with his two brothers the counts de Richemont and St. Giles, the duke of Alençon, the counts of Armagnac, St. Foix, Perdrac, and Clermont (son to the duke of Bourbon), and the archbishop of Paris, should meet such plenipotentiaries as the English court should nominate, at Calais; and he desired permission to assist at the congress, in order to enforce the negociation. At the same time he presented a set of articles, which were so favourable for England, that the council embraced his proposal without hesitation*, and he signed, sealed, and swore to the treaty which he had planned: but, notwithstanding, these solemn appearances of truth and real intention on the part of the duke of Orleans, and though safe-conducts were actually expedited by the government of England for the persons who were to assist at the conferences, yet nothing can be more plain than that the whole was, on the part of the duke, an artful juggle, to give

his countrymen an opportunity of understanding one another's sentiments, and to divert the council of England from listening to the request of the duke of Bedford, and making preparations for recovering their late losses in France. That this was the real state of the case will clearly appear in the sequel.

In the mean time the affairs of the English went very badly in France, through the absence of the duke of Bedford, who, on his return thither, in the autumn of 1434, found the Lower Normandy in danger of being lost: the peasants, who were utterly ruined by the incursions of parties, having, in the beginning of that year, taken arms to the number of fifty or sixty thousand men. Two thirds of these invaded the Vexin, and the other body of twenty thousand attacked Caen, which, together with Harfleur, Dieppe, and Lillebonne, they soon reduced. The earl of Arundel was so soon informed of this insurrection, that he advanced against those who had fallen into the Vexin, and, attacking them in the night, obtained an easy victory.

It might have been more difficult to reduce those in Caen, as they were headed by the marshal de Rieux, but they were so terrified at the fate of their companions, that they immediately dispersed, and the greatest part of them returned to their own habitations. The marshal, with a few of the most courageous, threw themselves into Dieppe, which, together with Harfleur, was still in the hands of Charles; though Arundel recovered Caen and Lillebonne, and afterwards marched against the French in Picardy, who had taken the strong town of Rue: but being informed on his way, that the enemy was fortifying Gerberoy, near Beauvais, he thought it more adviseable to drive them thence before the works could be completed. Accordingly he appeared before that place; but hearing that la Hire and Xaintrailles were approaching with twelve hundred men to its relief, he raised the siege, and marched to meet them in order of battle, when a bloody dispute ensued. Sir Ralph Standish, with about one hundred horse, were cut in pieces at the first onset; and three culverins, which la Hire had brought into the field, did such execution, that of five hundred horse which the earl had with him, two hundred were killed, and one hundred and

* These were of so very extraordinary a nature, that it would be unpardonable in us not to give our readers a sight of them. The paper is worded in the most abject terms, for he there calls Henry "his lawful Lord of France," and gives Charles no other title but that of the dauphin.

I. He proposes that the king of England and France should send commissioners with full powers to treat of a peace; and that the queen dowager of Sicily, &c. as above.

II. He, the said duke, proposes, if the peace should take place, to continue for a year after its commencement a prisoner within England; after which time he is to be set at liberty without any ransom, upon his swearing fealty, homage, and allegiance to Henry, as true king of France and England, and never to recognize any other person or family in that capacity, and to fight for him to death against all living, and to bring all his tenants and subjects to do the same, under grievous penalties; but if they should agree to this, they were to enjoy all the benefits stipulated by the treaty of Troye.

III. He promises the same for his friends, the duke of Alençon, the earl of Armagnac, the earl of Perche, and his own brother the earl of Angoulême; and likewise to employ all his good offices with his friends who had dominions without France, such as the dukes of Milan and Savoy, to acknowledge Henry as king of France, and to enter with him into a firm league and friendship.

IV. In case the peace should not take place, he offers to put into the hands of the English the cities of Orleans and Blois, with all the forts and possessions belonging to his own

family; and likewise to procure them the possession of an infinite number of other places, not immediately depending upon himself, particularly Rochelle and Mount St. Michael, with Lisieux, Xaintes, Bourges, Chinon, Poitiers, Tournay, &c. or an equivalent for them all, except the two first-mentioned, which were to be delivered up without admitting an equivalent; and that if, in the mean time, king Henry should please to confer on him any estate or post in England, he was, in like manner, ready to swear homage, fealty, and allegiance to him.

V. In case a general peace should not be concluded, he, the said duke of Orleans, agrees, for the greater security of performing his promises, to re-deliver himself a prisoner in England until all his engagements should be fulfilled, unless the king and council of England should find it expedient for their service to give him leave, under the great-seal, to depart from England.

In another article he supposes the dauphin (as he affects to call king Charles) would be contented with an honourable and considerable appenage, or provision, for him and his heirs; which was the very thing the English aimed at in the negociation: and there cannot be a clearer proof than this very article, that the duke of Orleans was in concert with the court of France to impose upon England; for can it be supposed that Charles ever would entertain a thought of being satisfied with the above appenage in lieu of a crown and kingdom, to which he had an undoubted right? This hope, therefore, was insinuated only to cause the English the more readily to fall into the snare. Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. x. p. 556—559.

fifty taken prisoners. As to Arundel himself, he was mortally wounded and taken prisoner, and in a few days expired; to the great sorrow of the duke of Bedford, who in him lost one of his bravest generals, and England one of the most accomplished of her noblemen.

But the loss of this great man was in some measure supplied by the services of the gallant lord Talbot, who arrived about the latter end of the summer from England, with four or five thousand men, to whom he joined some troops drawn from garrisons; and being joined by the marshal de Lisle Adam (whom Henry had made marshal of France), at the head of about three thousand troops, he recovered Crespi in the county of Valois, Beaumont on the Oyse, Creil, Pont St. Maixence, and Clermont in the Beauvoisis, which had been surprized by the French: he even began the siege of Beauvais, but the bad weather obliged him to desist. During these petty excursions Charles went into Languedoc and Dauphiné*.

This year died the duke of Bourbon, a prisoner in England, being succeeded by his son, the earl of Clermont, in his honours and estate. This prince had ever continued zealously attached to the French interest; and, putting himself at the head of a formidable body of troops, he made a terrible irruption into the duke of Burgundy's estates; and his progress was so rapid, that, before that duke could get together an army to drive him out of his dominions, he laid waste with fire and sword great part of the open country, and surprized many of the towns. Upon notice of this, the duke of Bedford altered the destination of certain troops, which were to have besieged Manche, and ordered them to march, under the lord Willoughby, to the assistance of the duke of Burgundy. It was not long before they came up with the main body of the French, at Lyonnois, and, after an obstinate encounter, the English and Burgundians remained masters of the field.

The duke did not fail to lay hold of this opportunity to represent, in very warm terms, to the council of England, this invasion on his territories as the effect of the great load he was obliged to take of the war through their inactivity, and which extremely exhausted his subjects: in short, he began to shew himself greatly discontented; he complained of the duke of Bedford as having treated him disrespectfully in the affair of his marriage. His violent aversion to Charles, on account of the murder of his father, began now to abate; and having, in pursuit of his vengeance, done enough to satisfy his honour, by reducing France more than once to the brink of ruin, he was not averse to a reconciliation with Charles, and no longer to persist in setting a foreign family on the throne, even to the exclusion of himself and his blood. In this disposition he lent a willing ear to a proposal made him by the constable Richemont, of a conference at Nevers, under pretence of adjusting matters between him and the count de Clermont, now duke of Bourbon. Accordingly, in January, 1435, the two dukes and the constable repaired to Nevers: the latter and the duke of Bourbon were accompanied by their wives, who were Philip's sisters; and this conference finished the work, and determined him to drop his resentments, and make peace

with France. But there was, however, no pretence in decency for breaking off the proposed conferences at Calais; and this might greatly have embarrassed the duke in his newly adopted views, had not the council of Basil, which was then sitting, interposed; for the cardinal of St. Croix, who had some time before been sent by that council to labour for an accommodation between France and England, now received fresh instructions to continue and redouble his efforts; and, under colour of his authority, it was resolved that the conferences for a general peace should be held at Arras instead of Calais. In the mean time, however, the French court had intrigued so well, that the duke of Burgundy, in a meeting he had with the archbishop of Rheims, chancellor of France, and others of Charles's ministers, put the final hand to a separate agreement with that monarch; but this was to be kept a profound secret till the event of the congress of Arras should be known; and, the more effectually to cover their designs, they seemed impatient to fix a day for opening the congress, which was accordingly appointed for the month of July; and notices were sent to the council of Basil, and to almost all the powers of Europe, not even excepting the court of England, to send their plenipotentiaries to assist at the negotiation, which, it was said, was intended not only to close the wounds of France, but to restore peace to the Christian world.

In a word, the duke of Bedford and the government appear to have been completely duped in this affair, and not to have entertained the least doubt of the duke of Burgundy's sincerity: this is clearly evinced in that, when they came to nominate their plenipotentiaries at the approaching congress, they put the duke at the head of the commission: this, indeed, laid that prince under a difficulty how to act, both as a plenipotentiary for England, and a principal contracting party in the negotiation; but this difficulty he got partly over by the instructions which he gave to his commissioners, who appeared there for him as duke of Burgundy: on the whole it must be confessed, that this prince acted a very treacherous part through the whole affair.

A little before the opening of the congress, the English council received intelligence that the duke of Burgundy had solicited pope Eugenius to absolve him from the oath which he had taken to the late king Henry. Eugenius being applied to on this subject, declared that the French prince had not made any such demand; and that, for the future, he would observe such conduct as would be satisfactory to the king of England. How religiously his holiness observed his promise will appear by the sequel.

The congress of Arras was not opened till the sixth of August, though the first of July was the day appointed, all the plenipotentiaries not being arrived at that time. Those on the part of Henry were partly English and partly French, as Henry treated in quality of king of both people: the English commissioners (besides the duke of Burgundy, as chief) were the bishops of Norwich and St. David's, the earls of Huntingdon and Suffolk, the lord Hungerford, Lyndwood, the famous canonist, keeper of the privy-seal, sir John Radcliffe, constable of Guienne, sir John Popham, sir Robert Shott-

* Chartier Hist. de Charles VII.

borough, secretary Reynel, with the doctors Everard, Ruffel, and Sprevor, all of them civilians*.

The chief of those for Charles were the duke of Bourbon, the count de Richemont, constable of France; the count de Vendôme, great-master of the household; Renaud of Chartres, archbishop of Rheims and chancellor of France; Christopher d'Harcourt, and Gilbert de la Fayette, marshal of France.

Those for the duke of Burgundy were, Rolin, his chancellor; the bishops of Liege, Cambray, and Arras; the duke of Gueldres; the counts of Estampes, St. Pol, de Ligny, Vaudemont, Nevers, Nassau, Montfort, Magie, and some others.

The kings of Poland, Castile, Navarre, and Sicily, the dukes of Brittany, Barr, and Milan sent likewise their ambassadors, as the city of Paris and the great towns of Flanders did their deputies. The conferences were to be held under the mediation of the cardinal of St. Croix, who assisted as representing the pope, and the cardinal of Cyprus, who appeared on the part of the council of Basil. In short, no fewer than ten thousand people extraordinary repaired to Arras on this occasion†.

The conferences were begun by the duke of Burgundy, as first plenipotentiary for England: he demanded of the French commissioners the terms they were instructed to proceed upon, in writing; which they accordingly gave in, and were to the following purpose:

"That Henry should lay aside his style of king of France, and renounce, for himself and his heirs, all claim to that crown; and also that he should give up Paris, and all the places he held in other parts of the kingdom: in consideration of which he should enjoy what he actually possessed in Guienne, together with the entire duchy of Normandy, but on condition of swearing homage and doing fealty to Charles, as king of France, for those territories, agreeable to the ancient usage."

The English plenipotentiaries were next called upon to give in their proposals, which were,

"That Charles should be left in peaceable possession of all he already held on both sides the Loire, on condition that the English should retain the like possession of all they held in France; but that to prevent any future differences, the places of the one power that lay in the heart of the other's possessions, should be exchanged for the like places to be given up by the other power, or for some other equivalent." They likewise offered, "That their king should marry a daughter of Charles; and that the duke of Orleans should be set at liberty for a moderate ransom."

The conferences on the subject did not last long; the French not receding from their demands, and the English absolutely rejecting them as so remote from what the duke of Orleans had made them expect, all farther proceedings towards a peace between the two crowns were stopped, and the English plenipotentiaries (all but the duke of Burgundy), with all their retinue and attendance, left Arras on the sixth of September, and proceeded to Calais, from whence they sent the duke of Orleans over to England; for the English had been so far imposed upon by that prince, that they had actually brought him with them to Calais, hoping that his presence, and the reflection of his captivity, might have a great influence with the French

commissioners in the prosecution of the negotiation; but this step had a very contrary effect, for the duke underhand wrote to his countrymen, encouraging them not to abate aught of their demands, nor to suffer his confinement in the least to influence their proceedings.

The hasty departure of the English plenipotentiaries was by no means a subject of surprize either to the duke of Burgundy or the French ambassadors; they must have foreseen that the offers they made, would be refused; nay, it may very reasonably be presumed, that it was for this very purpose they projected the plan of a congress for a general peace, well knowing that the English would reject the conditions they meant to propose, and their refusal would furnish the duke of Burgundy with a pretext for concluding a separate accommodation: and here we may learn the true motives of the magnificent offers made by the duke of Orleans to the king of England, in case the conferences should prove ineffectual.

Agreeable to this plan, on the English plenipotentiaries quitting the congress, their abrupt departure was exaggerated, and represented as a clear evidence they never intended to make peace; and the duke of Burgundy now openly declared, that he was not obliged to be governed by their humour, or render the war everlasting for their sake, but thought himself at full liberty to act for his own own interest; and, by the assistance of the mediating cardinals, the accommodation between him and Charles was very quickly finished, for on the twenty-first of September (only fifteen days after the departure of the English ambassadors), the cardinals having previously absolved the duke from the oath he had taken to the late and present kings of England, concluded a separate treaty of peace with France, on the following terms.

"I. That king Charles, though he excused himself from the murder of the duke of Burgundy, his father, yet he should make satisfaction for his death, by punishing all that were found guilty of it, if they could be discovered and apprehended, by death; if not, by perpetual banishment: and should build a church in Montberras, with a monastery of twelve monks and a superior, which he should endow with a sufficient maintainance, to pray for his soul for ever.

"II. That king Charles should pay to the duke of Burgundy fifty thousand crowns, for the jewels that were taken from his father at the time of his death; and should have liberty to recover those that were not named, particularly the fleece, which was of a very great value, from any in whose possession they were found.

"III. That the following countries, cities, and towns, with all their pre-eminences and jurisdictions, should be immediately delivered up to Philip, duke of Burgundy, and settled on him and his heirs, whether male or female, viz. Mafon in Xaintoinge, the city of Auxerres, with the jurisdiction of Barr up the Seine, the city of Castel, with the lay patronage of the church and abbey of Leuxeule, pretended to, but never possessed by the dukes of Burgundy before, the cities of Montidier, Peron, St. Quintin, Corbie, Amiens, and Abbeville, the county of Ponthieu and Poictou, with the outbounds of Champagne.

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. x. p. 611, 612.

† Ibid. p. 616, 617. P. Daniel. Montfretet.

"IV. That,

“IV. That, in case the king of England should make war upon the duke of Burgundy and his subjects, king Charles should assist him both by sea and land, as in his own cause, and should not make peace with him, unless he concluded him in it: and that, if king Charles should not fully keep to his agreement, his own subjects should not be bound to obey him; but being free from all oaths of allegiance to him, might assist the duke of Burgundy against him.

“V. That Charles, count Charlerois, son to duke Philip, should marry the lady Catherine, king Charles's daughter, and have with her in portion one hundred and twenty thousand crowns†.”

The princes of the blood in France, and the noblemen of Burgundy, ratified this agreement under their hands and seals; and, on the fifth day of November, it was confirmed by the council of Basil, which denounced sentence of excommunication and interdict against that prince who should infringe the articles. Never had king of France made so dishonourable a peace; but it seems as if the French court thought nothing too much to bring the duke of Burgundy off from his alliance with England, as the surest means to extricate Charles from his difficulties.

If the defection of the duke of Burgundy was an unlucky incident for the English interest in France, it received a still more fatal blow, and almost at the same instant, by the death of the duke of Bedford, which happened this year, on the fourteenth of September, in the castle of Rouen. Very probably his indignation to be thus imposed upon by Charles and the duke of Burgundy, and his foreseeing that the affairs of his nephew were going to be irretrievably ruined, helped to throw him into the sickness of which he died. We have already given the character of this prince; and shall only add, that it is hard to say, whether he shone most in the field or the cabinet, whether he was a greater hero or politician, and whether he was most esteemed or admired for his valour, his equity, or his moderation. There cannot be a greater proof of the veneration in which the memory of this excellent prince was held, even by his enemies, than the reply which Lewis XI. son of Charles VII. gave to one of his courtiers, who advised him to demolish the monument of Bedford*: “God forbid (said Lewis) that I should be guilty of such a base and ungenerous action, as to disturb the ashes of a prince, who, were he alive, would make the boldest of us all tremble; I rather wish that a more stately monument were erected to his memory||.”

About the same time died Isabella, queen dowager of France, at Paris, very little lamented by the French, who considered her as the principal cause of all those miseries and calamities with which the kingdom had been so long oppressed.

The death of the regent, as we have already observed, was a terrible blow to the English interest in France; and the misfortune was made still greater by the squabbles of parties in the council

of England, which caused a delay of seven months, in a juncture where a moment was not to be lost, before they could agree in the choice of a successor. The French found their advantage in this delay; and the garrison of Pontoise going out to forage, the townsmen rose, seized the place, and applied for assistance to the marshal de Lisle Adam, who, taking upon him the government of the town, delivered it afterwards to Charles VII. and was confirmed by him in that charge, as well as in the dignity of marshal of France. This general had never been hearty in the service of the English; and though young Henry had created him constable of France, yet he gladly embraced the first opportunity of returning to his allegiance to his lawful sovereign. The marshal de Reux, who had thrown himself into Dieppe, getting an army of eight or ten thousand men together, before the end of this year, reduced Feschamp and Mortvilliers, with all the towns and castles in the Upper Normandy, except Arques and Caudebec.

All these misfortunes, which were but so many preludes to far greater ones, struck a deadly damp into the minds of the English. A parliament had been assembled, on the tenth of October this year, at Westminster, in which the bishop of Bath and Wells, lord chancellor of England, in his speech at the opening of the session, gave the members a particular detail of the negotiations at Arras, in which he represented the conduct of the duke of Burgundy in the blackest colours; and the nation was so exasperated at the news of that prince's defection, that they voted a large subsidy for carrying on the war, and to punish the faithless conduct, as it was termed, of the duke of Burgundy‡.

Mean time the duke, willing to shew still some regard for Henry, sent two heralds with letters, to excuse his concluding a separate peace, in which he declared it was through no disaffection to the English that he had taken that step, but to comply with the earnest wishes and remonstrances of his harassed people, sinking beneath the load and calamity of so long a war; and concluded with exhorting Henry to enter into the like pacific sentiments, and conclude a peace upon just and moderate terms, offering his mediation between him and Charles for that purpose. This offer was looked upon as a fresh insult; besides, it was observed that the superscription of his letters was now in a different style to that he was wont to use; for whereas he had before always directed to Henry as his sovereign lord and king of France and England, he now only gave him the appellation of “Henry, by the grace of God king of England, our well beloved cousin§.” It was resolved to return no answer to his letters; his heralds were treated with indignity; the parliament even took no precaution to conceal their indignation from the public; and the populace getting a hint of the affair, the mob rose in London, and fell upon the Flemings and others of the duke of Burgundy's trading subjects then in that city, killing some and plundering

† Monstrelet. Du Tillet. Hall.

* He was buried in the church of Notre Dame, in Rouen, under a plain tomb of black marble, with an epitaph upon a tablet of brass, affixed to a pillar at the foot of his tomb, above the epitaph stood his escutcheon of arms (of silver, now lost) within the Garter, betwixt two ostrich-feathers; and underneath a root is represented which the priests call “la racine de Bedford,” or Bedford's root. Sandford's Genealog. p. 314.

|| Hall, p. 129. Rapin.

‡ During the sitting of this parliament the duke of Gloucester received a commission to be governor of the town of Calais, the tower of Risbank, the castles of Haines, and Guesnes, with all the English acquisitions in the neighbourhood, in the room of sir Richard Woodville, who had succeeded, on the duke of Bedford's death, as governor of Calais, Rymer's Fœdera, vol. x. p. 648.

§ Monstrelet. Du Tillet. Hall.

others, till a proclamation was issued to stop those disorders, and protections were granted to such as, being settled in England, would take the oath of allegiance; but those who would not, were immediately expelled. This step had a great effect, for most of the Flemish, or Brabanders, settled here, immediately naturalized themselves Englishmen†.

The duke of Burgundy, after the treatment his ambassadors and subjects had met with, thought he had no measures to keep with the English court; and, to give Charles an earnest of his sincerity, he corrupted the English commanders of Vincennes and Corbeil to betray them into his hands, and immediately resigned them into those of the French king. Several towns in Normandy also revolted to the French, and these conquests paved the way to the reduction of Paris itself.

Nothing could give a greater reputation to king Charles's affairs than reducing the capital of his realm; but his finances not being in a condition to support so large an army as was necessary to besiege it in form, the only way left of succeeding in the enterprize was to amuse the court of England with fresh proposals, while he might find means to establish some intelligence within the place, so as to surprize it before the English could be upon their guard. With this view he made overtures of peace to Henry in the beginning of the year 1436, and offered to confirm it by giving that monarch the eldest daughter of France in marriage; and, amazing as it may seem, notwithstanding the court of England had so lately, and with so much haughtiness, rejected all terms with France, and when they could not be ignorant of the dispositions which Charles and the duke of Burgundy were taking to drive the English entirely out of France, they listened so attentively to this proposition, that Henry even named the duke of York and some others as his plenipotentiaries to treat of a peace; nay, he likewise named for his commissioners to conclude the marriage, the cardinal of England and the duke of Burgundy, with whom he was actually at war*. Let others account for this glaring contradiction, in the best manner they are able; I must confess myself utterly at a loss herein, and should look upon it as incredible, did it not stand as a fact vouched upon the face of our records.

This inconsistency or fluctuation in the English councils, however, regained to Charles his capital and his crown; for while his agents, in concert with the duke of Orleans and the count d'Armagnac, were amusing Henry's court, he dispatched the constable de Richemont, the marshal Lisle Adam, and the count de Dunois, to attempt the great and decisive conquest, which he had so much at heart. Corbeil and Vincennes had been already betrayed into the hands of those generals; and they now made themselves masters, by the like treacherous artifices, of Escouan and St. Denis; so that Paris was in a manner blocked up, and its supply of provisions greatly straitened: it is true, that the constable's troops did not amount to above six thousand men, even after he had been joined by a body of five hundred lances sent by the duke of Burgundy; but the French generals found means

to procure such exact intelligence from within the place, that, with this handful, they proceeded to the reduction of it.

The lord Willoughby at this time commanded for Henry in Paris: he had no more English regular troops within the place than fifteen hundred, so that he was obliged to depend upon the French-English (or rather Burgundian) party among the citizens themselves to guard the gates. It was by the help of this party that Lisle Adam had surprized the place, about fifteen years before, for the English; to them therefore he secretly applied on this occasion; and finding the sole difficulty they had as to their giving up the city, was left Charles, if successful, should punish them severely for their long disloyalty, the marshal, who had foreseen this objection, and wisely provided against it, produced an act of amnesty under Charles's own hand, and guaranteed by the duke of Burgundy, stipulating a full pardon, and restitution of all their privileges, to the Parisians. This satisfied the conspirators, and they undertook to let him into the town, early in the morning of Friday, the thirteenth of April, by the gate of St. Michael.

On the day appointed, Lisle Adam, with a chosen party, scaled the walls, by ladders let down by those within; at the same time another party let down the draw-bridge, that the constable might enter with all his forces. The alarm soon spread, the English took to arms immediately, and Willoughby, with a wonderful presence of mind, gave such orders, that the constable would have been driven out of the city; but the French and Burgundian parties joining in his favour, drew chains across the streets, and rose in every quarter, and while the garrison endeavoured to repel the assailants, they were overwhelmed with a shower of stones from the windows and battlements of the whole city, echoing with repeated acclamations of "Long live king Charles VII. and the duke of Burgundy!"

The governor, unable to oppose such a multitude of enemies, retired to the Bastile, where he might have defended himself for a considerable time, had it been properly furnished with stores and ammunition; but finding it destitute of every thing necessary for sustaining a siege even of a short continuance, he capitulated a few days after, upon condition of being allowed to retire unmolested, with his garrison and their baggage, to Rouen‡. St. Germain and Charenton soon followed the fate of the capital.

Upon the death of the duke of Bedford, Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, was nominated to the regency of France; but Edmund Beaufort, third son of John Beaufort, earl of Somerset (by an unaccountable mistake, in all our historians called duke of Somerset, though no such title then existed§), and himself earl of Mortaigne in Normandy, and lord of Chirkland in the Marches of Wales, contested with him that dignity; and having gotten the duke of Gloucester on his side, they managed their intrigues with such art in the council, that the expediting of the duke's patent was delayed from time to time, which had given the

† And from these are descended many of our most frequent surnames, such as Warner, Ware, Johnson, James, Robertson, Wilson, Michel, Dyson, Crabbe, Tait, Nicholson, Hunt, Herne, Tilman, Cowper, with many others, too tedious to

mention. See Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. x. p. 636—653.

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. x. p. 442, 643.

‡ Monstrelet. Hall.

§ See on this head Guth. Hist. Eng. vol. ii. p. 570, 571. partizans

patrizans of Charles in France leisure to extend their conquests without opposition; but the loss of Paris seems to have awakened the council of England out of the lethargic disposition which had made them hitherto so shamefully neglect the affairs of France, and to have convinced them of the necessity of prosecuting the war there with vigour; at the same time certain intelligence arriving, that the duke of Burgundy was meditating a great blow upon some other of the capital possessions of the English in that country, the cardinal of Winchester, who had warmly espoused the cause of the duke of York, at length prevailed to have the seals put to a commission, appointing him the king's lieutenant-general in France †, notwithstanding all the opposition of the duke of Gloucester; and the duke of York set out for France with an army of eighty thousand men; but these unhappy disputes had so much retarded the public service, that he did not arrive in that kingdom till the middle of May, when he landed in Normandy, where he recovered many small places and castles, which the French had taken since the death of the duke of Bedford. While he was thus employed, he received intelligence that the duke of Burgundy was making great preparations for the siege of Calais; in consequence of which he wrote over to the council in England, pressing them to put that place in a posture of defence. Nothing could alarm the court of England more than this news: orders were immediately issued for equipping a fleet and army, the former to be commanded by the earl of Huntingdon (John Holland), and the latter by the duke of Gloucester, who, on this occasion, obtained from Henry, as king of France, a grant for life of the county of Flanders; as John, lord Beaumont, did that of Boulogne.

In the mean time the duke of Burgundy, glowing with resentment to find his good offices, towards bringing about a peace, so contemptuously treated by the English, had been continually endeavouring to distress Henry all he could; and having assembled the states of his dominions, before whom he laid the proceedings and practices of the English court in the most odious lights, he at length prevailed with that ever fickle people to resolve upon entering heartily into a war with England, and to begin by forming the siege of Calais. He had drawn together an army of fifty thousand men, of which seventeen thousand were inhabitants of Ghent, and with these he surprized the castles of Oye, Marque, Sangate, and other fortresses of importance about Calais.

Before this last place he sat down about the latter end of June, with his numerous army. The Flemings fancied that they should have little more to do than shew themselves, and that the garrison would be terrified into an immediate surrender; but they soon found their mistake. The besieged made a most gallant defence, the place was well supplied with all necessaries, and the besiegers found themselves most terribly harassed by the successful and well-conducted sallies of the enemy. Philip, who hoped to acquire immortal fame by taking of one of the strongest places in Europe, began to perceive with regret, that the attempt was beyond his power; however, as he knew that the duke of Gloucester was daily expected to the relief of the

place, he resolved to omit nothing to prevent their succours from entering, and ordered five or six great hulks, loaded with stones, to be sunk at the mouth of the harbour, to choak up the entrance; but these vessels lying aground on the sands at low-water, the people of Calais, when the tide was out, found means to burn them, and otherwise render them useless.

The design of blocking up the port by sea thus miscarrying, a small wooden fort was erected on the land-side, and well supplied with cannon and other military engines, to batter the place, and hinder the sallies of the besieged: this was taken by the English, and the Flemings, who guarded it, all put to the sword. In the mean time the duke of Gloucester arrived, with about fifteen thousand men: he found the garrison in so high spirits, and saw such manifest signs of fear in the approaches of the besiegers, that he immediately sent a messenger to the duke of Burgundy, offering him battle. The latter accepted the challenge, as the only chance he now had for success, despairing of ever being able to carry the town; but his boastful Flemings had experienced too much of the English valour to dare to meet it, even with superior numbers, in the field: they pretended they were betrayed, the place not being invested by sea, as they had been assured it would; in a word they shamefully broke up their camp, and made a most precipitate retreat. Philip, fearing that the garrison of Calais might take advantage of the confusion caused by this sudden desertion, drew up his regular troops to secure their retreat; and, leaving his artillery, baggage, and provisions in the hands of the English retired to Gravelines*.

The duke of Gloucester, having provided for the security of Calais, marched, with about ten thousand men, into the very heart of Philip's county of Artois, burning and destroying all before him, and taking great plunder; but, for want of provisions, he was forced soon after to return back to Calais. Nor was this the only loss that the duke of Burgundy sustained: hardly had he returned to his own dominions, when he had the mortification to see the maritime coasts of his possessions in Flanders ravaged by an English fleet, while he himself was even in danger of losing his life in a sedition at Bruges, after having seen the marshal Lisle Adam almost torn in pieces by the furious populace †.

This year Margaret, princess of Scotland, daughter of James I. who, the reader may remember, was affianced some time before to the dauphin of France, Lewis, having now completed her twelfth year, was sent over to France, and the marriage was celebrated with the utmost pomp, on the fourteenth of June, at Tours.

The truce between England and Scotland expiring much about the same time, hostilities were recommenced between the two nations. The earl of Northumberland, with the other lords of the Marches, invaded Scotland, but were encountered, at a place called Pepperden, by William Douglas, earl of Angus, and some other Scottish noblemen, when, after an obstinate engagement, victory fell to the Scots, who routed the English, killing fifteen hundred of their men, and taking above four hundred prisoners; while their own loss did not amount to more than two hundred in all. The

† Rymer, vol. x. p. 635, 637.

* Hall. Montrelet.

† Montrelet.

English council being apprized of the intended passage of the princess Margaret over to France, fitted out a fleet, which was stationed in the Channel in hopes to intercept her; but the Scottish squadron, sailing round by the Western Isles, escaped the enemy's cruisers, and landed their precious charge safely at Rochelle.

In the beginning of the year 1437 died queen Catherine of Valois, widow of Henry V. at the end of whose reign we have given an account of this lady's second marriage, the descendants from which afterwards sat on the throne of England. This princess was followed by Joan of Navarre, the other queen dowager of England, relict of Henry IV. beside whom her remains were interred; a proof that, before her death, she had got the better of the aspersion that had been cast upon her conduct and loyalty to the royal family.

Early this year a parliament was held at Westminster, who made several regulations for the benefit of the marine and trading interest; and provided for the farther security of Calais, in consequence of a representation from the duke of Gloucester, governor of that place, setting forth the danger it was in, and protesting in form, that the loss thereof should not be imputed to him, if its preservation was not attended to in time. In this parliament likewise sir Richard Woodville, a gallant young soldier, and who had been captain or deputy-governor of Calais, owned his marriage with Jaqueline of Luxemburg, duchess dowager of Bedford, which having been contracted without the king's licence, the bridegroom was obliged to pay a thousand pounds fine for that, and to obtain livery of her dowry; but he was afterwards (in the twenty-sixth year of this reign) created earl of Rivers by patent. The remarkable acts of this parliament will be found in their proper place: taking leave of the civil, we will now proceed to the military transactions of this year.

The two parties in France passed the greatest part of this year in daily inroads and surprizes upon each other, unchecked by the severe cold of the early part of the season; for the brave and indefatigable Talbot found means to turn this very circumstance to the advantage of his master's arms. Having undertaken to surprize Pontoise, he effected his design by a stratagem worthy of his military genius: knowing that the ditches of the place were frozen, and the country all about being covered with snow, he ordered a large body of his men to march by night, with white cloths over their armour; and coming before day to the foot of the walls, he made them lay down in the ditch, where they could not be distinguished from the snow with which it was filled: the centinels being to be relieved at day-break, the English, on hearing the garrison's drums, clapped their scaling-ladders to the wall, and entered the place so suddenly, that neither the garrison nor Varambon, the governor, had time to make the least defence, but took to precipitate flight for their own safety. The taking of this important post enabled the English to waste the country and make incursions to the very gates of Paris, to the great annoyance of that capital.

The garrison of Crotoy, which was commanded by sir John Standish, encouraged by the success of Talbot, committed the like ravages in the adja-

cent parts of Ponthieu, and greatly harrassed Abbeville and other towns, belonging both to Charles and the duke of Burgundy; this made the latter resolve to lay siege to Crotoy in person: he accordingly sat down before it with about ten thousand of his best troops, but had the mortification to find his project baffled; for the duke of York, after having reduced Tancarville, Beauchatel, and Materville, detached the lord Talbot with a body of five thousand men, to relieve the place; and this experienced general, having passed the Somme at Blauquetaque, without opposition, advanced to Crotoy with so much resolution and good order, that the duke thought proper to decamp, and suffer him, without resistance, to supply the place with all necessaries, and even to ravage the neighbourhood for some days, after which the English general went and joined the regent's army in Normandy.

In the mean time Charles, after having spent the conclusion of the preceding year in celebrating the marriage of his son Lewis, the dauphin, with the princess of Scotland, in assembling the states of Languedoc, and in settling matters in his other provinces south of the Loire, made preparations for marching to Paris, which he had not yet honoured with his presence. Accordingly, getting together an army of six thousand men, he advanced to Brai, a town on the river Seine, and, after having taken Chateau Landon, Charni, Nemours, and some other English garrisons that lay in his way, he invested Montereau sur Yonne, a post of consequence as interrupting the communication of the county of Gatinois with Champagne and Burgundy.

This garrison was commanded by sir Thomas Gerard, a brave English officer, who made a gallant defence, though his numbers in the place did not amount to more than four hundred men. Hitherto Charles had not been remarkable for his personal courage, but on this occasion he performed such noble exploits as greatly surprized his friends, and his enemies: having, after a long siege, given orders for a general assault, he was the first who jumped into the ditch, where the water came up to his middle, and was the first who mounted the walls; and so greatly were his men animated by his example, that the town was taken sword in hand. After this conquest, by which he acquired great reputation, Charles went to Melun, having sent the constable Richemont to dispose things for his entry into Paris, where he arrived in person on the fourteenth of November this year, and was received with the warmest expressions of loyalty and joy; while he, on his part, seemed to forget that the city had ever shut her gates against him. His first care was to re-establish the parliament and courts of justice there, and to provide for the future good government of the city. But a stop was put to these salutary regulations; for a terrible famine, followed by a pestilence, broke out among the impoverished and long-harrassed inhabitants, which carried off such numbers as rendered it unsafe to live within the walls; and the king and court leaving the city, with the greatest part of the remaining people, it became a perfect desert.

But France did not alone experience calamities; England was rent by factions: the Somerset party

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at that court, sworn enemies to the duke of York, of whom they had conceived a jealousy, founded upon reasons of blood, had intrigued so effectually against him, that he was recalled from the government of France this year, and Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, was appointed Henry's lieutenant-general in that kingdom. The old feuds between the cardinal and the duke of Gloucester were also revived, with the most rancorous animosity: the latter was indefatigable in attacking him wherever he lay open; and the other entrenched himself deep behind repeated general pardons from the crown for all treasons or trespasses he might be guilty of. Gloucester had ever been a strong opposer of the release of the duke of Orleans, and the dying charge of the late king gave his opposition no small weight; but, notwithstanding, the cardinal-bishop, glad of any opportunity to humble his antagonist, even though at the expence of his country's interest, lent a favourable ear to the proposal made him by Charles, for bringing about the ransom of the duke of Orleans, as the only person whose merit and rank could balance the credit of a party which, to Charles's infinite regret, he saw daily increasing in his court, and of which his own son, the dauphin, a young man of a restless and ambitious disposition, was at the head, and had engaged the dukes of Alençon and Bourbon, with the counts de Vendôme and Dunois (the famous bastard of Orleans), to enter into his counsels and designs. Accordingly we find, at the end of this year, that not only a treaty for the enlargement of the captive duke was set on foot, but there was also a project for a final accommodation between the two crowns, by means of that prince.

But, in order to have a clear view both of the designs and interest of the court of England at this time, we must attend the events of neighbouring courts, which, had they been as carefully improved, as they favourably happened, for the English might have once more given them the ascendancy on the continent. And first we shall take a view of the Scottish affairs at this period, and give some account of the constitution of that nation, as it has been gathered from their best writers by a modern historian, whose words we shall nearly transcribe.

"The feudal law, which had been established in that country, continued at this time in much greater rigour than in England, or perhaps any part of the world: but the Scots, receiving it more early than the English, received it with much greater imperfection. It was not like the great system introduced by the Norman Conqueror (and afterwards alternately improved by the crown and the people, as the scale of power preponderated in favour of either), modelled so as to keep the balance even among the constituent parts of the legislature; for, in Scotland, it had an evident tendency to aggrandize the middle order, that of the barons. What made this a misfortune was, the smallness of the qualifications of those barons, by which such vast numbers of them enjoyed the feudal rights to the highest extent.

"That there seems to have been no such order among them as that of a knight, in the English sense of the word, viz. as one depending upon a baron, and holding his lands for the services he per-

formed to his lawful lord in the field; by this, the militia, in effect, was in the hands of the barons; and, in all domestic differences, the only safety of the crown was, that when the division was pretty equal, as it generally happened, the king's weight cast the balance upon the side into which it was thrown. It is true, in all disputes with England, the crown had very great influence, the cause being common, the king their common leader; and in this his subjects agreed, though they often agreed upon nothing else. As to the form of their government, that too retained all the fierceness of its Gothic model, without any of those softening introduced into that of England; and, it must be owned, that the commons seem to have had no manner of share in their government, before they were introduced by the English, under Edward I. Robert Bruce was too good a politician not to perceive that the continuing this order might in time prove some kind of balance to the formidable power of the barons; he therefore encouraged it, and burgessees now sat in parliament, in the same chamber with the barons.

"From this short view of the Scottish constitution, the reader may perceive, that there was not any intermediate order between the crown and the commons, as peers of the king's court. There was no other difference between the barons and the commons, than that the former served hereditarily and collectively, the other electively and representatively. The meanest commoner, even to the latest period in which the people could boast of a parliament, had the same deliberative and decisive voice as the greatest baron; they joined in the same protest, and enjoyed the same privileges, while their political capacity lasted. There were, it is true, in Scotland, as in other parts of Europe, distinctions of nobility, such as dukes and earls; but this gave them no pre-eminence in voice above the meanest commoner returned to serve in parliament: by those means there was no proportion between the influence of the barons in parliament, and their power in the field, the latter so greatly outweighing the former, that the appeal was generally made to the sword.

"As to what was afterwards looked upon to be the representation of the commons from counties in Scotland, it was, in effect, no fundamental in their constitution, but a mere matter of convenience, and, apparently inconsistent with the feudal law, which supposes every baron to be a *Par Curia*, and therefore representing himself. But they were not the commons that those members from counties represented, they were actually the barons, who at first served collectively, till (as it happened in some cases in England) they, in general, began to think their attendance too expensive and inconvenient*, and James, as a matter of grace, dispensed with the attendance of the smaller barons, upon their joining to send up a representative for their county. But it is to be remembered that this was not the case of all the barons; for the king obliged the most able and the most considerable of them to attend his court. Upon the whole, therefore, the original of nobility in Scotland was purely accidental, and, as all nobility ought to be, was annexed to great property and great parts. As to a peerage, they never had any, in the English sense

* Black Acts, fol. 17. c. 112.

of the word; and in this Gothic form stood the constitution of Scotland at the time we now treat of †." I have been the more particular in this account of a people to whom the English are now so intimately related, not only because it has a connection with English history, but because the reader, from this representation, may form some conjecture how far the English had gained or lost, by the alterations which had been introduced into their own feudal system.

James I. of Scotland, though endowed with great abilities for government, had an education too foreign from the manners of the Scots, which had pushed him upon some impolitic severities. He had undertaken to humble the overgrown power of the barons, and he seems to have had it in view to worm them out of the militia, by bringing the parliament to pass several acts establishing a kind of reformed militia, which was to be commanded by the respective sheriff of each county. He brought to justice many of his great men, who, during his exile, had acquired exorbitant powers: and, as he had the commons on his side, who were glad of the royal authority to shelter themselves from the tyranny of their more immediate lords, he proceeded so far as to take off every man whose temper or power he dreaded, and that with a severity too much favouring of cruelty.

These proceedings necessarily gave disgust to many of the great men, but to no one more than Walter Stuart, earl of Athol, who, with the assistance of a bold outlaw, called Græme, and a brisk ambitious young man of his own name, and heir to his estates and honours, formed a conspiracy for taking off a prince whom they looked upon as a bloody tyrant, for opposing the ambitious and oppressive proceedings of his nobles. The plot was carried on with such secrecy, that James knew nothing of it till he saw himself surrounded by the conspirators at dead of night, in the convent of Dominicans at Perth, where he then lodged. The king had just time to start from his bed and seize his sword, when the ruffians entered his apartment and attacked him; he bravely defended himself for some time, and his queen interposed her own body between that of her husband and the swords of the traitors, receiving some dangerous wounds in his defence; but this noble exertion of conjugal affection proved ineffectual, and she had the grief to behold her royal consort expire under twenty-eight wounds, many of them mortal.

This tragical event might have been improved to the advantage of England, who was not only freed thereby from a dangerous neighbour, attached to its enemy of France, but saw him succeeded by an infant, during whose minority the government of Scotland was chiefly influenced by the queen-mother, an English woman by birth, and related to Henry; but the domestic divisions of the English court prevented the suitable measures, which such a situation of affairs seemed to point out, from taking place: on the contrary, on the last day of March, 1438, a new truce was concluded with Scotland for nine years, viz. from the first of May, 1438, to the first of May, 1447; and a meeting was appointed for fixing the Marches of both kingdoms. Thus did the English lose the

fairest opportunity they could have of breaking the connexions between France and Scotland, and of recovering their interests in both countries.

Nor was their conduct less impolitic with regard to the former of these courts. Charles, the French king, as we have already observed, began to be distracted by civil jealousies. Some of his great men, who had served him faithfully, and who, thinking themselves but indifferently rewarded, had begun to form a party under the young dauphin against the government. This had put Charles upon using all his endeavours to obtain the enlargement of the duke of Orleans, and he succeeded so well in this, that it was actually agreed to in the English court, by the influence of the cardinal-bishop. This unpopular step was strenuously opposed by the duke of Gloucester, but not all his credit could prevent a new train of negotiations from taking place, for we find, in the Collection of Public Acts*, this year, 1438, that a treaty with France was set on foot, at the request of the duke of Brittany, who it seems had been importuned thereto by the pope.

Thus the court of England suffered itself to be amused at this critical juncture, without taking advantage of the many happy circumstances that presented in its favour.

This year produced but few remarkable military events; England as well as France being afflicted with the pestilence, the war languished for want of reinforcements, and nothing was undertaken, on either side, of greater importance than some petty siege or pillaging excursions. The duke of Burgundy, indeed, chagrined at his late miscarriage before Calais, resolved, if possible, to retrieve his honour by a second attempt against that place, from the nature of which he hoped for greater success than in his last. He employed a great number of pioneers, and other workmen, to cut a dyke, through which he imagined the town would be suddenly overflowed by the sea rushing in, and he proposed entering the town sword in hand, when the inhabitants should be in the midst of the terror and confusion caused by such an unexpected event; but the town being higher than the sea, his design was baffled, and the earl of Huntingdon arriving with a numerous supply of men from England, the duke was obliged to give over his undertaking.

No other event of consequence happened this year, excepting William Brunellard, governor of Dreux, giving up that place to the French for eighteen thousand crowns; and sir Francis Surienne receiving ten thousand saluts d'or† for himself, with five thousand for his garrison, for the surrender of Montargis. On the other hand, the lord Talbot made himself master of Longueville, Cales, Manille, and several other places.

But the famine and pestilence ceasing in England and France, both sides prepared to renew the war with vigour, as the most effectual method to hasten the conclusion of a peace, which each court was equally desirous of bringing about. Accordingly, in the month of March, 1439, the constable de Richemont, with an army of four thousand men at arms, laid siege to Meaux, one of the strongest places in France, which had formerly held out seven

† Guth. vol. ii. p. 393.

* Vol. x. p. 638.

† This was a piece of money worth about twenty-five

French sols, or six pence of our money. It was so called from being impressed with the representation of the angel's salutation of the Blessed Virgin.

months against Henry V. This city was commanded by the bailard of Thian, an officer of distinguished military talents and valour, who had under him sir John Ripley and sir William Chamberlain; but, notwithstanding this general made so brave a defence as astonished the besiegers, yet the town was taken by storm, after holding out three weeks, and the gallant governor was taken prisoner in the action; when the constable, by a cruel severity, of which, to say the truth, the English had, in the course of the war, set him but too frequent examples, ordered his head to be struck off, because he was a Frenchman, and, as such deemed a rebel.

The work of the besiegers was, however, but half completed by the taking of the town; for the garrison, consisting of about five hundred men, headed by Ripley and Chamberlain, retired into the Marché, or Market-place (that part of the city so called, which is separated from the other by the river Marne which runs through it), and breaking down the bridge of communication over the river, the constable found that he had a new siege to undertake, more difficult than the former; however, determined to carry the place at all events, he drew lines of circumvallation, flanked with redoubts, quite round it.

The active Talbot, hearing of the brave defence made by his countrymen, got together a body of about four thousand troops, and advanced with a resolution of relieving them; and, falling upon the French camp suddenly, and with great fury, he cut his way through the enemy, and threw four hundred men, with a supply of provisions, into the city; after which he retired, without the French daring to follow him, or come to an engagement. But Charles, being informed that Talbot meditated a return, with a still more considerable supply, he reinforced the constable so seasonably, and the latter pushed the siege with a vigour and impetuosity, that obliged those within to capitulate†.

The reduction of this important fortress greatly raised the constable's reputation, who, to make the most of the ardour of his soldiers, elated by success, immediately formed the siege of Avranches, now in the hands of the English; but Talbot, who was on his way to Meaux with a body of troops designed for the relief of that place, hearing of its fate, and how the constable was at present employed, he advanced against that general, attacked and forced his lines, and forced him to abandon his undertaking.

Talbot then turned his victorious arms against Harfleur; but as his army was not strong enough to form a regular siege, he contented himself with blocking up the town, and at the same time entrenched himself in such an advantageous manner, as to bid defiance to almost any numbers to force him; in the mean time the earl of Mortaigne kept the place beleaguered by sea. The earl of Eu, lately arrived from England, where he had been long prisoner, and now exchanged for John Beaufort, earl of Somerset, approached, at the head of a body of troops, to attack the English entrenchments; but perceiving the nature of their situa-

tion, he thought proper to retire, after making a slight attempt, in which the count de Gaucourt was made prisoner by the English. Talbot, after continuing the blockade for above four months, at length made himself master of the town. He then proceeded to clear the rest of Normandy of the French garrisons that occupied several castles there, until he conquered the whole province, the single town of Dieppe only excepted.

Though the war was thus carrying on in France with equal fury, yet both courts seemed to lean towards peace. We have already taken notice, that negociations had been set on foot the preceding year for that purpose, at the request of the duke of Brittany; and the duke of Orleans took an opportunity to offer his mediation in conjunction with that of the beforementioned prince, and for that end renewed his instances for leave to go to Calais to confer with that duke. This was strenuously opposed by Gloucester, who plainly saw, and loudly declared, that the duke of Orleans could not be an impartial mediator; but his great antagonist, the cardinal of England, began to gain an ascendant over him, in proportion as the king advanced in years: possessed of greater wealth than any other subject in the realm, he was always able to furnish Henry with supplies of money on every emergency, and by this and several other means, he so engaged Henry's affection, that he trusted wholly to him for information; and being naturally of a weak capacity and jealous disposition, was easily induced to believe that the duke of Gloucester designed to keep him in perpetual dependence; this raised in him so violent an aversion to his uncle, that he omitted no opportunity of thwarting him, so that Gloucester's opposition was of more service to Orleans than all the power and interest of his friends, or the largeness of the sum he offered for his ransom: in fine, it was agreed that he should have liberty to go to Calais and confer with the duke of Brittany. But the most remarkable circumstance of all, was a power which Henry gave to the cardinal-bishop of repairing to Calais, and there opening the conferences with the French ministry. This is a further proof in how small consideration the duke of Gloucester now was at his nephew's court. What is here related passed in the preceding year; but, as we chose to keep the account of this negociation entire, we reserved it for this place.

In the month of January this year, Isabella of Portugal, duchess dowager of Burgundy, and the cardinal of Winchester, had an interview between Calais and Gravelines, when they agreed that the negociation should be double on the part of England, one with the duke of Burgundy, which was to be managed between the duchess and the cardinal-bishop; and another between the commissioners of England and France, the said duchess and cardinal, together with the dukes of Brittany and Orleans, acting as mediators. Pursuant to this agreement, the very place where the duchess and cardinal were, was chosen for holding the congress; and plenipotentiaries were nominated on both sides from the princes of the blood and the chief noblemen of both kingdoms*.

† Monstrelet, p. 162, 163.

* The commissioners for Henry were, besides the cardinal, John, archbishop of York; John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk; the bishops of Norwich and St. David's; with the earls of Stafford and Oxford, and the lords Bouchier and Hunger-

ford; besides several civilians and other officers of state: those for the king of France, besides the duke of Orleans, were the chancellor archbishop of Rheims, the counts of Vendosme and Dunois, the lord of Busche, and some other French counsellors. Rymer, vol. x. p. 728.

We have, in Mr. Rymer's Collection, a full copy of the instructions given to the English plenipotentiaries on this occasion, of which we shall here give the substance, as it will serve to shew how the council of England stood disposed with regard to a peace; as also enable the intelligent reader to judge which of the two parties is to be blamed for breaking off the conferences. The chief heads were:

First, that they shall insist upon the king of England's hereditary right to the crown of France, and enforce it by mentioning the many signal victories obtained by the English against the French; and that they shall propose to leave Charles in possession of Languedoc, and as many other estates beyond the Loire as shall amount to twenty thousand pounds a year, to be held of Henry.

Secondly, that if this offer should be rejected, the cardinal, in his quality of a prelate of the church, and a mediator, should make pathetic representations to the assembly upon the miseries of war, and the damage which it has already entailed upon the whole Christian world; he is likewise to represent, that the indivisibility of the monarchy is a mere chimera, since both before and after the reign of Charlemagne, several princes had divided it among themselves: but that if those representations shall have no effect, the plenipotentiaries are to proceed to offer Charles all the dominions beyond the Loire (the duchy of Guienne, and the earldom of Poitou excepted, and those other estates which the kings of England were possessed of there before they succeeded to the crown of France.) But we are to understand that Charles is still to hold the same of Henry, as sovereign.

Thirdly, if this proposal should be likewise rejected, the plenipotentiaries were further empowered to offer all the territories beyond the Loire, excepting those places which Henry was then actually possessed of; and they were to expatiate greatly upon this concession, which gave up so many fair towns and fruitful provinces, &c.

Fourthly, if the last proposition should likewise be rejected, the plenipotentiaries are to offer, that their master shall accept of all that part of France, which his predecessors enjoyed, not as kings of France, but in their own private right, comprehending the towns and marches of Calais, the county, castle, and lordship of Guisnes, according to the limits and bounds specified in the treaty of Bretigny; but without holding them of the crown of France, or any other power.

They are likewise instructed, that, if the French plenipotentiaries should insist upon the crown of France being restored to the estates it held in Normandy, and other places, while they were possessed by the kings of England, they shall agree to the same, provided those estates are not already given or granted away to Henry's subjects; but that Henry will consent that Charles shall have the reversion of them, or purchase them from their present owners.

This last article seems to have been the ultimatum of the English plenipotentiaries, for the rest of their instructions proceeded upon two points, which were in the breast of the cardinal: the first of which was Henry's renouncing the title and arms of France; the other was the marriage be-

tween Henry and the daughter of Charles, upon which the plenipotentiaries were to say they had no instructions.

It is extremely plain, from the tenor of these instructions, that though the council were earnestly desirous of a peace, they durst not presume so far upon the patience of the people to purchase it too dear, for they descend no farther than what we have seen; but at the same time the plenipotentiaries are instructed at the end of the writing, to conclude a truce for any term of time, between forty and eight or ten years, in case that a final peace could not be agreed upon, and that towns should be exchanged for the better observation of the same. By the same instructions, likewise, the ransom of the duke of Orleans was fixed at one hundred thousand marks, of which Henry would accept of Harfleur, Dieppe, and Mount St. Michael, for one half.*

Very different were the instructions given to the French plenipotentiaries; all that they were empowered to offer, was "That the English should enjoy all they possessed in the duchy of Guienne, with the balliages of Evreux, Caen, and the Continentin, Calais and Guisnes, with their marches and dependencies, the sovereignty of the duchy of Alençon, and what they held in Picardy; but then Henry was, on his part to do homage and fealty to Charles for all those territories, to make an absolute renunciation of his claim to the crown of France, and to desist from bearing either its arms or titles†."

The duchess of Burgundy and the duke of Orleans saw very plainly that it was impossible peace could be concluded, whilst both sides continued so stiff, the English for the arms, titles, and crown of France, which they were required to renounce, and the French for the homage and superiority of the ceded territories, that, far from either yielding aught to the other, they would not agree to a suspension of their claims for fifteen, twenty, or thirty years, as proposed in a plan of accommodation drawn up by the duchess of Burgundy and the duke of Orleans. Accordingly, after the ambassadors had exerted their utmost sagacity and penetration, in order to discover the extent of each other's powers, but without effect, it was proposed to adjourn the conferences till both parties had the sense of their courts upon the heads in dispute: this was agreed to, but the terms proposed were so disagreeable to both parties, that the negotiation never was resumed.

Whilst this affair was in agitation, the court-divisions among the French arose to such an height as to endanger their newly recovered state. The dauphin and many of the princes of the blood were joined in a league against the king, which tended to no less than the dethroning him, and setting the crown upon the head of his son. The particular reasons that caused this commotion are foreign to our purpose to relate; we shall, therefore, only observe, that Charles, by his resolution and the assistance of the constable Richemont, reduced the refractory to obedience towards the latter end of this year; and that, though these disturbances continued in France for near twelve months, the English, either for want of strength to improve the opportunity, or from supineness and

* Rymer, vol. x. p. 724.

† Du Tillet Recueil de Traités, &c.

neglect, derived not the least advantage therefrom to their affairs in France.

Early in the year 1440 died Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, regent or lieutenant-general of France: he was succeeded by the duke of York, who was now sent thither in that quality, though he had been before recalled to give place to the earl. The duke was probably indebted for this honour to the cardinal-bishop, who had the sole management of Henry's government.

About this time the affair of the duke of Orleans was again resumed. This prince had, by his zeal for bringing about the late treaty to a conclusion, or by some other means, so recommended himself to the council of England, that they resolved to set him at liberty upon the payment of forty thousand nobles in hand, and giving security for fourteen thousand more, payable at different terms, and engaging not to bear arms against Henry, nor do any thing to his prejudice †.

The duke of Gloucester had always opposed the release of the duke of Orleans: the late king's brother's will was with him an inviolable law; besides, he was persuaded the giving Orleans his liberty, would only increase the number of the enemies of England; and now, when he saw this matter drawing towards an issue, he renewed his opposition with the greatest firmness; but finding all his endeavours in vain, and that the majority of the council were for admitting the duke to ransom, he drew up a formal protest against that measure, with the reasons for his opinion. The sum of the duke's protest was as follows:

"His chief reasons, he said, were taken from the known weakness of Charles VII. and the dauphin his son, and the dissensions between them, which, in all probability, would influence the states of France to trust the duke of Orleans, whose great and extensive knowledge has been well approved, with the administration of the affairs of the kingdom: the discouragement his enlargement would give to the estates of Normandy, which had hitherto contributed so largely, and with so much alacrity, to the defence of that country: the uncertainty whither the duke would not think himself more obliged to obey his sovereign's commands, than to observe his own oath; and the want of a remedy, in case the bonds and obligations for his ransom-money should not be paid: the danger of losing Guienne, that ancient inheritance of the crown, from the alliance between the duke of Orleans and the counts of Armagnac and Foix, and the lord d'Albret: the late reconciliation between the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans, at Calais, during the negotiations, which ought to create a dread of their joining forces to drive the English out of France, instead of expecting any advantage by their dissention: the ill look it would have abroad, as if the crown of England (which had no alliance but with Portugal) could not maintain the war without raising money by a ransom, which would endanger the loss of all it as yet possessed in France: lastly, that it was known to every one, the late king, wisely weighing the danger which would arise from the enlargement of the duke of Orleans, forbade, upon his death-bed, to release that prince till a peace was concluded †."

These reasons, however, appeared to have no weight, and the duke of Orleans obtained his liberty, after an imprisonment of twenty five years, on much easier terms than those he had offered before the conferences at Arras; and, having taken an oath, before he left London, to perform all the conditions of his ransom, he was finally enlarged at Gravelines, on the twelfth of November: and being met there by the duke of Burgundy, went with him to St. Omer's, where he soon after married that prince's niece, Margaret of Cleves, agreeable to an agreement that had been made with the dukes of Burgundy, in her son's name, during the conferences at Calais.

Very little, besides what we have related, passed either in England or on the continent, during this year, if we except an attempt made by Charles, who had now taken a liking to military avocations, to recover Pontoise, which, being still in the hands of the English, greatly annoyed the Parisians. He laid close siege to this place for some months; but the duke of York arriving in France about the middle of August, with an army of twelve thousand men, advanced to the place, and offered the French king battle; and, upon his declining it, passed the river Oyse, in sight of the French army, in order to attack Charles's head-quarters at Maubesson; upon which that prince, whose unvarying maxim it was, never to fight the English but with the most decisive advantage on his side, thought proper to retreat, and the English entered Pontoise in triumph. After leaving a thousand fresh men in the place, they marched out, and again offered Charles battle at Poissy, but not finding themselves able to force him to fight, they were obliged to return into winter-quarters at Rouen.

But Charles could not easily digest the affront put upon his almost maiden arms at Pontoise; determined to retrieve his baffled honour and still the clamour of his people, who looked upon their late successes as earnest of their future invincibility. In this disposition he assembled a greater army than he had for many years commanded; the French historians tell us that it amounted to twenty thousand men. He was attended by the dauphin, the earl of Maine (or Anjou), and Richemont the constable; and, taking the field in the spring of the year 1441, his first attempt was against Creil, a town situate on the Oyse, which he carried without much resistance. He next formed anew the siege of Pontoise, with twelve thousand of his best troops. Charles was bent on the reduction of the place, but he had a great general to oppose. Talbot, commissioned by the duke of York to introduce a convoy into the town, despising the most difficult enterprises, marching up with only four thousand men, made such a seasonable and vigorous attack upon the enemy's quarters, that he obliged them to give way, and introduced his supplies into the place.

Charles, however, behaved on this occasion with equal bravery and conduct; he was the foremost in all posts of danger. The garrison, on their side, constantly harassed the French by their sallies; while the besiegers continued to batter the walls furiously with their cannon: at length, having made three breaches, and beaten down the church of Notre Dame, they attacked and took a fort,

† Rymer, vol. x. p. 756, &c.

† Rymer, vol. x. p. 764---767.

which,

which, overlooking the town, enabled them to annoy the besieged with their long guns and culverins. Soon after Charles gave orders for a general assault, and, forcing his way in despite of all the efforts of the enemy, he mounted the battlements sword in hand, and was himself the first who planted the French colours on the walls. Sir Nicholas Burdet, with five hundred of the garrison, were slain in the defence of the breaches, and about as many more taken prisoners. Four days after the taking of Pontoise, the town of Evreux was surprized by the French, as was likewise Beaumont le Rayer. Thus, before the end of this year's campaign, the English were stripped of all their places of strength in the neighbourhood of Paris, excepting Vernon and Mante†.

Whilst these things were transacting in France, there passed a scene in England that attracted the whole attention of that people; a scene infamous by its agents, and more so by its motives. We have already observed, that the duke of Gloucester's credit sensibly declined; in short, he had no other footing in the cabinet than what his personal integrity gave him. But the cardinal of Winchester, his implacable enemy, not contented with having ruined his interest, concerted schemes even against his life, by endeavouring to fix upon him the imputation of high-treason; but the duke's known attachment to his sovereign getting the better of these arts, Winchester was obliged to change his battery. Eleanor, duchess of Gloucester, had formerly been that prince's mistress: she loved him with the greatest warmth of affection; the duke, however, was not strictly true to her bed. She was apprized of this; and a certain fanaticism, composed of superstition and ignorance, prompted her to apply to certain persons, who pretended to understand necromancy and to deal in love-powders and incantations. This coming to the cardinal's ears, who had planted emissaries to observe all that passed in the duke's family, he from thence took occasion to have the duchess seized, together with her accomplices, who had all along imposed upon her credulity; and a charge was immediately made out against her, for having practised sorcery against the life of the king, by making an image of wax to resemble Henry, and melting it gradually before the fire, in hopes that as this consumed, the king's constitution would decay. A slight indisposition under which Henry had for some time laboured, favoured this charge; the credulous populace, ready to adopt every idle tale, gave into the snare. Judges were appointed to try the duchess and her accomplices on this absurd charge: as there are always wretches to be found, in every degree, ready to sacrifice honour, virtue, truth, and religion at the altar of preferment, it was not long before she was adjudged guilty, and sentenced to do public penance for three days successively, by walking bare-footed and bare-headed, with a waxen taper in her hand, through the streets of London, to St. Paul's church, and then to be committed prisoner for life to Chester castle, under the custody of sir Thomas Stanley*. This sentence was literally executed: the enemies of the duke of Gloucester hoping that this public disgrace would either ruin his popularity, or provoke him to take some des-

perate measures against the government; but they were disappointed in part of their expectation; the duke was an enthusiast in loyalty, and bore his wrongs with the utmost resignation: however, this dreadful mortification shook his credit so much, that he could never again recover his ground.

As for the accomplices of the duchess, or rather her deceivers, who were one Roger Bolinbroke and Thomas Southwell, two priests, a woman named Margery Gurdeman, a pretended witch, with Hume and another priest, and one Woodham an esquire, the two former were hanged, and the woman was burnt alive; but Hume and Woodham received their pardon, which gave most people reason to believe that they had been in concert with the duke and duchess's enemies, especially as they kept up to the story of the image, thereby to serve the cardinal's insatiate malice, while the others disclaimed all knowledge of such a circumstance even with their dying breath.

Nor was this the only triumph which the cardinal gained over his antagonist, the duke of Gloucester: he shewed his superiority of interest in other affairs of more importance to the nation. He always seconded every proposal of accommodation with France, with which the court of England was continually amused; this occasioned a heavy desponding inactivity all the remaining part of this year, and the French were left in quiet possession of their late acquisitions.

But while England was suffering by these shameful dissensions, the state of affairs at the court of France wore not a much better face. Charles had scarcely time to repose himself after the siege of Pontoise, when he was alarmed by the strongest cabal of opposition that ever threatened his government. Almost all the princes of the blood were in a fresh league against him, with the duke of Orleans at their head. This prince was highly offended at the cold reception he received from the king, after a twenty-years captivity for the interest of France, and even during which he had done him signal services. Probably this league would have entirely ruined the king's affairs, if, by his prudent conduct he had not found means to gain over the head by considerable favours; the duke of Orleans deserting the faction, all their measures were broken, and they were forced to throw themselves upon the king's mercy, who, with a politic gentleness, gave them pardon, and thus put an end to their league‡.

In the year 1442, the English seemed to awake from their infatuation. At that time the duke of York was in France, and all the best officers in England served under him. It was resolved to take advantage of the before-mentioned dissensions in the French court, which lasted for several months: and the duke of York formed the army into three divisions, one of which he commanded in person, another he committed to the charge of the lord Willoughby, and Talbot was at the head of the third; while the earl of Huntingdon, who had a separate command in Guienne, was appointed to act in that province. By these dispositions the French found themselves extremely harrassed; but the chief and most vigorous operations were carried on by the lord Talbot, whom the king this

† Hist. Chronol. de Charles VII. Monstrelet,

* Stowe's Annals, p. 381, 382.

‡ P. Daniel.

year created earl of Shrewsbury ||, and the earl of Huntingdon, we shall therefore confine ourselves to the narrative of these.

Talbot's first operation was against the castle of Conches; and the count de Dunois seeking to divert him from his undertaking, sat down before Gaillardon: but the stratagem turned against the inventor, for Gaillardon making a better resistance than Conches, Talbot, after taking possession of the latter, marched to beat up the quarters of Dunois before Gaillardon; but this general knowing that he could not engage but under a disadvantage, retired before the other could come up. By this retreat Talbot found himself at liberty to pursue a more extensive plan which he had formed, and which he now began to put in execution by laying siege to Dieppe, which was defended by de Forêt, a brave French gentleman, who had under him several gallant officers. Talbot having made himself master of an eminence above the suburbs on the land side, erected a fort there, from whence he most furiously battered the tower of Polet and the walls of the place with almost two hundred cannon. Nevertheless it continued to hold out obstinately for above nine months, the count de Dunois having found means, during the siege to throw himself into it with nine hundred soldiers; but Talbot, having likewise gotten a new reinforcement, must at length have carried it, had not the dauphin, sent by his father Charles, arrived before the place, now almost in ruins, about the middle of August, and attacked the English with great fury: the earl of Shrewsbury was then gone to Rouen, and had left the care of the siege to his son, John Talbot, who made a most gallant resistance, but was taken prisoner, and the place relieved. On this occasion the dauphin behaved in so gallant a manner as gained him great reputation.

While the siege of Dieppe was carrying on, the earl of Huntingdon undertook that of Tartas, which lay in the lordship of d'Albret, in Guienne. The siege lasted for several months, with equal obstinacy on both parts, at last the garrison capitulated to surrender, if not relieved by Midsummer; but Charles, being strongly solicited by the lord d'Albret to march to the relief of the besieged, the latter began his march at the head of no fewer (says Monstrelet) than eighty thousand horse, and appearing before Tartas on the twenty-fourth of June, offered the English battle; but the latter being much inferior in numbers, broke up the siege, and Charles restored the place to d'Albret. After this, the French king attacking St. Sauveur, the strongest place the English held in Guienne, carried it by assault, and no less than eight hundred English were slain, and the governor, sir Thomas Rampstone, made prisoner. Following the tide of his success, he next laid siege to Acq, which held out five weeks, but at length surrendered. La Reole was carried by storm; and Marmande fell likewise into the hands of the now victorious Charles, who soon after put an end to the campaign on that side, and went himself to Montauban, where he passed the rest of the winter.

There happened about this time a civil transaction on the continent, which had great effects up-

on the affairs of England, and therefore claims a place in this work. The circumstance was this: John IV. count d'Armagnac, in consequence of a grant of the earldom of Comminges, made, for a valuable consideration, to his uncle John III. by Margaret, heiress of that estate, and countess of Comminges, claimed the succession of that county after her death; but Charles, after the breaking up of the last campaign, coming to Montauban, had delivered the old countess from a confinement in which she had been kept near twenty years by her husband Matthew de Grailly; in consideration of which, Charles procured from the lady a cession of Comminges in his own favour*; and not only stripped the count d'Armagnac of all he possessed from the Comminges family, but also compelled him to lay aside the title of Earl by the Grace of God. All this mortified the count to the greatest degree, and put him upon making a treaty with England, in the spring of the ensuing year, 1443, and upon offering one of his daughters in marriage to Henry, in hopes of succours from thence to support his title to the earldom of Comminges. Charles, getting some intelligence of his treaty with Henry, who had actually given orders to Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, to support the count†, laid a deep and well concerted scheme for defeating the confederacy; and, before the earl of Shrewsbury could raise the necessary supplies of men for taking the field, Charles sent his son Lewis, the dauphin, with the marshal de Loheac, at the head of a powerful army, to crush the count before he could receive the intended assistance from the English. Lewis used such diligence, that he appeared before l'Isle Jourdain ere Armagnac had the least notice of his march. This vigorous proceeding had its desired effect: neither the counts of Foix, Perche, nor Marche, who had entered into the confederacy, durst appear to support him, and the count d'Armagnac found it necessary to throw himself on the mercy of Charles, who sent him prisoner to Carcassonne, with all his family except his eldest son, who fled to Navarre. The dauphin, before the end of this year, entirely reduced the counties of Armagnac and Rosay, belonging to that count, excepting two fortresses, which were obliged some time after to capitulate likewise. Thus did the English, by an unaccountable supineness, suffer themselves to be deprived of an ally, who, if they had properly supported him, might have been as serviceable to them in the defence of Guienne, as his ancestors had been to the French towards the reduction of it.

In the beginning of this year a private negotiation was set on foot between Henry and the duke of Burgundy: the latter seeing that the dispute between the two kings was not likely to be decided, resolved to extricate himself from a ruinous war by concluding a separate peace with England. He was particularly excited to this by the behaviour of Charles, who betrayed an evident coolness towards him; and he was apprehensive, in case that monarch's affairs should be restored, either by peace or war, he might resume his old enmity against him; he therefore thought it his interest to desist supporting him in a war, which, if it should prove successful, might render him too

|| His patent of creation bears date March 20, 1442. Dugdale's Baron. vol. i. p. 329.

* Hist. Genealog. de la France, tome iii. p. 420, 422.

† Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xi. p. 6, 7.

powerful, and gave his duchess full powers to conclude a general truce for all his dominions, with the king of England*. There had been one already made, which related only to the commerce between the Low Countries and that kingdom; but this, which was concluded the twenty-third of April, comprehended Burgundy and all the duke's territories in general, and was to continue in force until one of the parties renounced the engagement, in which case he should give notice of his intention three months before the actual rupture.

The earl of Somerset was sent over this year to France, with an army, in order to assist the earl of Shrewsbury in the reduction of Dieppe; but, on his landing at Cherbourg, he received advice of the place being relieved; upon which all he could do, was to commit ravages in the open country: he took the castle of la Guerche, in Brittany, probably for the sake of plunder, since it belonged to a neutral prince, to whom it was soon restored. He afterwards made great depredations in Anjou, lying two months near Pouancé, without attacking the place, and though joined by such numbers from Normandy that his army amounted to above twelve thousand men, he continued these petty hostilities without doing any action worthy of notice, and at length returned to Cherbourg.

It is about this time we may date the beginning of that dissention between the houses of York and Lancaster, that afterwards drenched their unhappy country in the blood of its own natives. The duke of York, who had now acquired a great power, both in the nation and the cabinet, found his family interest strengthened by the birth of a son, whom we shall see hereafter mount the throne of England by the name of Edward IV†. He had prudently disguised those ambitious sentiments he really entertained, and appeared a devoted and zealous partizan of the court and its measures; he had entered into all the cardinal's pacific secrets, and therefore suffered the war in France to languish under his command; there was, moreover, a mutual animosity between him and the earl of Somerset, who had also a chief command in that country, and was particularly favoured by Gloucester; and as York foresaw that prince could never be brought to favour his schemes, however heartily he might be disgusted with the cardinal, he used all means to weaken that prince's credit with the nation, and rival it in the council. And here we cannot forbear taking notice of the great error in politics committed by the late duke of Bedford, in aggrandizing the house of York, of whose claim and pretensions he could not be ignorant. There is no accounting for this mistake, but by supposing him to have had a great personal friendship for, and an high opinion of that duke; and that he thought, by the kindness he shewed him, to cancel in his mind all family resentments and prejudices: a supposition, however, which does more credit to the duke's own goodness of heart, than to his knowledge of mankind.

On the twenty-eighth of August, this year died John V. duke of Brittany; and was succeeded in the sovereignty of that duchy by his eldest son Francis.

The cardinal-bishop of Winchester, who had now acquired the whole direction of state affairs,

had taken care to fill the king's council with ecclesiastics, to strengthen his party. The cardinal-archbishop of York, an aspiring priest, was taken by Winchester for his colleague; the bishop of Bath and Wells, a professed courtier, was, upon the death of Chicheley, a prelate of great abilities and integrity, promoted to the archbishopric of Canterbury: in a word, the king and council were no better than cyphers to fill up the sum of Winchester's consequence, who had starved the English interest in France, and whose pride, insolence, and ambition had by this time rendered him odious to the whole nation. The common people could by no means relish his politics, nor could they bear the thoughts of any connection between England and the duke of Burgundy, who, they imagined, had so infamously betrayed them. The public discontents were so violent, that they broke out into several dangerous riots, particularly in Yorkshire and Norfolk, especially in the latter of those counties, where the citizens of Norwich attempted to fire the priory of that city, and proceeded to such outrages, that the court ordered the duke of Norfolk to march with some troops to suppress them: he succeeded in his undertaking, but ran into such impolitic severities on the occasion, that the common people in general were exasperated afresh.

The cardinal of England, however, not to be diverted from his purpose, called a great council in the king's name, which met soon after the Christmas holidays; and here Beaufort laboured with all his might to enforce his pacific plan, and supported his opinion by various arguments, which were more specious than solid. He alleged, that as matters were then situated, it was utterly impossible for the English to extend their conquests in France, or even to retain those which they had already made; the parliament, he observed, was extremely backward in granting supplies for the maintenance of the war; the English affairs in Normandy were involved in the utmost disorder and confusion; the power of the French king was daily becoming more formidable: and from all these circumstances he inferred, that it was absolutely necessary to stop the progress of the enemy's arms by a temporary suspension from hostilities, which might allow the English time to recruit their spirits, and retrieve their ruined fortunes.

The duke of Gloucester, naturally bold and ambitious, could not relish these dilatory measures; he could not be persuaded to resign all hopes of prevailing over France; nor could he patiently endure to see his own advice over-ruled by the superior power and interest of his rival. But all his opposition had no effect, for a fresh negotiation was set on foot for a definitive treaty, in January, 1444; and the English ministry was so tame as to consent to the congress being held at Tours, where Charles resided: the earl of Suffolk, Dr. Moleyns, keeper of the privy-seal, the lord Roos, sir Thomas Roe, secretary, and Reeve, a civilian, with John Wenlock, were plenipotentiaries for England; while the duke of Orleans and the count de Vendôme were the principal of those for France‡.

The conferences being opened, several propositions were started on both sides, on the subject of a

* Rymer, vol. xi. p. 13.

† Hall, p. 144.

‡ Sandford says he was born on April 29, 1441, at Rouen. Geneal. p. 403.

general peace, but, as they were mutually rejected, the whole result of the negotiation was a truce for about two years between the two crowns, which was to commence at land the following first of June*, and at sea on the first of July ensuing, and to end the first of April, 1446†: it included the allies of both princes‡.

The powers given to the other English ambassadors, related only to the peace or truce, but Suffolk was entrusted with a commission of another nature, which was no less than chusing a queen for his sovereign; a point of far greater consequence than may be at first imagined. Henry himself was naturally of such weak intellects, and of such a milky disposition, that he seemed formed to be implicitly governed by any person who could gain the ascendancy in his affections.

The court of England, as we have seen, was divided into two parties, that of the cardinal of Winchester, and that of the duke of Gloucester; and though the former had greatly gained upon the latter, in point of influence and credit, yet the superiority was not so great but that it might be easily destroyed, and even the balance cast upon the other side, by the interest of a queen, provided she was a woman of capacity and address; each party therefore was extremely desirous of having the honour to provide their prince with a consort, as it was more than probable that this circumstance would for ever decide the victory between them. The duke of Gloucester had warmly recommended the match with the daughter of the count d'Armagnac, while the treaty was depending between that prince and the court of England; but the cardinal and his friends had fixed their eyes upon Margaret of Anjou, daughter to Regnier, duke of Anjou and Lorraine, a princess who possessed all the requisites they wanted in a wife for Henry, and a powerful protectress for themselves: she was of a lively and daring spirit; of great penetration, uncommon resolution, and not to be intimidated by opposition or difficulties.

The lady's father was brother to the queen of France, and enjoyed the pompous title of king of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem, but without being possessed of a foot of land in these kingdoms; he was still in debt to the duke of Burgundy for his ransom, and unable to give any dowry with his daughter: this defect, however, was looked over, and Suffolk took care to send such an animating description of her beauty and merit to his court, and to represent this alliance as the surest means of obtaining a lasting peace, which Henry extremely coveted, that the ductile monarch readily gave his consent to the match, nay he even empowered Suffolk to promise, in his name, to cede the duchies of Anjou and Maine, then in the hands of the English, to Charles of Anjou, brother to the lady's father, Regnier pretending that it was inconsistent with his honour to marry his daughter to the usurper of the estates belonging to his family. On these terms, then, the treaty was concluded, and the English plenipotentiaries returned home. Many of our historians have taxed the earl of Suffolk with

having of his own accord proposed this match, in order to establish his own favour at court; but, from what has been said above, I think it is highly probable, that it was a scheme contrived between Suffolk and the cardinal before the former was appointed chief of the embassy.

However that might be, when, upon Suffolk's return home, the negotiation came to be laid before a council, purposely called on the occasion, the duke of Gloucester violently exclaimed against the whole of the proceedings, particularly the intended match; and exerted his utmost endeavours, as did all his party, to get the council to set it aside; the superior advantages that would arise by a marriage with a daughter of the count d'Armagnac, the poverty of the intended bride's family, and the important territory that was to be given up, were all strongly urged; but, in spite of all he could do or say, the contract was ratified at London; Suffolk was dignified with the title of marquis, and even received the thanks of the parliament for concluding the marriage, and sent over, in November this year, to Nanci, in Lorraine, where he espoused the princess Margaret by proxy, in presence of the king and queen of France, the dauphin, and a great number of the French nobility. She was conducted in the ensuing spring to England, attended by the marchioness of Suffolk, and an honourable train of English ladies; and being married, on the eighteenth of April, 1445, at the priory of Southwick, near Portsmouth, where she landed, was crowned, on the first Sunday after Trinity, May 30, in Westminster abbey||.

On this occasion a great promotion was made in the English nobility: John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, was made duke of Exeter, with precedence in parliament next to the duke of York; Humphrey, earl of Stafford was made duke of Buckingham; and Henry Beauchamp, son to the late earl of Warwick, created duke of that title. The king also granted this nobleman, in reversion, from the death of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, the isles of Jersey, Guernsey, Sark, and Alderney, and also the manor and hundred of Bristol; and, what is very extraordinary, crowned him king of the Isle of Wight with his own hands, in consideration of his father's great descent. Henry also granted him place in parliament next the duke of Norfolk, and before Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham, which created great animosities between them: by a special act made in parliament, it was established, that they should have precedence by turns yearly, the duke of Warwick to begin the first year; but his death, which happened shortly after, put an end to this matter§.

The new queen had not been long in possession of her dignity, when she shewed her intentions of being mistress of her husband's conduct as well as his affections. The opposition which the duke of Gloucester had made to her marriage, had fixed her to a personal aversion for that prince; and she entered into close correspondence with the cardinals of Winchester and York and the marquis of Suffolk, who, strengthened by her friendship, and

* This truce was signed on the twenty-eighth of May.

† Mr. Carte says 1450. making the term for six years; but in this (unless an error of the press) he differs from all records and history.

‡ At the same time the truce between England and Scotland was prolonged, at Edinburgh, for seven years, to begin the

first of May, 1447, the day the former was to expire. Rymer, vol. xi. p. 58.

|| Antiq. Britan. a MS. in the Heralds Office, n. 45. Hall, p. 148. Monstrelet, vol. iii. p. 1, 2.

§ Dugdale, vol. i. p. 248. Stowe, p. 384.

animated by their common hatred against Gloucester, resolved to effect the ruin of that worthy and patriotic nobleman, in which, as the sequel will shew, they succeeded but too well. But we must now attend to other matters.

The truce being made only in order to a peace, this whole year was spent in general negotiations concerning the time and place of a new congress. It was thought likewise, that an interview of the two kings might promote the conclusion of a peace, but Charles insisting upon the meeting being held within his dominions, this proposal was laid aside, and the archbishop of York, the duke of Buckingham, the marquis of Suffolk, with the lord Sudley, were appointed plenipotentiaries, to meet commissioners from France in London; but all they could agree upon, was a confirmation of the former truce, and a prolongation of the same for some months.

The parliament, which was assembled at Westminster on the twenty-fifth of February this year, was, on account of an epidemic distemper which raged in London and the parts adjacent, prorogued till the twenty-fourth of January, 1446, when the marquis of Suffolk made a speech to each of the houses, setting forth the benefits which the nation had already received from the truce, and expatiating on his own conduct, labours, and services in war, as well as his great prudence and discretion in treating for a cessation of hostilities, and settling the contract of marriage. His conduct thus favourably blazoned by himself, and supported by the court-party, who had now a majority in the parliament, was approved by both houses, who joined in an act declaring the marquis of Suffolk a true and faithful subject; and, to secure him from being called to an account in any future parliament for his advice or conduct in the affair of the truce, they repealed a statute made in the time of Henry V. that no peace or truce should be made with the common enemy, without the consent of the three estates of the kingdom. And in the same fit of good humour they granted the king a considerable subsidy for a vigorous prosecution of the war with France, as soon as the truce should be expired; and half a fifteenth to Suffolk, for the charges of going over sea to espouse and bring over the queen*.

The duke of York, having now little to do in France, returned to England in the beginning of this year, 1446, while the parliament was sitting. He met with a very gracious reception from the king, and the parliament thanked him for his services to the state: but, as he still wished to continue at the head of the army, which he was daily modelling agreeable to his own schemes, he took occasion to recommend a vigorous prosecution of the war, and in such terms as gave great offence to the cardinal and his party; and the earl of Mortaigne (Edmund Beaufort), who had succeeded to the title of earl of Somerset on the death of his brother John in the preceding year, and was the implacable enemy of York, and who had followed him over from France, took this opportunity to do him such ill offices, that, after he had procured a renewal of his commission as lord-lieutenant of France for five years, the same was revoked. This the duke of York could not but highly resent,

and swore revenge against Somerset; and he even made some overtures towards a coalition with the duke of Gloucester.

The court seems to have foreseen and dreaded this event, and to have exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent the fatal effects that might arise therefrom to themselves. The queen, who was of a bold and enterprising genius, and who had a mortal hatred to Gloucester, encouraged this resolution, and it was determined to remove him, not only from all posts of profit and honour, but also from his place at the council-board. This resolution was no sooner taken than put in execution, and the duke was dismissed in form. But this barefaced proceeding against so great a subject, and one so very popular, raised such commotions in the nation, that the authors of his disgrace thought it necessary to colour over this step with a shew of justice.

With this view they plausibly gave out, that they would bring an impeachment against him before the parliament, and one was summoned to meet on the tenth of February, 1447, at Westminster; but the place being too near London, which was known to be devoted to the duke's interest, it was thought proper to alter the place of its meeting, which was fixed at St. Edmundsbury; and the term in January was put off†, and all pleas were adjourned till a fortnight after Easter, that the justices of the King's Bench might attend the parliament at St. Edmundsbury, as if articles of treason were to be exhibited against him; and the duke was summoned by writ to appear before the king in parliament on the day appointed.

The duke, secure in the consciousness of his own innocence, thought he might bid defiance to the malicious efforts of his enemies, and, in obedience to the writ, left his castle of Devizes, the chief place of his residence since he retired from court, and came, apprehensive of no danger, to Bury, where he was present, on the tenth of February, at opening of the parliament; but the very next day he was arrested by the viscount Beaumont, constable of England, assisted by Edmund, earl of Somerset, and Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham, and put under a strong guard‡. To give a plausible colour to this severe treatment, care was taken to publish, that he was accused of conspiring to kill the king in order to seize the crown, and, with an armed force, to deliver his duchess from her imprisonment. This ridiculous charge, however, gained no credit with the people, though, indeed, it answered the end designed by it in one way, for, as it was universally believed, that he would exculpate himself upon his trial, there was no stir in his favour.

But a fair and open trial was by no means the thing designed or wished by his enemies; for the lords, who were to try him as his peers, did not appear so obsequious to the directions of the court as they generally had been: this circumstance, together with the ill-grounded charge set up against the duke, and which his persecutors were sensible they could not support, have given occasion to most of our historians, perhaps too rashly, to assert, that Winchester and his party had recourse to a more certain and sanguinary method of accomplishing their purpose, and by a secret and violent death

* Cotton's Abridgment, p. 629, 630.

† Claus. 25 Hen. VI. m. 22.

‡ Hall, p. 151.

to rid themselves of a man, whose popularity might prove dangerous to their power, and whose resentment, should he escape, they had reason to dread.

Of the truth of this assertion, however, we dare not to decide, because not warranted therein by any absolute fact, which, in such cases, ought to be the only guide of the impartial historian. Thus much is certain, that, after having been confined seventeen days without any trial, he was found dead in his bed, on the twenty-eighth of February; but, as it is unanimously granted by our historians, that the dead body of the duke was exposed for some time to public view, and that not the least mark of violence was found upon it, it may be presumed, that a man, endued with such strong passions he was, might feel such an excess of grief and resentment for the affront put upon his person and character, as might bring on an apoplexy, or some of those violent disorders which instantly stop the springs of life.

However this might be, the death of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, was bitterly lamented by the people in general, and particularly by learned men and ingenious artists, of whom he was a constant protector and patron*. After his death, his adversaries industriously circulated reports to the prejudice of his character, in order to impress the public with a notion of his being actually guilty of the crimes laid to his charge; and, to render these reports still more plausible, his domestics were, immediately after his death, apprehended on suspicion of being accomplices with him; and a commission of Oyer and Terminer granted to the marquis of Suffolk, and others, to try them for high-treason, when several gentlemen of the duke's family, and twenty-seven servants, were, after a confinement of several months, brought to trial at Deptford; and being charged with having entered into several dangerous consultations, and of having laid a design of surprising the parliament that was to meet at St. Edmundsbury, and afterwards to raise the duke of Gloucester to the throne, they received sentence of death. Suffolk, who conducted this trial, sought to recommend himself to the people by a popular act on this occasion: he suffered the convicts to be drawn through the city on sledges to the place of execution, and to be hung by their necks, but they were immediately cut down alive, and received their pardon, to the inexpressible joy of all the spectators.

But this affectation of lenity, which was no part of his character, did not save Suffolk from the general odium he fell into, by being deemed the author of Gloucester's death; and though the parliament, flattered by the false hopes given them of a speedy peace, and by a promise from the throne of consulting them about the terms on which it was to

be made, complied with his desires in passing, on the third of May, the last day of the session, an act to exclude Eleanor, the late duke of Gloucester's widow, from her dower, on account of her misconduct, yet he did not long enjoy his power: nor did the cardinal of Winchester triumph long in the fall of his adversary, whom he did not survive above six weeks. This haughty prelate was seized with a distemper that brought him to his grave on the eleventh of April, this year, and he died in all the horrors of a man, who, placing his whole affections upon this world, had entirely neglected to make any preparation for his removal to the next.

Winchester's death deprived the queen and her favourite Suffolk of the great support his experience, his birth, his credit, his riches, and his order gave them, and left them exposed to the ill effects of the unpopular measures which they soon after pursued. As for Suffolk, finding that the parliament could not be brought to ratify the cession of Anjou and Maine, and that the murmurs among the people began to grow very loud and licentious on that head, he desired that he might be allowed to vindicate his conduct in that affair. This could not be denied him; and he appeared on the twenty-fifth of May this year, before the king and council, when, after much flourishing in his own praise, Henry gave him letters patent, declaring himself fully satisfied of his integrity, and the measures he had pursued‡. The world, however, was not to be convinced by this declaration; the general clamour still ran high against him; all the misfortunes which happened afterwards were charged to his account, and were, indeed, in a great measure the consequence of that transaction, which he got warranted by his master's consent.

On the twelfth of February, 1448, a parliament was held at Westminster, which granted the king a very large subsidy. Before the rising of this parliament, which seems to have sat very late in the year, Henry, at the queen's suggestion, raised Suffolk to the dignity of a duke; the like rank was also conferred on Edmund, earl of Somerset, who, at the same time, was invested with the sole command in France, in the room of the duke of York||, who could not fail being deeply affected with this indignity put upon him, and finding that the public discontents against the sole management which the queen and her favourites had assumed in the government, grew very ripe, he gave way to them, dropping, by his emissaries, some dark hints among the people concerning his family-pretensions to the crown; these were privately handed about, by way of manifesto, and had the desired effect; for every mouth was now open in praise of the virtues, abilities, and great services of the duke of York, though without any mention of his pretensions to

* His body was carried to St. Alban's, where a noble monument, afterwards erected to his memory, still remains in the conventual church. The vault wherein his body was deposited, and the exact place of which was, it seems, then unknown, was discovered in the late queen Anne's reign. He was called, The good duke of Gloucester. Having had his education in Baliol college, he became a great proficient in learning, and was a great favourer of learned men. He laid the first foundation of the famous library at Oxford, since known by the name of the Bodleian, from sir Thomas Bodley, by whom it was wonderfully increased. Sir Thomas Moor gives an instance of this duke's sagacity. The king coming one time in progress to St. Alban's, a beggar, born blind, as he said, recovered his sight at the shrine of St. Alban. The miracle being noised about,

the duke being there with the king, desired to see him; the beggar being brought, he asked him whether he was born blind? he answered, yes truly. And can you see, says the duke? yes, I thank God, and St. Alban, replies the beggar. Tell me then, says the duke, of what colour is my gown? the beggar readily told him the colour. And what colour, says the duke, is such a one's gown? the beggar likewise told him; and so of several others. You counterfeit knave, says the duke, how came you that were born blind, and could not see till now, so suddenly to know the difference of colours? and thereupon, instead of an alms, ordered him to be set in the stocks. Tindal's Notes on Rapin, Henry VI.

‡ Rymer, vol. xi. p. 173.

|| Ibid. p. 215, 216.

the crown. The particulars of this manifesto the reader will find in the note †.

Much about this time also the affair of the cession of Anjou and Maine came to a crisis. The court of France had taken no notice of this article in the marriage-contract, by which the province of Maine was to be ceded to Charles of Anjou, the queen's uncle, during the life of the duke of Gloucester, as they knew it would be dangerous, if not impossible, to carry it into execution; but his death having removed all obstructions to the performance, Charles (who had always enjoyed the title of count of Maine, and was the rising favourite and first minister of the king of France) now demanded to be put in possession of the county. To deliver it up, was to justify and heighten all the clamour made upon the subject: numberless excuses were therefore made to delay the cession, founded on a provision for some recompence to those who had grants of possessions in that county; but at length orders were sent, under the king's hand, to sir Francis Surienne, governor of Mans, the capital of the county, to deliver that city into the hands of count Charles of Anjou, pursuant to the private article of Margaret's marriage.

Surienne, by birth an Arragonian, had served the English for above twenty years, was a knight of the Garter, and governor of Lower Normandy: believing an English council could never be so wicked to agree to such a pernicious measure, he disputed the authenticity of the order, and absolutely refused to obey it, or deliver the town. Upon this the count de Dunois coming before it with a numerous body of forces, and a large train of artillery, laid siege to it in form. Surienne defended himself for a considerable time with undaunted bravery; but Somerset, who was then in Normandy with a large army, not taking the least step to succour him, and even disavowing his procedure, he was at last compelled to yield, and to deliver up not only Mans, but all ther fortresses of that province, which was thus entirely alienated from the crown of England.

The garrison of Mans, which consisted of two thousand five hundred men, was allowed to march out, with all their effects; and, retiring into Normandy, fell into great distress, no fortress caring to receive them, either by the duke of Somerset's directions, or for fear of offending the government of England, whose orders they had disobeyed. Upon this Surienne directed his march into Brittany, surprized the town of Fougères, repaired the fortifications of Pont Orson and St. James de Beuvron, committed depredations over the whole province, and in this way procured subsistence for himself and his followers.

Upon advice of this breach of the truce, in which Brittany had been included, the king of France sent immediately to the duke of Somerset, to demand restitution of the place and goods that

had been seized, the duke of Brittany joining likewise in this demand. Somerset returned for answer, "That he was greatly concerned for this action, but that it had been committed without his knowlege or consent, nor had he any power over Surienne or his men, to call them to account." On failure of redress from him, application was made to the court of England, and the council promised redress; but the whole year was spent in delays, which the French thought affected; and that court promised the duke of Brittany, in case he would enter into a league against England, and would begin the war in his own name, that they would, as auxiliaries, powerfully support him. The duke thereupon published a manifesto, setting forth the reasons of his quarrel, which was followed by vast preparations for doing himself justice by force of arms. We shall make use of this interval to take a cursory view of the Scottish affairs, since the murder of their king.

James II. who had succeeded his father, was at this time in the eighteenth year of his age, and under the tuition of James, earl of Douglas, son of him slain in the battle of Vernueil. The dauphiness of France, daughter to the late, and sister to the present monarch, was by this time dead; the regent Douglas, therefore, began to cast about how he might best renew that family-alliance which had subsisted between the courts of France and Scotland, and ambassadors had been sent into France, to conclude a marriage for James with the princess Anne of Gueldres, daughter to that duke and the duchess of Cleves, and granddaughter to John, duke of Burgundy.

The English court, alarmed at this alliance, particularly when on the eve of a rupture with France, resolved to attack the Scots, with a view to force them to make a separate peace. Accordingly Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury*, and Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland were this year sent with an army into Scotland, where they burnt the towns of Dunbar and Dumfries. The Scots failed not to return the visit, by an irruption into England, where they burnt Alnwick, and ravaged some part of Cumberland. After mutual depredations of this kind, both sides at length came to a battle, in which fortune so far favoured the Scots, that the English were entirely routed, and lost, according to the Scottish historians ‡, three thousand men; the lord Percy, eldest son to the earl of Northumberland, sir John Pennington, the second in command, and sir Robert Hemington being taken prisoners.

France was at this time in a very good condition to recover those dominions which had been wrested from her by the victorious arms of the English. Charles had established an excellent reform of his military force in France; a long series of war had rendered the whole nation warlike: Charles, however, did not immediately run to arms upon the in-

† It was hinted, that the house of Lancaster had usurped the throne. That indeed the usurpation had been tolerable, whilst the kings of that house were princes of distinguished worth, and had acted for the welfare and honour of the nation; that even, during the non-age of the present king, there had been hopes of his treading in the steps of his ancestors, and his being a worthy follower of the king his father; but that since he became of age, nothing glorious was to be expected from him: that therefore the English could have no reason to support any longer the usurpation of the crown, for the sake of a queen, who, being sprung from the blood of their most mortal

enemy, ruled the kingdom with an arbitrary power: that in viewing the posterity of Edward III. it was evident, the house of Marche had been unjustly deprived of the crown: that the duke of York, being the sole heir of that house, and descended from Edward III. by his paternal ancestors, ought to have his due right. In fine, that his noble qualities, his known virtue, and his signal services to the nation, very strongly supported the just title given him by his birth.

* See p. 40. of this volume.

‡ Abercromby. Buchanan.

fraction of the truce committed by the English under Surienne, but affected to act for the duke of Brittany; however, he did not fail to take advantage of the invasion of Scotland (included in the truce as an ally of France) to set the insincerity of the English in a glaring light, and even sent to demand satisfaction for the same; but not being able to obtain any answer thereto, nor with regard to the affair of Fougères, he resolved to have recourse to the way of retaliation.

Accordingly, on the first of May, 1449, a party of the garrison of Louviers surprized Pont de l'Arche, taking prisoners the lord Fauconberg, who was governor, and all his garrison, amounting to one hundred English. Soon after, Gerberoy and Conches in Normandy, and Cognac and St. Megrin in Guienne, were surprized in the like manner: upon which the English, in their turn, complained of infractions of the truce, and demanded reparation. The French offered to restore all these places, if Fougères was restored to the duke of Brittany, and satisfaction made for the losses his subjects had sustained at the taking of that place; but these losses being swelled to the enormous sum of one million six hundred thousand crowns, the English would not listen to the proposal.

Charles had not yet come to a determinate resolution for making war in his own name, though most of his council were for improving the opportunity that the defenceless condition of Normandy offered him for an easy reduction of that province; Charles's hesitation was owing to the low state of his finances, but Jaques le Cœur, one of his subjects, and the greatest merchant in Christendom, exerted himself on this occasion, and readily advanced two hundred thousand gold crowns towards defraying the first expences of the war, and undertook to provide the necessary supplies. It is, perhaps, one of the greatest blots upon the memory of Charles VII. that he suffered so useful a member to be afterwards persecuted and banished his native country: we do not know the reason of this; for, indeed, who can discover the secret causes of the unjust dealings of men? It was to this merchant that the French owed the reduction of Normandy, which, without his seasonable assistance at this juncture, they would never have been able to retake.

The truce expiring in the month of June this year, and Charles freed from all manner of obligation to act any longer as an auxiliary only, he declared war in his own right and name, after publishing a kind of manifesto, setting forth his earnest desire for a peace, and his constant endeavours for its continuance, with all the advances he had made for that effect.

After Charles had thus declared war in his own name, his conquests were almost too rapid for the pen of history to attend them: Vernueil en Perche, one of the strongest places in all France, Pont Eau de Mer, and Beuvron, which had been lately improved by the English, together with Lisieux, Mantes, and Vernon, with several other fortresses on the confines of Normandy, either opened their gates to the French, or surrendered after the appearance only of a siege.

The brave Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, was, indeed, in the field, but what could he do? He had but few hands, and no hearts to attend him: he made an attempt to interrupt the siege of Vernueil, but the count de Dunois getting between him and

the besiegers, he found it impracticable, and therefore was obliged to retire to Rouen.

Unhappily for the English, at that time all Europe was strongly prepossessed against them, as it was plain that they had broken the truce. The government at home was so miserably divided, and the queen's faction in the council so thoroughly detested, that their interest in France could expect but little support now the war became general. Charles was perfectly well acquainted with all these circumstances, and with the advantage they gave him, and resolved to prosecute his success with unremitting assiduity. Accordingly, having the barrier of Normandy now laid open, he invaded that province with four different armies; one commanded by himself in person, another by the duke of Brittany, or his brother the constable de Richemont, a third by the duke of Alençon, and a fourth by the count Dunois, whom Charles had lately made count of Longueville.

As the English had not a body of troops sufficient to oppose them in the field, they proceeded in their conquests with amazing rapidity, and the towns were so poorly supplied with garrisons, that they had little else to do but receive the submission of the inhabitants. In a few weeks, Nogent, Chateau Gaillard, Pont l'Eveque, Neufchatel, Gisors, la Roche Guion, Feschamp, and Harcourt, were made to acknowledge Charles as their master. The duke of Brittany, with his brother the constable, falling into the Contentin with an army of Bretons, reduced Coutances, Valagnes, St. Lo, Torigny, Carenton, Gavré, and Pont d'Euve, with all the lesser places in those parts: Fougères, indeed, held out six weeks, but was at length carried by assault. The duke of Alençon, with his body of troops, took Fresnay; and, entering Normandy on the side of Maine, surprized Condé, and reduced Alençon, the capital of his own dominions, together with Belesme, Epay, and Ysmes, with the adjoining country. But no one appeared more zealous in this war than Regnier, king of Sicily, Margaret of Anjou the queen of England's father, and her brother John, duke of Calabria; they brought a gallant body of troops to the assistance of the French, and, having acted with the duke of Alençon in some of his enterprizes, joined Charles's division with his forces, who, thus strengthened, resolved to form the siege of Rouen, the capital of Normandy.

The earl of Shrewsbury had advised the duke of Somerset, who acted as lord lieutenant of France for Henry, to make the great stand in that city, as the duke of Bedford had formerly done in Paris, and with that view most of the native English had been drawn thither from the other garrisons, which may in some measure account for the speedy reduction of so many places by Charles and his generals, they being defended only by French natives of Normandy and Gascony in the English pay, and most of them perhaps, under French officers. The reason of Shrewsbury and Somerset's shutting themselves up in Rouen, was the belief that the approaching winter-season would disable Charles from undertaking the siege of that capital this year, and that in the mean time succours might arrive from England sufficient to regain great part of what they had lost.

But they were deceived: Charles was aware of their views, and sought to frustrate them. Having

ing assembled all his forces, making a body of fifty thousand men, he came before the place in person, on the eighth of October, and summoned it to surrender; but receiving no answer, he returned after some days stay to Pont de l'Arche: he had advice there sent him, on the sixteenth of the month, that if an attack was made upon the tower of St. Hillary, a post guarded by the citizens, the latter would introduce his troops. The count de Dunois was accordingly ordered to form that attack, while the rest of the army made a false one on another part of the city: the feint had well-nigh succeeded; Dunois, and several of his men had already entered, but the vigilant Shrewsbury, having a suspicion that some design of that kind was on foot, kept so strict an eye upon the different forts, that he soon found what was going on in that quarter; and, marching up suddenly, attacked those who had entered with such fury that only two escaped being put to the sword by leaping into the ditch; of these the count de Dunois was one, who, finding his attempt thus baffled, sounded a retreat.

Two days after, the citizens grew clamorous for a treaty, and the archbishop joining with them, the duke of Somerset went to the town-house, and agreed to send deputies to Charles to settle the terms of a surrender. The conditions offered by the French were, a general pardon for all the inhabitants, and liberty for the English, and all who chose to follow them, to retire whither they pleased, with their effects. Somerset rejected these conditions, though it is certain they were as good as could be expected, since the place was not tenable against the will of the inhabitants, who so greatly out-numbered the English garrison, consisting in all of no more than three thousand men. Accordingly, on Sunday the nineteenth of the month, the whole city rose in arms with one consent, seized the walls and ramparts, and forced the English to retire into the palace and the castle; after which they introduced the French army into the town. The king fixed his head-quarters in fort St. Catherine, after the same had been taken by assault, and the garrison, consisting of one hundred and twenty men, most of whom were put to the sword.

Somerset would now have accepted the terms he had before rejected; but the case was altered: the fortifications of the palace and castle were in bad repair, and were very ill stored with provisions; thus he could neither hold out, expect succours, nor make his escape; he therefore desired to speak with the king: but the best terms he could get for himself, his duchess, and his garrison, were either to remain prisoners of war, or purchase their liberty by giving up all that the English as yet held in Upper Normandy. A treaty was carried on for some days, and it was at length agreed, "That he should retire, with all the English, to Harfleur, upon the payment of fifty-six thousand crowns, and engaging to deliver up the castles of Arques, Tancarville, and Lislebonne, with the towns of Caudebec, Montvillers, and Honfleur: for the performance whereof the earl of Shrewsbury, with James Butler, son to the earl of Ormond, and other persons of quality, were to be left as hostages."

Somerset marched out with his English on the fourth of November; but Charles, staying till some regulations were made in the city, did not make his solemn entry into it till the twenty-fifth of that month. All the places stipulated to be given up,

were punctually delivered, except Honfleur, whose governor, Curson, refused to comply with the duke of Somerset's orders to evacuate the place in favour of the French: this gave occasion to the earl of Shrewsbury and the other hostages being detained prisoners. Curson made a bold and vigorous defence, but was finally obliged to yield to the superior forces of the count de Dunois. Evil fortune, perhaps the consequence of their own neglect, attended the English in all places: Gaston, count de Foix, made himself master of Maudouville en Soule, the strongest fortress in Guienne, which the duke of Suffolk had lately got intrusted to his custody: it was now given up by the treachery of Lewis de Beaumont, constable of Navarre. Thus ended the year, though not the campaign, so glorious to France. But we are now to attend the transactions in of England.

The universal confusion of their affairs in France, the negligence of the court in that respect, the loss of almost all Normandy in one single campaign, the conquest whereof had cost so much blood, began at length to provoke the impatient spirit of the English: the party of the duke of York, and the other enemies of the administration, instead of contributing to calm the rising discontent, or retrieve the national disgraces, were busied in distressing the government, and opposing its measures. This could be no secret to the queen and the duke of Suffolk, who now cast about for a pretence to remove York out of the kingdom: the way they took to do this, was, however, the most impolitic they could have adopted.

A commotion having happened in Ireland, which threatened serious consequences, the only person thought proper to restore tranquility to that country was the duke of York, who was, in his family-right, earl of Ulster and Corke, lord Connaught, Clare, Trim, and Meath, in Ireland; and the queen now ordered his commission to be made out as lord-lieutenant of that kingdom. York was at no loss to fathom their design in this measure, but, foreseeing it would turn to his advantage, he accepted his commission with a good grace; and having procured from the council very advantageous powers, he set out to take upon him his new post; and so conducted himself therein, by his mild and gentle behaviour, that the Irish were won to their duty without his being obliged to use force: what is more he made them so much his friends, that from thenceforth they were always devoted to the service of him and his family, even in the midst of their greatest misfortunes.

Margaret and Suffolk having thus, as they thought, got rid of a troublesome opponent, and having the sovereign direction of all public affairs, thought to govern the nation in Henry's name without controul; but the general discontent grew loud and intractable: it was every where openly said, that the queen and Suffolk were in concert to ruin the nation. They were charged with being the contrivers of the duke of Gloucester's death, and of having entered into an agreement with the enemies of England for betraying Normandy and Guienne into their hands; nor did the people stop at exclamations only, a great number of severe libels were daily published, and fixed on the doors of churches and all public places.

It was dangerous for the ministry to call a parliament at a time when the nation was in so ill a humour;

mour; but the necessities of the crown were so urgent, that one met on the sixth of November this year, at Westminster. It proved very backward in the point of a supply, and strongly disposed to call the duke of Suffolk to an account: to ward off this blow, the parliament was prorogued to the twenty-second of January, 1450, then to sit for the dispatch of business. In the mean time the popular discontents broke forth into tumults in several places, and Adam Moleyns, bishop of Chichester, was murdered by the rioters.

In this disposition were the people when the parliament met, in the beginning of the year 1450; and as to that assembly, it was rather more exasperated than before, by some declarations of the murdered bishop, who, in the agonies of death, charged Suffolk with a traitorous conduct in regard to the delivery of the county of Maine, and with having boasted, "that he had as great interest in France as he had here, and was equally trusted in the cabinet of Charles as in that of Henry."

The duke of Suffolk, perceiving that the tide of national rage ran strong against him, and that no business would be done till the houses had levelled their stroke at him, thought it best to put a good face upon the matter, and desired leave of the lords to vindicate himself from the treason charged upon him by the deceased bishop of Chichester. His speech on this occasion was little more than an enumeration of his own and his family's merits, urging his father's death at Harfleur; his elder brother's being slain in the field of Agincourt, and that two other of his brothers were likewise in that action, wherein he was himself taken prisoner, and paid twenty thousand pounds for his ransom; a fourth brother's dying in hostage for him; his own serving thirty-four campaigns, seventeen years abroad without coming home, and fifteen years since, about the king's person, and being thirty years knight of the Garter: from all which he inferred, that he could not be suspected to have been debauched by French promises; and so, asking God's mercy as he had been true to the king and the realm, he required his purgation.

The commons, however, were not to be drawn from their purpose by this parade; for, on the Monday following, January 26, they drew up a petition to the crown, desiring that the duke of Suffolk might be committed to safe custody till he should clear himself of the crimes charged upon him by common fame and report: however, it was adjudged by the king's council, that he should not be committed till the specialty should be declared. The commons then, by their speaker, sent up a charge, on the seventh of February, to the lords, accusing the duke of several articles of treason, contained in a bill then delivered, importing,

I. That he had treated with the count de Dunois, Bertrand de Preigny, and W. Cousinot, the king's enemies, advising them to persuade the French king to invade England, dethrone Henry, and bestow the crown upon his son John de la Pole, who, by marrying Margaret, daughter and heir to John late duke of Somerset, might justly claim it in her right, as next heir to Henry, who had no issue.

II. That he had received money and promises from the duke of Orleans, to induce the king to agree to his release, that he might assist Charles in the recovery of France.

III. That he had encouraged the French king to break the truce, and renew the war in Normandy.

IV. That he had, without sufficient authority, promised to yield le Maine; and, after his return, performed that promise, in consequence of which the English were deprived of the province of Normandy.

V. That he betrayed the secrets of the king's council, to the count de Dunois and other French ambassadors.

VI. That he had acquainted them with the state of all the French fortresses belonging to the English.

VII. That he disclosed the secret instructions of the English ambassadors, and sent to treat of a peace between the two crowns.

VIII. That he had boasted his interest was as good at the French court as here.

IX. That he had received bribes from the enemy, for preventing reinforcements being sent to the continent; and, in the truce which he made, not only omitted to comprehend the king of Arragon, the old ally of England, but included the duke of Brittany, as ally of France; a circumstance which had deprived the English of that assistance which they might otherwise have derived from the friendship of that prince.

The lords presented this bill of articles against the duke of Suffolk to Henry on the twelfth of February, and were for giving a copy thereof to the judges for their consultation and opinion; but he desired that this might be respited till he should be otherwise advised. Thus the matter rested for near a month, till the seventh of March, when the greatest part of the lords agreed that Suffolk should be called to his answer; but the commons, fearful that they should find it very difficult to bring the peers to find him guilty, as many of the king's counsellors had been parties in the measures of which he was accused, by approving them, they therefore framed a fresh set of articles against him, and such as more immediately affected his person, independent of any other privy-counsellor: those articles, however, amounted only to misdemeanors. In these they accused him,

I. Of having, in quality of a privy-counsellor, persuaded the king to make such lavish grants of the crown lands, that a sufficient fund was not left for defraying the expences of the household.

II. Of having obtained grants of privileges and franchises, to obstruct the execution of the laws, and screen offenders from justice.

III. Of having procured for the capital de Buche, his son in law, the earldom of Kendal, and lands in Guienne to the value of a thousand pounds a year, taken by force from the lawful owners.

IV. Of having prevailed upon the king to alienate so many castles and lordships in Guienne, as had greatly weakened the power of the crown in that country.

V. Of having acquainted the French court with the secret negociation for concluding a treaty between England and the count of Armagnac; by which means the project was defeated, the count ruined, and the Gascon lords oppressed, until they were obliged to submit to the French government.

VI. Of having procured offices and commands in France and Normandy for unqualified persons.

VII. Of

VII. Of having advised the king to grant a toll on wine and merchandize brought down the Seine, to Peter de Brezé, an enemy to the English nation.

VIII. Of having procured, without the consent of the council, a grant of Evreux, Longueville, and other signories in Normandy, for the count de Dunois, Pressigny, and the said Brezé; grants, in consequence of which the great towns were taken without opposition.

IX. Of having brought the France ambassadors to a private conference with Henry, in which he agreed to a personal interview with Charles, and other articles stipulated without the knowlege or consent of the privy-council.

X. Of having misapplied and embezzled subsidies.

XI. Of having given thirteen hundred pounds of the public money to the queen of France, and very considerable sums to the ministers of Charles.

XII. Of having divided, between himself and his adherents, sixty thousand pounds, being the produce of subsidies left in the Exchequer by the lord Sudely, when he resigned his post of treasurer.

XIII. Of having procured for himself a grant of the county of Pembroke, the reversion of Haverfordwest, and other castles in Wales, together with the wardship and marriage of Margaret, daughter of John, duke of Somerset.

XIV. Of having embezzled the bonds of the duke of Burgundy, and other persons, bound for the ransom of the duke of Orleans.

XV. XVI. XVII. XVIII. And of having likewise embezzled writs, prevented justice, maintained bad causes, and weakened the ancient friendship subsisting between the crown of England and the princes of the empire.

The same day that these additional articles were presented, Suffolk was brought to the parliament-chamber before the lords, and required to give in his answer. He desired a copy of the articles; and the Tower of London being thought too remote, he was, for the greater dispatch and readiness, committed to a tower in the royal palace of Westminster. Being sent for by the lords, on Friday the thirteenth of March, to give in his answer, he kneeled down, and made a general one to the nine articles of high-treason, asserting them to be false and groundless; but more particularly to the first, he maintained, "that it was impossible that article should be true, since the lady Margaret was not next heir to the crown by law; and that several lords (to whom he appealed) were privy to his design of marrying his son to the duke of Warwick's daughter, if she had lived: as to the rest, he referred to acts of the council and parliament, and to the king's orders, for his justification, and particularly with regard to the release of Anjou and the giving up of Maine, to which other lords, he said, were privy and assenting as well as himself: that he had not spoken the words in the form as represented in the eighth article, but to a different intent."

On the seventeenth of March, Henry sent for all the lords, spiritual and temporal, that were in town, to his chamber. Suffolk being brought be-

fore them, kneeled down, and the chancellor asking him what he had to say for himself, he again protested he was innocent, affirmed the articles to be false, and submitted himself to the king's pleasure. Then the chancellor gave him to understand, "that the king did not hold him convicted on the first bill of articles of high-treason; and as to the second, charging him with misprisions and misdemeanors, the king, by virtue of his submission, out of his own royal motive, and not by way of judgment, banished him the realm for the term of five years, during which he should not abide in France, or any country under the French dominion; nor should he, by word, deed, or writing, by himself or his adherents, shew malice to the commons in parliament."

This transaction, which was certainly a furious stretch of prerogative, occasioned, on the part of the lords, a very strong protest; a proof that the exercise of protesting is much older than is imagined. This protest was entered by the viscount Beaumont, importing, "that the sentence pronounced on the duke of Suffolk was not the result of their advice, but purely the king's own act, which should not at all derogate from their liberties in case of peerage*."

The duke of Suffolk bore his sentence without repining; nay, rather looked upon his banishment as the surest method of securing him from the fury of the people; besides, he did not doubt of being recalled as soon as the present storm should be a little blown over: he therefore made all expedition to prepare himself for his departure, and soon after embarked at Ipswich for Flanders; but the vessel being brought to, in the Channel, by an English man of war, named the St. Nicholas of the Tower †, and it being discovered that Suffolk was on board, the captain of the man of war, who had imbibed the current hatred to the duke, took him on board his ship, and putting into Dover road, he there instantly caused his head to be struck off. His body, being thrown upon the sands near Dover, was taken up and interred in the collegiate church of Wingfield, in Suffolk ‡.

The commons were so displeased at being thus baffled in their impeachment, and at seeing a corrupt minister, whose crimes they thought deserved the severest punishment, sheltered by the unconstitutional interposition of regal authority, that, though they continued to sit for some time after Suffolk's sentence, and the crown was never in greater necessity, they would not grant a supply. Upon this the parliament was prorogued to the twenty-ninth of April, at Leicester, in hopes they would meet in a more compliable humour; but the contrary happened, and they began, the very first day of their session, to examine into the management of the revenue and household expences of the crown; and finding it very heavily in debt, they declared they were utterly unable to raise the necessary sum for making good the same, and advised a resumption of all grants made by the king since the first day of his accession. They were proceeding in this manner, when news came of the untimely fate of the duke of Suffolk: the death of this detested

* Rot. Parl. Rymer, vol. xi.

† Rapin, and after him Smollett and Ryder, makes the captain's name Nicholas, instead of the ship's: and Ryder, from what authority appears not, makes this murder to have

been committed by the private order of the commons: thus much is certain, that no prosecution was ever commenced against the perpetrator.

‡ Hall, p. 158.

minister seems somewhat to have mollified the commons, for they granted a subsidy at the end of the session, though far short of the wants of the court.

The parliament had scarcely broken up before the discontents of the people appeared in various commotions in different parts of the kingdom. A desperate fellow called Thomas Thany, but nicknamed Bluebeard, had attempted, in the beginning of the year, to raise an insurrection in Kent, but had been taken and executed at Canterbury; but these petty commotions served only as the prelude to a great scene of national calamity, which we are now to open.

The duke of York, who still remained in Ireland, being, by Suffolk's fate, freed from a powerful antagonist, and though he himself was absent from England, yet his friends served him effectually by extolling his merit, and representing to the people the king's incapacity, and the queen's maladministration, not without seasonable hints of the fitness of the duke of York to be at least regent of the kingdom, both on account of his blood, and his abilities, and that nothing else could save the nation, or retrieve her credit and glory.

These discourses, added to the alarming reports of the court's sending an army to lay waste the whole county of Kent, in revenge for the duke of Suffolk's murder, committed by one of that county, had put the inhabitants there into such a ferment, that every thing seemed ripe for a revolt. At this time there dwelt, or rather skulked about, in those parts a desperate fellow called John or (more commonly) Jack Cade, a native of Ireland, who, having been outlawed for a rape and murder committed by him in Suffex, had taken sanctuary, and been forced to abjure the realm. This fellow, who did not want sense, hoped to enrich himself by the disturbances he saw on the point of breaking out; and observing that the country-people, uneasy under the present government, were continually talking of one of the house of Mortimer as the right heir of the crown, and the only person who could redress their present sufferings, Cade assumed to himself the name of John Mortimer, pretending that he was a son of sir John Mortimer, who had been beheaded in the beginning of this reign, and consequently a near relation to Richard, duke of York, the popularity of whose name he doubted not would procure him a number of followers. This seems to have been the only reason for suspecting the duke of York of having any way encouraged this insurrection, founded chiefly on events which he could not foresee, and raised by a man he did not know, whilst himself was at a distance in Ireland. The present disposition of the greatest part of the nation with regard to the court, aiding this bold and artful rebel in his design he soon found himself at the head of such a numerous train of followers, that he was enabled to advance as far as Blackheath, giving out as he advanced, that he was coming to reform the government, and ease the people of their taxes.

Henry being apprized of this proceeding, sent a message to the insurgents, demanding the reason of their hostile appearance: Cade replied, that they had no design to hurt the person of the king, but only desired to present a petition to the parliament, that the evil ministers, who oppressed the people, might be removed from the royal presence. At the same time he gave the deputies two papers,

setting forth the grievances of the nation: among other things, they prayed that the duke of Somerset might be punished, as being the principal author of the loss of Normandy: that the king's council might be filled with the princes of the blood, and other prudent and judicious persons; and not with vicious and profligate men of ill principles and manners, and utterly incapable of managing the affairs of state: in a word, these petitions, which are to be found at large in Stowe, appear to have been the composition of heads much better furnished than those of the rabble who attended their low-bred leader. It is not improbable that some of the duke of York's friends and agents, thinking this insurrection favourable for their purpose, might have secretly abetted Cade with their assistance and advice: thus much is certain, that the grievances they complained of, were but too well founded. The government, however, deeming itself highly insulted by those petitions, resolved to quell the rebellion by force of arms; and an army of fifteen thousand disciplined men were sent against the insurgents, under the command of sir Humphrey Stafford (a cousin of Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham.) Cade, affecting to be afraid of this general's approach, retired to Sevenoak; and Stafford following him too incautiously, fell into an ambush, which the artful rebel had prepared for the purpose, and a great number of his men being cut to pieces, the rest sought their safety in flight, leaving their commander lifeless on the field.

Cade, animated by this success, returned to Blackheath on the twenty-ninth of June, from whence he again sent petitions to the king and council, demanding, "that the dukes of York, Exeter, Buckingham, and Norfolk, should be recalled to court; that the murderers of the good duke Humphrey (Glocester), with all who had contributed to the loss of the English territories abroad, might be punished; that the lord Say, the treasurer, and his son-in-law, Cromer, high sheriff of Kent, might be taken into custody, the grievances of the nation be redressed, and the authors of them brought to condign punishment." The government, alarmed at the late defeat of their troops, and well knowing the duke of York's secret friends were by this time on the point of declaring themselves openly, resolved, if possible, to purchase its general safety by the sacrifice of some particulars; Say and Cromer were committed to the Tower, and the archbishop of Canterbury and the duke of Buckingham were sent to treat with Cade and his followers. They found him very complaisant, but resolute not to lay down his arms until the king should in person come and grant their requests. The archbishop and the duke, on their return, reported this conference so little to the encouragement of the court, that the king and queen, leaving the Tower under the command of the lord Scales and sir Matthew Gough, set out for Kenilworth castle.

Cade no sooner heard of their retreat, than he directed his march towards London: the citizens, alarmed at the success of the rebels, opened the gates at their approach, and Cade entered in triumph at the head of his troops, and had the insolence to strike his sword against London-stone, uttering these words, "Now is Mortimer lord of London!" However, he forbade his men, on most severe

severe penalties, to be guilty of any outrage, or to give the inhabitants the least cause of offence; this gave the citizens a very favourable opinion of him; but it was not long before the mask dropped off, and rebellion stood avowed in all its diabolical colours.

For, on the third of July, the day after their entering the city, the rebels sent to demand that the lord Say and Cromer should be brought from the Tower; and the constable was mean enough to comply with this demand, and Cade caused them both to be put to death, without any form of trial; after which the rebels retired to the borough of Southwark. For some days Cade continued the practice of entering the city in the morning and quitting it at night, that he might not give umbrage to the inhabitants, with whom he and his followers lived at first in very good understanding; but the insurgents having plundered the houses and effects of two wealthy aldermen, even after they had entertained Cade at their tables with bounteous hospitality, and growing daily more and more licentious, the citizens plainly saw there was a necessity of uniting with the king's troops in the Tower, for their common preservation: for this they took the opportunity of Cade's return by night to Southwark; and the mayor and aldermen sent a message to the lord Scales, offering to arm the citizens, and guard the bridge against the return of the rebels, if he would support them with a detachment from the Tower. The lord Scales thereupon sent sir Matthew Gough with the detachment, upon which the citizens, immediately rising, seized upon the bridge, and cut off the rebel party that guarded it.

Cade and his followers returning the next morning, as usual, found the bridge gate shut and barricadoed against them; attempting to force a passage, a battle ensued between them and the citizens, both sides maintaining the fight with equal obstinacy until night put an end to the conflict: Gough himself, with the aldermen Sutton and Hazard, lost their lives.

The archbishop of Canterbury and the chancellor, who was then the archbishop of York, and had both taken refuge in the Tower, being informed by their emissaries that the insurgents were greatly dispirited by this repulse, drew up a general pardon for the rebels, provided they would lay down their arms; as also one for Cade in particular, if he would desist from his rebellious projects; these pardons they confirmed by putting the great seal to them, which was in the archbishop of York's custody, and found means to publish them by night in the borough of Southwark. This wise and critical measure had amazing success, for the next day Cade saw himself abandoned by the greater number of his followers, and retreated to Rochester, where the rest of them dispersed, notwithstanding all his remonstrances and artful speeches, in which he endeavoured to persuade them, that the pardon which had been sent them, being without authority of parliament, was of no effect: but, unable to keep them together, Cade fled into the Wild of Suffex, with a few who chose to share his fate; and Alexander Iden (or Eden), at that time sheriff of Kent, with the posse comitatus, attacked and took him, after a most obstinate defence, in which he received several mortal wounds, of which he soon after expired. Iden sending up his head to

London, was, for this service, made governor of Rochester castle, besides receiving a gratuity from the court of a thousand marks.

While the peace of England was interrupted by this and other insurrections, the war continued in France, but still to the disadvantage of the English. The indefatigable Charles had continued his winter-campaign to the month of March this year; and though the season was excessively severe, he kept the field in person, and acted with so much courage and intrepidity, that he obliged the garrison of Harfleur to surrender, though consisting of two thousand men, and to give up the two towers of Havre de Grace, which the English had built to command the mouth of the Seine. Thus, when the French army went into quarters, the latter end of the month of March, the English possessed in Normandy but few places of importance besides Caen, Bayeux, Cherbourg, Vere, and Falaise.

These losses made the English ministry think at last of sending over succours. Sir Thomas Kyrle (Kiriel some of our historians call him) landed in the spring, with about four thousand men, at Cherbourg; and being reinforced from the neighbouring garrisons, took Valanges, after a siege of three weeks; but being defeated, and taken prisoner with about fourteen hundred of his men, by the count de Clermont and the constable de Richemont, in a pitched battle, near Fourmigny, the loss of the rest of Normandy seemed inevitable: above three thousand English were slain in that action, drawn a great part of them from the garrisons of Vere, Bayeux, and St. Sauveur le Vicomte, all which places fell thereupon an easy prey to the victors, together with Valanges, Avranches, and Tombelaine.

Charles, eager for completing the reduction of Normandy, and the way being open to Caen, that place was invested on the fifth of June, by the constable and the count de Clermont, assisted by the famous Dunois and a numerous army. The duke of Somerset was shut up in the place, and had with him four thousand men, inured to service; but the besiegers, having a proportionable force, made such vigorous attacks, that, on the fifteenth day of the siege, the duke capitulated to surrender the place, if not relieved by the first of July, the duke and the garrison being allowed to retire, with all their effects, to England. Upon the very day that Charles made his public entry into Caen, Xaintrailles invested Falaise with part of the French army, as the constable and the count de Clermont did Cherbourg with another part. Falaise belonged to the earl of Shrewsbury, who still remained a prisoner in the hands of the French; and this garrison, in fifteen days, was obliged to capitulate: one of the articles granted them was, that their master, the earl of Shrewsbury, should be set at liberty. Two days after the reduction of Falaise, the French laid siege to Domfront, which surrendered on the tenth of August: and the taking of Cherbourg, which submitted on the twelfth of the same month, completed the entire conquest of Normandy, all effected within the space of a year, though there were an hundred fortified towns and castles in that province.

The dissensions of the English nation doubtless furnish one obvious cause for their losing Normandy; but we think it is going rather too far to say, with many of our English historians, that this loss was

was contrived between the French king and the queen of England, or at least connived at by the latter. It cannot, with propriety, be supposed, that a princess of such spirit, discernment, and ambition, should not have looked upon her husband's glory as her own, and to have preferred his interests to those of France, to which she was now an alien: we may rather suppose, that as all things return easily into their natural channel, when the force which diverted their course is removed, this easy and rapid conquest was owing in a great degree to the affection the Normans had to the French government, and their aversion to the English.

But the case was the very reverse in respect to Guienne, the conquest of which Charles now undertook: the Gascons, who had lived so long under the English government, were not near so averse to it as the Normans; and the country itself was situated at a greater distance from the seat of Charles's power; nevertheless, the conquest of this province, though more difficult than that of Normandy, was at length effected, the tide of success continuing to run rapidly in favour of the French. In the next month after Cherbourg was taken, the count de Dunois, entering Guienne with a numerous army, reduced Bergerac, and Jonzac, on the Dodogne, together with Montferand, St. Foix, and Chalons; but the winter-season setting in severely, the French were obliged to desist from pursuing their conquests, and to retire into winter quarters: and thus ended this year, no less fortunate to the French and disgraceful to the English than the preceding.

When the duke of Somerset returned to England, he found the parliament sitting, and the outcry against him was so loud and universal, that the commons could not help taking some notice of his conduct: they preferred an address against him, in which they desired the king that he might be sent to the Tower, till he should give an account of his conduct in France. The court, desirous to keep well with the parliament, acquiesced in their desire, and the duke was accordingly taken into custody: in the mean time, the mob, rising in a tumult, plundered his house at Black-friars, demolishing what they could not carry off. The commons next petitioned Henry to remove from his presence Edmund, duke of Somerset; Alice, duchess dowager of Suffolk; William Booth, bishop of Chester; John Sutton, lord Dudley; and others: but Henry amused them with an equivocal answer. Then they brought in an act of attainder against the late duke of Suffolk; but this act was rejected by the king; and the humour of the commons growing every day more and more obstinate, the parliament was dissolved in the beginning of June, 1451, after having sat from the sixth of November in the preceding year, without having granted any supply. Immediately after their separation, the duke of Somerset was released, and made, in the duke of Buckingham's stead, governor of Calais, a post of the greatest trust, power, and profit belonging to the crown of England.

This was all brought about by the queen's management, in whose favour and confidence the duke had succeeded Suffolk; and she was continually representing to the king, that Somerset was the only man that could ballance the power of the duke of York, concerning whom the court began now to grow very uneasy. The term of that prince's go-

vernment in Ireland being near expired, and his friends having given out, with a confidence that had something alarming in it, that he would soon come over to England, where he would not be a quiet spectator of the mismanagement of the queen and her cabal, it was thought necessary to take every precaution to secure her power: with this view she prevailed on the king to send orders to all the officers on the sea coast to oppose the duke of York's landing, should he attempt it with any considerable number of attendants.

This was a very impolitic precaution, as it not only published the apprehensions the court entertained of the duke of York's credit and influence, which it was their interest to conceal, but it alarmed the duke so as to put him upon his guard, and furnished him with a plausible pretext for taking up arms afterwards for his own defence. When the time of his government in Ireland was expired, he embarked for England; but when he would have landed at Beaumaris, in the Isle of Anglesey, in Wales, he was refused admittance; notwithstanding all the vigilance of the sheriffs, he found an opportunity of landing in another place without opposition, and repaired to London, where he was to hold a meeting with his friends, in order to confer with them in relation to his interests, and the plan he had formed, of ascending a throne to which he pretended a better right than its present possessor.

The court being on a progress to the western counties, the confederates had an opportunity of concerting their measures without molestation, and the state of public affairs at this time gave but too plausible an handle for cabals of this kind. But before we proceed to give an account of the proceedings of this junto, it will not be amiss to sketch some outlines of the characters and connections of those who formed it, as this will serve to shew us the motives and causes which induced them to declare in favour of Richard, duke of York, against Henry VI.

The family of Neville was at this time, as well by the large estates possessed by its different branches, as from the valour and abilities of the several noblemen placed at their heads, one of the most powerful that ever appeared in England; for, not to mention the earl of Westmoreland, the chief of the family, the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, the lords Latimer, Fauconbridge, and Abergavenny were of that name, and were of themselves, on many accounts, the most potent barons in the kingdom.

Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury, brother-in-law to the duke of York (who had married his sister Cicely), was the eldest son, by a second marriage, of the earl of Westmoreland, and enjoyed, in right of his wife Alicia, daughter and heiress of Thomas de Montacute, earl of Salisbury, killed at the siege of Orleans, the title and estate of that great family. He was a person of consummate knowledge, wisdom, and experience, and had gained in the wars of France an high reputation for his valour and conduct in the service; he was likewise governor of Carlisle, and warden of the East and West Marches towards Scotland.

His eldest son, Richard Neville, had espoused Anne, daughter and heiress of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, who died governor of France, and possessed the title and estate of that ancient family,

mily, which, in point of wealth, antiquity, and influence, was inferior to none. But these two noblemen depended less upon the largeness of their estates and the splendor of their families, than upon their own personal merits and abilities: Warwick in particular (who, from the great share he had in the ensuing revolutions, was commonly distinguished by the title of the King-maker) was the most popular man of his age, and deserved all the popularity he enjoyed, as well by his bravery in war, as his hospitality in peace, by his strict adherence to the principles of honour and virtue, and his declared hatred and aversion to every kind of treachery and deceit, and by his frank, open, and generous behaviour: in a word, the prodigious number of his tenants, attached to him by the obligation of their tenure, the splendor of his manner of living, the tenor of his conduct, the nobleness of his spirit, and his many amiable qualities, joined to an excellent understanding, rendered him at once the object of respect and love to the whole nation.

Besides the family of Neville, the duke of York had many other friends among the great nobility: John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, espoused his cause, on account of his being the son of Catherine, sister to the earl of Salisbury, but more from a resentment of his father's wrongs, who had been banished by the house of Lancaster; and those of his uncle, who had been beheaded in the reign of Henry IV. Courtney, earl of Devonshire, sprung from the royal blood of France, was warmly attached to the same cause, out of resentment to the duke of Somerset, whose sister he had married, and who had nevertheless given him great cause of disgust. Edward Brook, baron of Cobham, was another member of this confederacy, but it does not appear what induced him to declare against Henry VI.

The head and animating principle of these, Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, was a man of courage and capacity, prudent in his conduct, and gentle in his disposition: in right of his father, the earl of Cambridge, beheaded in the reign of Henry V. he enjoyed the rank of the first prince of the blood; and by his station he added a fresh lustre to his title, derived from the family of Mortimer, which, though one of the most ancient in the kingdom, was equalled by other families, and was eclipsed by the royal descent of the house of Lancaster. By the union of the estates of Cambridge, Mortimer, Clarence, and Ulster, he was possessed of an immense fortune; and by his marriage with Cæcilia, daughter of Ralph Neville, earl of Westmoreland, he had greatly increased his interest among the nobility, and procured many strong connections in that formidable body*.

But, notwithstanding this prince's great power and interest, the reigning family was by no means destitute of friends and adherents: the earl of Northumberland was attached to the present government: the earl of Westmoreland, notwithstanding his connections with the duke of York, and with the family of Neville, of which he was the head, leaned to the side of Henry; and by means of these two noblemen, the whole North of England, the most warlike part of the kingdom, was engaged in the cause of the house of Lancaster. Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset, and his bro-

ther Henry, were zealous friends of that party; as were likewise Henry Holland, duke of Exeter, Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham, John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, and the lords Clifford, Dudley, Scales, Audley, and many other noblemen.

It behoved the duke of York, therefore, to proceed with great caution in the mighty work he had undertaken, and, before he appeared personally in support of his pretensions, to prepare the nation, by rendering the royal family and its favourites as obnoxious to it as possible. It was with this view that the present consultation between the duke and his family had been held; and the result of their deliberations were, to proceed in all their schemes with submission to the royal person and authority, but at the same time to make alarming representations of the grievances of the nation: it was resolved that the duke of York should write a respectful letter to the king, laying before him "the abuses of the government through evil counsels; and offering himself as an assistant to the king, in bringing the authors of the late disgraces which had befallen the English arms, to justice, and the duke of Somerset in particular, who, having been impeached by the commons, was restored to favour without any examination."

It was easy for the ministry to perceive the duke of York sought an occasion to quarrel; but, as their present situation required them to act with precaution, it was judged proper that the king should send a civil answer, as the most effectual method of disappointing his designs. Accordingly the king, in a letter to the duke, told him, "that he had been sensible, for some time, of the necessity of reforming the government, and proposed nominating a council for that purpose, of which the duke of York should be the head; and that, until this could be done, such precautions should be used, as that the duke of Somerset should be ready, when called upon, to take his trial." It was supposed that such an instance of condescension would have deprived the duke of York of all pretence of taking up arms; but this answer was declared unsatisfactory by the cabal, and they resolved to proceed in their scheme early in the ensuing spring.

While these things were transacting in England, the king of France, having raised money for defraying the expences of the approaching campaign, gave the command of the army, which was to act in Guienne, and consisted of forty thousand good troops, to the count de Dunois and Longueville. That general, taking the field in May this year, presently made himself master of Montguyon, Blaye, Bourg, Fronsac, Libourne, and Castillon, in Périgord; Bourdeaux was likewise surrendered by capitulation, because not relieved before Midsummer. The same was the case with all places in that neighbourhood: Dax was reduced by the counts of Foix and Armagnac; and, on the first of August, the city of Bayonne was invested by the count de Dunois. The castle was defended by sir John Beaumont, but it was so vigorously pressed, that he was obliged to surrender himself and all his men prisoners of war. The town was then summoned, and the French inhabitants obliged the rest to demand a capitulation likewise, which was

* Biondi, p. 154, 155.

granted; and on the twenty-ninth of August the place was given up.

Thus the whole province of Guienne fell under the dominion of Charles, after it had been united three hundred years to the crown of England, and had for above double that time been dismembered from that of France. It is certain that the great towns were well affected to the English government, and dreaded the oppression of the French, and yet the whole province was conquered even in less time than that of Normandy; but the great lords, tempted with the hopes of preferment at the court of France, co-operated with the efforts of Charles in wresting this county from the king of England, who was now dispossessed of every foot of land which his ancestors had acquired in France, except Calais and its dependencies.

This event, though at that time esteemed the most disgraceful and unhappy that could have befallen the nation, will appear different in the eye of a modern Englishman; since it is very certain, that, had an English king entirely subdued France, his constant residence must necessarily have been in that kingdom, not only on account of its being the greater and finer country of the two, but for other political considerations, and particularly because the royal presence there seems to be absolutely requisite, for the retaining so numerous and active a people as the French, in due subjection; England, therefore, would in that event have necessarily become a mere province of the French monarchy, than which nothing could have been more ungrateful or disadvantageous to this nation, as well in respect of its commerce and opulence, as of the liberty and independence of the people. How much soever, therefore, most of our historians have exulted on the conquests of Edward III. and Henry V. in France, it must be allowed, that the death of the latter at the juncture it happened, and the expulsion of the English in the feeble reign we are now recording, were real blessings to England, though not so well understood then, as in our days. But to return.

Early in the spring of 1452, the duke of York, who was then in Wales, and his friends, in pursuance of the plan they had concerted the preceding winter, were in motion, and gave out that the reason for their rising was the good of the realm; the release of the oppressed subject; and the bringing to justice a corrupt administration. The people, who were indeed horribly oppressed by the ministry, gladly joined him for effecting such purposes, and he soon saw himself at the head of an army of ten thousand men, with which he began his march towards London. On this occasion the queen and Somerset exerted themselves in a manner York did not expect: for they levied an army in Henry's name, and the duke was no sooner on his march, than he heard that the king was advancing against him; upon which, not chusing to risque a battle, he altered his route, and by forced marches, got before him, and presented himself at the gates of that capital, which, to his great mortification, he found shut against him, instead of being received therein with open arms as he expected.

It was some days before Henry had intelligence that the duke had got past him; upon which he turned about, and made the best of his way towards London. The duke hearing that the king was so close after him, with a superior army, passed the

Thames at Kingston, and, being joined by Thomas Courtney, earl of Devon, and the lord Cobham, encamped on Brentheath, near Dartford, twelve miles from London. He probably made this march into Kent with some expectations of the country rising in his favour; but Henry, having made a progress into that county the preceding year, had put to death several that had been concerned in Cade's rebellion, the people seemed to be so terrified by these examples, that they did not chuse to stir on this occasion. The king followed him close, and, marching over London bridge, encamped on Blackheath.

The duke of Somerset, who attended the king on this occasion, and seems to have been an able man, advised Henry to crush this rebellion in its nest, and not to wait till it should gather strength to become formidable: he observed, that this was the time, as the chief and the fomentor of it was yet weak, and might be attacked with ease and success, to rid himself of all future uneasiness, by giving his rival battle, as the great superiority of the royal army ensured a victory: but Henry was so impolitic to neglect this counsel, and to listen to the advice of some timid, or perhaps treacherous, noblemen, to apply to the ways of negotiation. This counsel suited best with Henry's pacific genius, and with that aversion he always entertained to spilling his subjects blood. A commission was given to the bishops of Winchester and Ely, and the earls of Warwick and Salisbury to go and know the reasons of the duke's appearing in arms, or upon what terms he would lay them down.

This treating saved York: the two lay commissioners from the king were his intimate friends, though they had not yet declared themselves. York put on a shew of great respect and moderation on this occasion: he urged the bringing to justice the duke of Somerset, and others of the council, who had made it their business to trample on the nobility and clergy, and to oppress the poor people, as the motive of his taking up arms; and offered to disband his forces, and throw himself at Henry's feet, if they were taken into custody, and brought to answer the crimes he was ready to prove against them in parliament. The duke certainly did not expect his demand would be granted, since the king and queen were solely guided by him who was most concerned to have it rejected; and he hoped, from a refusal on the part of the court, to load them with all the blame, and to demonstrate to the people, that the ministry, rather than part with their power, would expose the nation to all the horrors of a civil war. But here he was, for once, the dupe of his own policy: Henry took him at his word; Somerset was put under confinement, and the duke of York deprived, by this condescension, of all excuses for keeping up an armed force, dismissed his troops on the first of March, and, as a test of his sincerity, came to court unarmed, unattended, and without a passport: when he came into Henry's presence, he openly professed the cause of his taking arms, and insisted upon the duke of Somerset's being immediately brought to trial, when, to his great astonishment, that minister (who had been arrested in shew, but immediately after set at liberty) stepped forth from a private closet in the presence-chamber, and, bitterly reviling York for his treasonable practices, the
other

other replied, and both parties poured out a torrent of indecent invectives even before the king: but the duke of York, finding that he had been duped, and was now entirely at the mercy of his enemies, out of regard to his own safety, moderated his pretensions.

Had Somerset had his will, the duke would have been instantly put to death; but the more dispassionate of the council were fearful of carrying matters with too high an hand, and their advice prevailing, no violence was offered to his person: and, indeed, any attempt of that kind would probably have occasioned very disagreeable consequences to the government. The duke of York was the idol of the people, who would not have failed to revenge his death upon the authors of it, however dignified by rank, or secured by authority. He had likewise many friends in the king's army, whom it would not have been prudent to incense at the present juncture of affairs; besides, his son Edward, earl of Marche, a brave sprightly young nobleman, was actually in arms on the borders of Wales, and the offering any violence to his father would be a sufficient motive for him to declare immediate war against the government. From these, and the like considerations, it was resolved to dismiss the duke of York, on condition that he should, in St. Paul's church, make a formal submission to the king, and acknowledge his title by oath, the tenor of which condemned his late proceedings; but Richard, glad to get himself out of the hands of the court upon any terms, readily acquiesced, and the ceremony was performed on the tenth of March, before most of the principal lords of the kingdom*: and then the duke of York retired to his castle of Wigmore, on the borders of Wales, leaving Somerset master at court, and director of all public affairs.

But there was another incident which contributed to York's release: the turbulent Gascons had sent deputies into England, offering to revolt from the French government, if they were properly supported. As the court had no money to defray the expence of a civil war, which the duke of York's death might have occasioned, and as the supporting the Gascons was the only popular pretext by which they could get money from the parliament, it was resolved to make their revenge give way to their more immediate interest.

The purport of the embassy from Guienne being laid before the council, and approved of there, the earl of Shrewsbury received a commission constituting him governor of all Guienne, with very full powers. The public having vast expectations from the abilities of this great general, he soon got together five thousand men, with whom he landed on the isle of Medon, in the beginning of September; and, being joined by the lord of l'Epais, soon made himself master of that country. Bourdeaux, which had already begun to feel the burden of French taxes, opened her gates to him; and all the Bourdelois followed her example: in a word, the English arms were attended with a train of conquests as rapid as those of the French had been against the English in the same country. Old Talbot, being joined by a reinforcement of four thousand men, under his son the lord Lisle, from England, he closed the year with the reduction of Fron-

fac and Chastillon, on the Dodogne; while all the French king could do this winter, was to dispatch the marshal de Jalognes, and some other officers, for the security of the places yet unsubdued, till the count de Clermont, his governor of Guienne, could take the field with an army in the spring.

By the month of March, 1453, the last-mentioned nobleman had gathered together an army of twenty-two thousand men; with a detachment of these the marshal de Lohac undertook the siege of Chastillon, while Chalais was taken by assault. It was the fifteenth of July before the French army formed the siege of Chastillon; on hearing of which the earl of Shrewsbury advanced, with eight or ten thousand men, to relieve the place, and, on the twentieth of that month, early in the morning, drove the French out of their post in an adjoining abbey, the body which defended it making their retreat to their main body, strongly encamped in the park of Chastillon. Talbot would never have thought of attacking them there, but being deceived by a false account that the enemy were retiring in great disorder, he marched up to their camp; and though, upon his approach, finding the intelligence false, he would have retreated in time, yet being unable to restrain the ardour of his troops, he set the best face upon the matter, and gave orders for attacking the entrenchments. The contest, which was extremely bloody, lasted for near three hours; and though the enemy's artillery made a terrible havock among the English, the latter continued the attack with that intrepid resolution for which they have been always so noted, and the fortune of the day seemed at last ready to declare for them: but a body of Bretons, all of them cavalry, who had never yet been engaged, passing their own entrenchments on the opposite side, took a compass, and fell upon the rear of the English just time enough to prevent the overthrow of the French.

The old English general now saw the total defeat of his troops inevitable; he found himself hemmed in on every side, while the French, having new pointed their artillery, plied him with greater fury than ever. At length, after having his horse shot dead under him by a cannon-ball, he himself was transfixed to the ground by a spear, which put an end to his life. His gallant son, the lord Lisle, after many acts of courage, was killed by his father's side, the generous youth disdaining to seek safety by flight. The English now looked upon themselves as a desolated herd; each shifted for himself, some towards Chastillon, and others towards Bourdeaux.

Thus fell Talbot, the brave earl of Shrewsbury, the honour of England's arms for the last twenty-five years of his life, who, in matters of war during that time, had no equal among his countrymen. Besides the earl and his son, sir Henry Talbot, the earl's bastard brother, with sir Edward Hall and about twelve hundred English, fell in this battle and pursuit: the lord Molyens and about sixty soldiers were taken prisoners†.

The consequences of this defeat were very fatal to the English interest, for Chastillon surrendered the next day; and Charles VII. coming up with the rest of his forces, several places were besieged at the same time; but few of them made any re-

* The reader will find the oath at large in Stowe, p. 395, 396.

† Monstrelet. Hall.

stance, except Cadillac, which was taken at last by assault: St. Millian, Libourne, St. Macaire, Langon, Fronzac, Rious, Chateaneuf, and other places, despairing of relief, submitted readily; and in the mean while the blockade of Bourdeaux was formed both by sea and land, under the marshal de Loheac, the count de Penthievre, and other French officers. The garrison held out till the seventeenth of October, when the besieged, being miserably distressed by famine, and without the least prospect of being relieved, desired to capitulate, which Charles, with his accustomed moderation, granted, and even agreed that the English might have liberty to depart, with all their substance, safely into England or Calais, and the Gascons enjoy their goods and possessions. The surrender of Bourdeaux completed the conquest of Guienne, and all hopes of reannexing that duchy to the crown of England were for ever extinguished.

Whilst the French were thus successfully employing their arms on the continent, Henry was, towards the beginning of this year, seized with a long and dangerous illness, during which the queen and Somerset ruled every thing more absolutely than ever. This, added to the news of the misfortunes in France, arriving in England, blew the discontent of the people into a violent flame: they exclaimed with great virulence against the treachery and misconduct of the ministry, who had neglected to furnish the earl of Shrewsbury with the necessary reinforcements. The court and the country of England were filled with the duke of York's friends, who did not fail to keep up the ill humours of the nation as the most likely means of bring about their own ends. But the duke's hopes received a violent blow, by the queen's being delivered of a son (named Edward), on the thirteenth of October. This event destroyed all prospect of the quiet succession of the duke of York, who was otherwise, in the right of his father, and by the laws enacted since the accession of the house of Lancaster, next heir to the crown, and rather tended to widen than repair the breach between the two parties, and the duke of York was now reduced to employ his natural and acquired interest for obtaining his end.

We have already given the characters of some of the nobility who were attached to his interest: the two principal of these, the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, did not chuse to declare themselves till they could be sure of a majority in the council; and advised the duke of York likewise carefully to conceal his aim, at the present juncture, beneath the mask of submission and quiet demeanor; the frankness wherewith he had disbanded his troops, and his late oath to the king, having lulled the court into a perfect security on his account.

The parliament, which had been summoned in the beginning of this year, had been several times prorogued, on account of the king's illness: the secret friends of the duke of York laid hold of this interval to insinuate to the queen and Somerset (who thought them to be of the court party), that, considering the present disposition of the people, they had very little reason to expect much complaisance from the parliament, but, on the contrary, there were good grounds for supposing, that it would, in compliance with the sense of the nation, appoint a new ministry: in order to prevent this misfortune, they observed, that it would be necessary to admit into the council the duke of York,

the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, and some other popular noblemen, to convince the public that they had no intention to make their own wills the sole rule of government. This advice appeared so plausible, that the queen and her favourite ran headlong into the snare, and these noblemen were appointed members of the council before the meeting of the parliament, which, after repeated prorogations, was to sit on the fourteenth of February, 1454; but, as soon as the duke of York and his cabal got a footing in the council, they found means to have it yet farther adjourned to the fifteenth of March, in order to gain time to concert measures with the members; meanwhile the Yorkists, who, from the instant they gained admission into the cabinet, superseded the credit of their adversaries, began to renew their prosecution against Somerset, and even ventured to arrest him in the queen's chamber, and from thence sent him to the Tower.

The king still continuing so ill as to be unfit even for the shadow of business, the council, now entirely at the duke of York's devotion, taking into consideration the destructive state of the kingdom, and Henry's helpless condition, thought it necessary to appoint the duke of York, by a commission, dated the thirteenth of February, 1454, lieutenant of the kingdom, with powers to open and hold the ensuing session in the king's name. He made use of this great power to the full: the office of chancellor being then vacant by the death of Kemp, archbishop of Canterbury, he conferred the same upon his friend and ally the earl of Salisbury.

The session opened with a petition from the house of commons, for a conservation of their privileges, and that Thomas Thorpe, their speaker, and Walter Reut, another of their members, might be released and set at liberty: it seems the duke of York had caused them both to be arrested. This petition, however, was refused; and the commons, returning to their house, chose sir Thomas Charleton their speaker. The curious reader will find upon what principles this arrest and detention was founded, under the article of Laws respecting this reign.

The next step of the commons was to appoint the duke of York lord-protector of the realm; and on the third of April, the king's letters patent were issued, confirming him in that title, and also constituting him defender of the kingdom and church of England, and principal counsellor of the king; a post which he readily accepted, being the same titles and power as the duke of Gloucester formerly enjoyed; and a salary of two thousand pounds per annum was allotted him, for the maintenance of his new dignity, and an act passed for investing him, with it (on a supposition of Henry's incapacity) till Edward, prince of Wales, should come to years of discretion. The duke of York, thus possessing all but the name of royalty, in the plenitude of power constituted himself captain-general of Calais, in the room of the duke of Somerset: but the latter, it seems, not chusing to resign that post without an express order from the king, a writ for that purpose was made out, and York was confirmed in the government of Calais by the parliament.

In this parliament Edmund (Tudor) of Hadham, and Jasper (Tudor) of Hatfield, sons of Catherine of France, Henry's mother, by her second husband, Owen Tudor, a gentleman de-

scended from the ancient princes of Wales, were declared the king's uterine brothers, and were created, the first earl of Richmond, and the other earl of Pembroke, with a right of precedence above all other earls, and next to dukes, in all councils and parliaments. To conclude the transactions of this parliament, it seems that the earl of Devonshire, Somerset's son-in-law, was, by the secret practices of the York party, accused of treason, but was honourably acquitted.

The duke of York did not long enjoy the exercise of the new dignity which he procured with so high an hand; for Henry appearing to be a little better, his commission was superseded; Somerset admitted to bail on the fifth of February, 1455; and, on the fourth of March, the king took from the duke of York the command of Calais, which was soon after restored to the duke of Somerset, who re-entered into the administration, and, in conjunction with the queen, directed all the affairs of the realm as formerly, without controul, making use of Henry's name to warrant all his proceedings.

These proceedings, which were all effected by the queen, drove the duke of York once more into arms. Having concerted measures with his friends, he retired again to Wales in order to assemble forces. The proceedings of the court, in releasing the duke of Somerset, without giving the nation any satisfaction, gave him a plausible handle for renewing his former popular pretext of reformation, in which he imagined, from the disposition of the people, he should be strongly supported: nor was he deceived in his expectations; for, in a very short space of time he saw himself at the head of three thousand men, with which force he thought to surprize the king in London; but Henry, aware of his design, marched out of that city to meet the insurgents, though not with more than two thousand men, but all of them brave, and determined to serve their king. The chief officers of the royal army were, Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset; Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham, and the earl of Stafford, his eldest son; Henry Piercy (son of Hotspur), earl of Northumberland; James Butler, earl of Wiltshire and Ormond; John Beaufort, earl of Dorset; Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke; Thomas lord Clifford; the lords Sudley, Barnes, Roos, and other noblemen: with the duke of York were John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk; Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury; Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, his son; William, lord Falconbridge; Edward, lord Cobham, and others.

On the twenty-first of May the royal army lay at Watford; and the next day they reached St. Alban's, where the king took up his head-quarters, in St. Peter's street; while the duke of York and his followers lay encamped at Keyefield. This latter, on his arrival at Royston, in the course of his march, had wrote a letter to the king, with one to the archbishop of Canterbury, desiring him to deliver that for the king into his own hands*; but this was secreted by Somerset and Thorpe†, two of York's sworn enemies, who took it from the archbishop's messenger: in it the confederate lords made strong professions of duty to Henry, and of zeal for his

service and the good of the state: and desired "admission to his presence, to vindicate themselves from the calumnies of their enemies, and to lay before him the ill conduct of his ministers, in order to their being brought to examination according to law, and treated as their misdemeanors should be found to deserve." This was also the substance of a demand they sent to the king, on the morning of the twenty-third of May; but Henry, with a spirit he never before discovered, told the duke of York's agents who delivered his message, that he would sooner deliver up his crown than the least soldier in his army, to please a set of such insolent rebels; and that he would treat as a traitor every man that should presume to fight him in the field.

Upon receipt of this answer from the king, the confederates began a furious attack upon the town; and the earl of Warwick, with a body of men, breaking down a garden-wall, which stood between the Key and the Chequer, in Holywell street, a hot dispute ensued between the insurgents and the royal party; while the duke of York, marching up with his division, attacked the vanguard of Henry's army, under the lord Clifford: the king's army, being not only pent up in the town, but inferior in number to that of the duke, was at last totally routed. The duke of Somerset, the earls of Northumberland and Stafford, the lord Clifford, with many knights and gentlemen of great eminence, were killed on the spot: the duke of Buckingham, receiving a wound, retired out of the battle; the earl of Wiltshire, and Thorpe, chancellor of the Exchequer, escaped; and about eight hundred of the king's best troops lay dead on the field of battle. Henry himself was wounded in the neck with an arrow, but was the last to retire from the fight (for he did not naturally want courage, though conscientiously he hated bloodshed), and then took refuge in an adjacent hut: there he was found out by York, Warwick, and Salisbury, who, approaching him with all the external humility imaginable, beseeched him to forgive what they had done, assuring him that, the enemy of the nation and them being now dead, he should hereafter find them the most obedient of his subjects, at the same time requesting him to trust his person with them; which Henry, not able to help himself, complied with, and York, carrying him to London, caused writs to be issued on the twenty-sixth of May, for calling a parliament.

It met on Wednesday, the ninth of July, and sir John Wenlock, who was of the royal party, was chosen speaker. The duke of York appearing in the house, laid before the members a long detail of his conduct: he accused the duke of Somerset, Thorpe, and one William Joseph, with concealing from the king the letters which he and his party had written from Royston, and which, if the king had read, might have prevented what afterwards happened: he declared, that, when he came to St. Alban's, his intention, and that of the lords who were with him, was only to have thrown themselves at the royal feet with their dutiful petition; and that the duke of Somerset's obstructing their access had occasioned the bloodshed which followed. All this was confirmed by deeds procured from

* Rot. Parl. 33 Hen. VI. p. 2. m. 20.

† Upon the duke of Somerset's returning into power, he had been released, and made chancellor of the Exchequer.

the king himself, who was no more at liberty to follow his own counsels in this juncture than when he was under the guardianship of the queen and the duke of Somerset; and, on the twenty-third of July, the duke of York's acquittal, with that of his whole party, was confirmed in full parliament, which was then adjourned to the twelfth of November, at Westminster, after having passed a general pardon for all offences committed before the first day of the session. On this occasion, every prelate present laying his hand on his breast, and every temporal lord taking the king by the hand, renewed their fealty to him*.

The parliament reassembling on the day appointed, the commons presented a petition, praying the lords to move the king "to appoint an able protector and defender of the realm, seeing his highness would not attend the same, and that the commons might have knowledge of him†." Whereupon, five days after, the king signed letters patent, in which he declares, that, "having been petitioned by his parliament to nominate a protector, he appointed the duke of York for that important office; but he should be removed by the parliament, or when the young prince of Wales should be capable of it‡." The duke accepted the post, with the same powers and privileges as before, but with a larger allowance|| for supporting the honour and charge of the dignity.

The immediate occasion or pretence for the petition of the commons for York's being appointed protector, was the hostilities lately committed in the West between the earl of Devon and the lord Bonneville, who had come to an engagement, in which a great number of the followers on each side had been slain, and the whole country was harassed by continual riots and depredations, so that there was an absolute necessity to put a stop to these outrages; and the duke of York being determined to repair thither in person, the parliament was, on the thirteenth of December, prorogued to the fourteenth of January following, having first passed an act for the resumption of all grants since the death of Henry V. and appropriated a sum for the expences of the household.

While the duke of York thus enjoyed his triumph, the queen did not behold his success with idle resignation. Henry Beaufort, the new duke of Somerset, son of him who fell at St. Alban's, glowed with impatience to revenge the death of his father; Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham, breathed no less vengeance for the loss of his son, who fell on the same occasion; and all the princes and nobles allied or attached to the house of Lancaster, perceiving the duke of York taking large strides towards the throne, resolved to exert all their endeavours to stop his progress. Notwithstanding this opposition, he lived in such seeming security as astonished his enemies. He thought he should run too great a risk in pretending openly to the crown, which had remained near sixty years

in the house of Lancaster, and therefore he waited for some favourable opportunity to broach his pretensions: his chief aim was to acquire the favour of the people, without which he foresaw all his efforts would prove ineffectual; and, that they might see his conduct was not influenced by passion or interest, he affected a great attention to, and reverence for, the royal family: he provided a decent maintenance for, and settled the household of, the king's eldest son§; he also left the king and the queen at perfect liberty to act as they should think proper. He thought it was not in their power to divest him of the dignity of protector, which, according to his patent, could not be revoked but by the parliament; but the queen was too active and enterprising to be deterred from her purpose by such slender obstacles.

The king having recovered his health, the enemies of the duke, with the queen at their head, resolved to seize this opportunity to deprive him of his protectorship. The parliament reassembling at the appointed time, on the twenty-fifth of February, 1456, Henry came to the house, and declared from the throne, that, as he now enjoyed perfect health, and was in a condition to resume the reins of government, he did not think the kingdom had any further occasion for a protector; he therefore desired the parliament would discharge the duke of York from that office. Whether the two houses thought the request reasonable, or that, during the recess of the holidays between the fourteenth of December and fourteenth of January, the queen and her party had brought over the majority of the members, it is certain that the parliament agreed to a final repeal of the duke's powers as protector of the kingdom; and a writ was directed to him, notifying his suspension. He was no sooner exonerated from this charge, which he enjoyed only three months, than the earl of Salisbury was deprived of his post of chancellor, to which he had been advanced in the first session of this parliament, as the earl of Warwick had to the government of Calais; but this last, being the darling of the soldiery, it was not an easy matter to turn him out of his post.

Had Margaret been satisfied with this success, she might perhaps have enjoyed her authority for some time, without any disturbance; but, puffed up with this favourable turn of fortune, she resolved to ensure her future tranquility by arresting the persons of York, Salisbury, and Warwick. With this view the court was removed, early in the following year, 1457, to Coventry, where she thought she could execute her purpose with greater ease than in London; and letters were sent, under the privy-seal, to those three noblemen, requiring their attendance upon the king, upon affairs of importance to the state.

As the duke of York had taken no step towards publishing his designs upon the crown, he deter-

* Rot. Parl. 33 Hen. VI. n. 18—25, 27, 28, 29.

† Ibid. n. 32, 34, 36, 42, 49.

‡ Rymer, vol. xi. p. 369, 370.

|| Namely, four thousand marks per annum. Stat. 33 Hen. VI. c. 7.

§ What this was will appear from the following words of the record, "The king by his several letters patent, confirmeth to his son Edward, prince of Wales, and to his heirs, kings of England, his creation of the principality and earldom of Chester, with all the particular dominions and hereditaments belonging thereto; and for that the said prince, the king's first begotten, the day of his birth, ought to be duke of Cornwall,

the king granteth to the said prince livery of the same, and of all other hereditaments belonging of common consent. And farther, it is enacted, that the said prince shall be at diet, and sojourn in the king's court till the age of fourteen years; for the which diet the king shall take yearly all the revenues and profits of the said principality, earldom, and duchy of the said prince, until he come to the age of fourteen years, allowing yearly to the said prince, towards his wardrobe and wages, ten thousand pounds until his age of eight years; and from the said age to the age of fourteen years, twenty thousand marks yearly." Rymer, vol. xi.

mined to obey the order; accordingly he and his associates set out for Coventry: but when they were within a few miles of the place, they received, from some of their secret friends, intelligence of the design formed against them, and it came so late that they had not a moment to lose, but were forced to fly in all haste; York, with only a groom and a page, to his estate of Wigmore, on the borders of Wales; Salisbury to his own castle of Middleham, in Yorkshire; and Warwick to the sea-side, where he got shipping, and passed over to his government of Calais*. The queen was greatly chagrined at this disappointment, but comforted herself with the thoughts that these three lords, by being separated, would be less formidable.

This treacherous attempt, however, put an end to all manner of confidence: court invitations and promises were looked upon as snares for the ruin of the opposite party, and occasioned such a breach among the nobility in the different interests, that they left all visiting and correspondence with each other; and this strangeness proving habitual, turned in a short time to such an inveteracy, that, when they came under the names of Yorkists and Lancastrians to engage in a civil war, it was carried on with an unusual degree of fury and cruelty. Upon the retreat of the three confederate lords, the dukes of Buckingham and Somerset acted as chief ministers, and, with the queen, governed all at court.

But the mutual jealousy and machinations of the two parties were at this time interrupted by other considerations. The French having intelligence of the distractions in England, sought to avail themselves of them, and Charles began to think of repaying one of the many dreadful visits he had received from this country. A French historian† will have it that Charles received an invitation from queen Margaret for that purpose, who knew no readier means of effecting the duke of York's ruin; but this assertion does not appear sufficiently authenticated by cotemporary writers, for us to adopt it as fact. It is certain, however, that, about this time the French king entered upon a project to invade England, in concert with the Scots, who, agreeable to the plan adjusted between them, actually entered the northern counties, about Midsummer this year, under their king James II. notwithstanding the truce subsisting between the two nations, and carried off a considerable booty: and the earl of Northumberland, with the Scottish earl of Douglas, then a refugee in England, marching against them, were defeated with some loss by the Scottish generals, the earl of Angus and sir James Hamilton. On this occasion the duke of York, nobly sacrificing his private pique to the interest of his country, got together a powerful force, with which he joined the earl of Northumberland, and both generals marching against the invaders, drove them before them into their own country, whither they followed them, and laid great part of their borders waste with fire and sword. The French, slower in their attempt, through the necessity of equipping a fleet, were not ready to sail from Honfleur, in Normandy, till the twentieth of August. On the twenty-eighth of the same month, the marshals de Brezé and de Loheac, with about seven thousand men, landed near Sandwich, and plundered the place; but the militia of the country assembling

in great numbers, and shewing a noble resolution of defending their properties, the French were glad to reembark with the booty they had made. In their return they made a descent in the West, and plundered the village of Fowey, in Cornwall, and also some places in Devonshire; but this predatory expedition redounded little to the glory of Charles's arms.

This storm being happily blown over, Henry who was of a pacific disposition, and equally dreaded the rage of foreign and domestic war, was very anxious to make up the feuds among the nobility, in order to unite them all in the defence of his person and government. Great part of this year was therefore spent in endeavours for that salutary purpose; but the late treacherous attempt against the Yorkists had put that party so much upon their guard, that neither the duke nor his associates could be brought to listen to any proposal of a meeting, till Henry condescended to write them a letter with his own hand, in which he promised, upon his salvation, they should receive no injury, and earnestly requested that mutual animosities should be buried in mutual forgiveness. Henry, though a prince of mean capacity, had, by the innocence of his life, and the piety of his devotion, acquired, if not the esteem, at least the good will of his subjects, so that when these his cordial invitations were made public, the nation had so high an opinion of his candour, that the opposing lords could no longer stand out, with any shadow of decency. Perhaps they did not think their scheme yet ripe for an open revolt against the established king, so they agreed to meet at London, to settle the articles of their reconciliation: but as each side seemed still to entertain a distrust of the other's sincerity, it was agreed by the mediators (who were Thomas Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury, with several other prelates) that they should come, attended with proper retinues.

Accordingly, on the fifteenth day of January, 1458, the earl of Salisbury arrived first, with a body of five hundred men; as York did, on the twenty-sixth, with four hundred, taking up their quarters near each other, the former in Cold-harbour, and the latter in Baynard's castle; Warwick came over from Calais with six hundred followers, and chose the Grey-friars for the place of his residence; and the rest of the Yorkists lodged in different parts within the city.

Of the Lancastrian party, Somerset, Exeter, Northumberland, Egremont, and Clifford came with a pompous train of followers, who quartered in the suburbs; and sir Godfrey Bulleyn, the lord-mayor of London, at the head of ten thousand men, patrolled through the streets, for preventing all disturbances that might happen between the numerous retinues of the treating lords.

The conferences met with great difficulties, occasioned by the heats, animosities, and jarring interests of the two parties, insomuch that it was the twenty-fourth of March before every thing was adjusted, when at length the following terms were mutually agreed to.

I. That there should be a general pardon for all parties concerned in the late disturbances, on the part of the duke of York as well as the king; and that both should equally be held thenceforth as

* Hall. Stowe.

† M. de Coucy, Hist. de Charles VII.

subjects: but that the duke of York, with the earls of Warwick and Salisbury, should settle forty pounds a year upon the abbey of St. Alban's, for suffrages and obits to be kept, and alms to be employed, for the souls of the noblemen and others killed in the late battle there.

II. That the duke of York should pay five thousand pounds to the duchess of Somerset, which was to be divided amongst her youngest children: and that the earl of Warwick should pay two thousand marks, for the use of the younger brethren of the lord Clifford.

III. That whereas sir Thomas Piercy, the lord Egremont, and Richard Piercy, sons of the countess of Northumberland, were fined to pay to the earl of Salisbury, his wife and sons Thomas and John Neville, fourteen thousand eight hundred marks for trespasses, found by Richard Bingham and Ralph Pool, the king's judges, to be done to the said earl of Salisbury and his sons, it was agreed the said sums should be released by them to the said offenders; yet upon condition that the said lord Egremont and his brothers should enter into recognizance in Chancery, to keep the peace with the said earl of Salisbury, his wife, children, servants, and tenants: and the said earl should discharge the tenants of the said earl of Northumberland and lord Egremont from the obligations to stand to their order and government.

The IVth article contains general releases on all sides: and expresses, that all matters of property shall stand upon the same footing as they were before the troubles. The other articles of this agreement relate only to the security which all the parties were obliged to give to its performance.

This agreement being settled, nothing remained but to notify it to the public; to do which with all possible solemnity, a public procession was made, in great pomp, by all parties, to St. Paul's cathedral, the duke of York leading the queen, followed by the duke of Somerset, the duke of Exeter, and the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, one of each party walking abreast, hand in hand, with every appearance of a cordial reconciliation and undisguised confidence: but, unhappily, there was little sincerity on either side; instead of labouring cheerfully in the great ends of the reunion, instead of taking their places at the council-board, to which they were now entitled, the confederate lords suddenly retired to where their several interests lay; the duke of York to the borders of Wales; the earl of Salisbury to the North; and the earl of Warwick, who had contracted for the guard of the sea, to take the command of the fleet. While the latter was on a cruise in the channel, he fell in with some merchant-ships belonging to the Genoese and Lubbeckers, who then made a great figure in the commerce of Europe; and a dispute arising in consequence of the foreigners refusing to pay the proper compliment to the English flag, the earl attacked them, sunk some, and carried the rest into Calais, on board of which he found an immense booty. These two republics, however, making vigorous remonstrances at the English court against this outrage, as they termed it, the king appointed com-

missioners to enquire into the particulars, and Warwick was obliged to come over to justify his conduct.

During his stay in London on this account, a fray happened between one of his servants and a domestic of the queen's, in which the latter, who was the aggressor, was desperately wounded. The companions on each side took part in the quarrel, the streets of London were filled with blood and confusion, and matters went so far, that the queen's attorney-general was killed in one of these frays; and it was with great difficulty that, in another on the like occasion, the earl himself escaped with life, by taking to his barge. He failed not to represent this as a premeditated attack, contrived by the queen, in order to assassinate him; and set out soon after for Yorkshire, where he had an interview with his father, the earl of Salisbury, and the duke of York, when it was resolved again to appeal to arms for satisfaction upon the violation of the late agreement. Warwick made but a short stay with his friends, posting over in all haste to Calais, for fear of some attempt on the part of the court to seize it during his absence.

It being discovered soon after, that the queen, to justify the late attempt upon the earl's life, had procured an order to arrest and throw him into the Tower, where it was supposed effectual methods would have been taken for removing so powerful an adversary; the duke of York and the earl of Salisbury made their complaints to Henry of these treacherous proceedings, insisting that he would dismiss from his council all such who had a share in them, or had advised the breach of the agreement. But Henry, wholly under the guidance of his wife and her cabal, took no notice of their remonstrances: upon which the confederate lords began to make provision for taking the field in case of necessity.

Early in the year 1459, the duke of York and his party were in arms; and it was agreed by them, that, whilst the duke was strengthening his interest in Wales, the earl of Salisbury should advance to London, at the head of five thousand men, and openly demand satisfaction for the injury done to his son. But as these measures could not be taken without the knowledge of the court, the lord Audley*, who had a great family interest in the counties through which Salisbury was to march, was ordered to raise troops, and had a commission as commander in chief of the royal army. Audley in a short time was at the head of ten thousand men, and in a condition to march against the earl of Salisbury, who was advanced as far as the borders of Shropshire and Staffordshire. There the two armies met; and though Salisbury had not above half the force which his adversary brought against him, he would not retreat, and, by a stratagem, gained a victory which he had no reason otherwise to expect.

The river Sow, a small stream but of a considerable depth, ran between the two armies, and its banks were lined by the lord Audley's troops. Salisbury ordered a detachment of his best archers to advance briskly to his side of the river, and to

* James Touchet, grand-son of John Touchet, by Joan, daughter and heiress of Nicholas Aldithly, or Audley, of Heleigh, who died without male issue; wherefore the posterity of the said John and Joan had the title of lords Audley. Dugd.

Baron. vol. ii. p. 28. From these descended the present lord Audley of Heleigh, earl of Castlehaven, in the kingdom of Ireland.

pour a discharge of arrows upon the royalists on the opposite side. The latter, upon this, coming up in their turn, the earl of Salisbury ordered his men to retreat, which they did with the appearance of precipitate confusion: this had the effect Salisbury wished; the royalists, deceived by this feint, and thinking the enemy flying, began to pass the stream, with lord Audley at their head, in order to complete the rout of the Yorkists. The earl of Salisbury had made all the necessary dispositions for their reception; before half the royalists were passed over, he charged them with his whole force upon a plain called Bloreheath, and gave them a total defeat. The lord Audley was killed at the head of his men*: his chief officers who fell with him were Hugh Venables, of Kinderton; Thomas Dutton, of Dutton; Robert Molineux, of Sisson, with many more, in all to the number of two thousand four hundred. In this battle, which was fought on the twenty-third of September, the Cheshire men were the greatest sufferers, who wore this day little silver swans, which the queen had ordered to be distributed to all the gentlemen of that county; no doubt with a view to put them in mind of Henry's descent from Edward III. who wore the same for his device†.

The duke of York, encouraged by this success, raised all the forces he could in the Welsh Marches, appointing Ludlow for the place of rendezvous, where all their friends from different quarters were to join him and Salisbury; and the duke, now unable to keep on the mask any longer, was obliged to avow his pretensions of claiming the crown. This attack upon Henry's person and dignity raised all the friends he had in the nation; the dukes of Somerset, Exeter, and Buckingham, all of them riveted by blood and inclination to the Lancaster family, had great interest in the kingdom, and saw now more than ever the necessity of their entering heartily upon the defence of Henry's title; in short, they bestirred themselves so effectually, that Henry in a few days got together an army far superior to that of the confederate lords. On the ninth of October writs were issued for the meeting of a parliament at Coventry, on the twentieth of the following month. The duke of Somerset was appointed governor of Calais, in the room of the earl of Warwick, who, upon advice of this, left that place under the care of William Neville, lord Fauconbridge (his uncle), and taking with him part of the garrison, of which he gave the command to sir Andrew Trollop, who had signalized himself

in the wars in France, and to sir John Blount, another experienced general, he crossed the sea, and joined his friends at Ludlow.

To this place, where the lords were encamped, it was resolved by Henry's council immediately to advance. When the royal army came to Worcester it made a halt, and Henry sent Richard Beauchamp, bishop of Salisbury, with an offer of pardon to the rebels, if they would lay down their arms; but these were slighted; for, after so many repeated breaches of faith, no one would trust the court. The king, therefore, continued advancing; and, on the thirteenth of October, he came to Ludford, a few miles distant from Ludlow, with a fixed resolution to give the Yorkists battle: they, on their side, made a shew as if they would resist to the utmost. The two commanders from Calais, and the troops they brought over with them, imagined they were only to rescue their king out of the hands of a wicked ministry; but now, finding the duke of York's intention was to wrest the crown from him, whom they looked upon as the rightful possessor, they deserted by night to the royal army; and the chiefs of the Yorkists, apprehending that their men might be discouraged by that revolt, or be tempted to follow the example, thought fit to separate the next day; York, with his second son, the earl of Rutland, making the best of their way, through Wales, into Ireland; and the earls of Marche, Warwick, and Salisbury into Devonshire, where sir John Denham provided ships, which carried them over to Calais, into which place they were received by lord Fauconbridge, notwithstanding the duke of Somerset being appointed governor thereof by the king‡.

As soon it was found that the rebels' forces were dispersed, several troops of light horse were dispatched in pursuit, who took a great number of stragglers, none of whom, excepting those capitally concerned, suffered; but the town of Ludlow, for its remarkable attachment to the cause of the confederates, was plundered by the king's troops; and the duchess of York, with her two younger sons, were made prisoners in the castle.

The parliament meeting at Coventry, on the twentieth of November, agreeable to its summons, passed an act of attainder against the duke of York, the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, with their chief adherents, who were all declared traitors, their estates forfeited, and their heirs disinherited. The reader will find in the note § an abstract of the proceedings of the house on this occasion, with a particular

* To whose memory a monument is set up at the head of the river Sow, in Staffordshire. Camd. Add. to Staffordsh.

† Hollingshed, p. 1295. Stowe, p. 404.

‡ Hall, p. 174. Hollingshed, 1297.

§ The attainder of Richard duke of York, wherein are contained these matters ensuing: First, a commemoration of the king's great care in bringing the said duke up, and the manifold benefits to him shewed. The confederation of the said duke with Jack Cade, to be advanced to the crown. The duke's coming out of Ireland with force, to the king's court and presence. The duke's practices to be protector. The duke's intent to have raised an army against the king, at Dartford, in Kent. His submission, and oath to the king, in Paul's, after the same. The duke's oath at large. The duke's confederacy with the earls of Salisbury and Warwick. A rehearsal of the king's sundry benefits shewed to the two said earls. The battle of St. Alban's, at what time the duke of Somerset, the earl of Northumberland, and the lord Clifford were slain; and the pacification made by the king between the heirs of the said duke and earls, and their promises of due obedience;

with renunciation of sundry benefits to them afterwards, shewed the ambition of the said duke and earls. Their new oaths and promises made to the king. Their politics in not coming to the council, for their readiness in coming together, being far asunder. The expedition of the earl of Salisbury, with Thomas and John Neville, knights, sons of the said earl Thomas; and Thomas Oringe, of Tounge, in the county of York; with five thousand men, with banners displayed, on Bloreheath, on the feast of St. Matthew, anno 1437. James, lord Audley, slain on Bloreheath, in Staffordshire, by the said earl; and John Dudley, with sundry others taken prisoners, the king pursuing them by the space of thirty days and nights. The king's pardon to them offered, and their refusal. The assembly of the said duke, the earl of Marche; Richard, earl of Warwick; Richard, earl of Salisbury; Edward, earl of Rutland; John, lord Clifton; John, lord Wenlock; James Palering; John Conies, and Thomas Parr, knights; John Bouchier and Edward Bouchier, esquires, nephews of the said duke: Thomas Colt, of London, gentleman; John Clay, of Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire, esquire; Roger Egerton, of Shrewsbury, esquire;

ticular recapitulation from records of all the duke's conduct, and an account of his principal abettors by name, much more particular than we have in almost any history.

The queen seemed now to have set her foot upon all opposition: all grants, posts, or pensions which had been given to any of the duke of York's adherents, were revoked and cancelled by order of parliament; the Scottish earl of Douglas, who had been for some time an exile in England, was gratified with a pension during life, for his eminent services to the house of Lancaster. But, in this distressed condition of their affairs, and in the height of the triumphs of the Lancastrian party, the Yorkists found a resource in the admirable genius of the earl of Warwick: that nobleman was still in possession of Calais, and refused to deliver it up, on pretence that he held it from the parliament; upon which, Henry, duke of Somerset, to whom that government had been granted, sailed over to take possession of it, with a mere handful of men, imagining that, after the decisive blow lately given to the confederates, he should meet with very little difficulty in entering upon his charge. But the earl of Warwick was so universally beloved by the whole garrison, that, when Somerset appeared before the place, and summoned it to surrender, he had no other answer than what came from the mouth of its cannon. Being in no condition to force his entrance, he retired to Guisnes, where he resided in expectation of farther supplies. Having gone ashore, he left his ships, with some of his friends on board, at sea; but the mariners were so well affected to the duke of York's interest, or rather to the earl of Warwick's person, that they rose and carried the ships into Calais, where the duke of Somerset's friends were barbarously put to death by Warwick's orders†.

The queen, incensed beyond measure at this monstrous insult, and determined to wrest this important fortress out of the hands of her enemies, equipped a fleet for the assistance of Somerset, and ordered a considerable body of troops to be put on board, under the command of the lord Rivers and his son Anthony Woodville (afterwards lord Scales in right of his wife.) While the fleet lay in the harbour of Sandwich, waiting for a fair wind, the earl of Warwick, having intelligence of their destination, gave sir John Denham the command of the ships that had lately deserted from Somerset, and a body of troops on board, who sailed to Sandwich, where he found Rivers and all his officers, who were carried to Calais, together with their ships, the sailors themselves favouring the enterprise.

Warwick, having now got a fleet, sailed for Ireland in the beginning of the year 1460, in order to consult the duke of York about the measures to

be taken for another insurrection in England, where the people espoused their cause, and their friends expected them with impatience. The duke agreed with him, that the lords at Calais should make a descent in the county of Kent, which abounded with their adherents and well-wishers, and proceed directly to the capital, which they did not doubt would receive them with open arms. The earl of Warwick, in his return to Calais, fell in with the English fleet, commanded by Henry Holland, duke of Exeter, who had lately been appointed admiral of England in the earl's stead, and been sent out to intercept him in his passage: but the mariners and soldiers on board the duke's fleet refusing to fight against their old and beloved commander, he, in order to prevent a total revolt, sailed into Dartmouth, where the greater part of his men deserted for want of pay and provision.

The queen and the ministry doubted not that the interview between the duke of York and Warwick was the forerunner of a fresh rebellion, and resolved to leave nothing untried to prevent the bad consequences of their landing in England. James Butler, earl of Wiltshire, the lords Scales and Hungerford were sent down into the counties supposed to be in the duke's interest, particularly those of Kent and Hampshire, with a commission to imprison and try all whom they judged to be of that party. They executed their commission with great rigour, putting to death many who were only suspected of favouring the duke of York; others were deprived of their offices, plundered, and otherwise ill treated, which much inflamed the animosities of the two parties: add to this, that the castle of Denbigh, which had belonged to the duke of York, was taken by assault by the earl of Pembroke, who had a commission to be Henry's general in Wales and upon its Marches.

In short, the prospect of ruin which the confederate lords had, as to their own private estates, did not, perhaps, a little quicken their resolution of a second invasion: they sent over the lord Fauconbridge with a manifesto, which he had orders to disperse throughout the kingdom, and to send a copy of it to the archbishop of Canterbury. It was to the following purpose: "that the duke of York, the earls of Marche, Salisbury, and Warwick, had divers times offered, and sent, to come into the king's presence, to have declared for their duty to God, his highness, and prosperity of the realm, these following matters, viz.

" I. The great extortions, murders, robberies, and oppressions to the church, and ministers of it, against the laws both of God and man.

" II. The poverty and misery of his highness himself, who, being cheated and defrauded of the revenues of the crown, which might, and would, support his royal grace, by the destroyers of the

esquire; and Robert Bold, brother to Henry Bold, knight; who, with several others pitched their camp in the fields of Ludlow, in the county of Hereford, on Friday, the vigil of the Translation of Edward, in anno 1438: the duke pretended to his company that the king was dead, for whose soul mass was said in the said duke's camp. The king's expectation of the said duke: the duke's ranging in battle; the fortifying his ground with carts, and his guns set, before the skirmish made: his ambush laid; and his meaning to have suddenly surprized the king's host. The departure of the said duke and earls out of the field about midnight, under cover to repose themselves at Ludlow, and their flight into Wales; for that their army fainted, and submitted themselves unto the king,

who granted their pardon. The attainder of the said duke, earls, and other aforesaid persons as traitors. Alice, wife to Richard, earl of Salisbury; William Oldhall, knight; and Thomas Vaughan, esquire, of London; were attainted as traitors, for procuring the treasons aforesaid. All and singular the hereditaments of the said duke and others, attainted, in fee or fee-tail, are forfeited. Richard Gray, lord Powis, Walter Radford, knight, being in the field with the duke at Ludlow, were pardoned; but all their hereditaments, as before, and other profits, forfeited. Cotton's Abridgm. p. 661, 662, 663.

† Hall, p. 175. Hollingshed, p. 1297.

commonwealth, was forced to oppress and spoil his subjects.

“ III. That the laws were partially and unjustly executed, and made to support their injustice and oppression by such as should most love and tender them.

“ IV. That the commons were marvellously taxed, and their goods taken from them without payment; because he premitted the destroyers of the land to live upon his own revenues, suffering all the king's possessions in France to be lost.

“ V. That the people begin to have new impositions laid upon them, viz. every town to find men for the king's guards, after the example of the French, our adversaries; which, if continued to our heirs, will be a charge and bondage none of our ancestors were subject to.

“ VI. That divers lords had caused the king to write letters to his enemies in Ireland and France, to conquer the said kingdom, and take Calais; which letters were shewn to the duke of York by the Irishmen, with detestation of their villiany.

“ VII. That, since the barbarous and shameful murder of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, at Bury, it hath been studied and conspired to have destroyed and murdered the duke of York, and his issue of the royal blood; as also the earls of Warwick and Salisbury; for no other cause but for the true heart they have ever borne, and do bear, to the king's profit and wealth of the realm.

“ VIII. That the earls of Shrewsbury and Wiltshire, that the lord Beaumont, the mortal enemy of the said duke and lords, having the guiding of our sovereign lord, would not suffer the king to receive and accept them, as he would have done in his presence, dreading the charge which would have been brought against them for destroying the nation.

“ IX. That the said earls of Wiltshire, Shrewsbury, and lord Beaumont, not satisfied with the king's revenues and goods, had stirred up and excited his highness to hold his parliament at Coventry, where an act was made, to destroy the said duke of York, earls of Marche, Rutland, Salisbury, and Warwick, and their issue, and estates, and tenants, were given up to their hands, who robbed them, and hanged many of them without the king's consent or approbation.

“ These mischiefs they declared they could not but behold with grief; and therefore now proposed again to offer themselves to the presence of their said sovereign lord, to declare them to him in the most reverend manner, that he may have pity and compassion on his miserable subjects, and not suffer these mischiefs still to reign; to the effecting of which, they required all people, to whom their declaration should come, in God's behalf and their own, to assist them in doing their duty to their sovereign, his person and dignity, to whom they have been and ever would be, true as any of his subjects alive, to which they call God, and the Virgin Mary, and all the saints in heaven to witness.”

We must not forget to relate, that as Fauconbridge was on his passage over, he met at sea sir Simon Munford, who was appointed to guard the coast, attacked him, and taking him prisoner with many other officers, he sent them all to Calais. Upon their arrival, the earl of Marche, York's eldest son, ordered Munford with twelve of his

captains to be beheaded, by way of retaliation for the severities exercised upon his father's adherents in England. Such are the cruelties almost constantly annexed to civil wars! But to return.

The lords in Calais being punctually apprized of the favourable effects which their manifesto had on the minds of the people, the earls of Marche, Salisbury, and Warwick, leaving Calais in a good posture of defence, came over into England with fifteen hundred persons in their retinue. Immediately on their landing (at Sandwich), they were joined by the lord Cobham, with four thousand men; but their greatest accession of strength was in the archbishop of Canterbury (Bourchier), who joined them, and suffered their manifesto to be affixed to the doors of his cathedral, and engaged several other prelates in the same cause.

They now began their march towards London, where they were sure of a welcome reception from the citizens. They reached that capital on the second of July, being about forty thousand strong, and on the same day had peaceable admission into the city, being welcomed by the lord-mayor and aldermen in their formalities. The queen was then at Coventry, where her army rendezvoused, and Henry at Northampton. Upon the first news of the Yorkists landing and progress, the royal army was ordered to march for London; but the confederates were so quick in their motions, that on the morning of the ninth of July, only seven days after their entry into London, the king's troops saw them advancing, in three divisions, towards Northampton; the first was led by the earl of Warwick; the second, which was the main body, by the earl of Marche (now in his twentieth year); and the lord Fauconbridge, with the troops under his command, formed the rear. The queen, who was herself really general of the royal army, since every thing was done by her orders, though the king was present in person, pitched her camp on a plain near Northampton, with the little river Nyne behind her: the earls of Marche and Warwick encamped between Towcester and Northampton. Marche was for immediately attacking the king's camp, but the archbishop of Canterbury and the other prelates were of a different opinion, and proposed to attempt a reconciliation: the lords submitting to their advice, the bishop of Salisbury was sent, in their name, to the king, requesting admittance to his presence, in order to compromise differences without bloodshed. But the court, falsely imagining that this offer proceeded only from the sense the confederates had of their own weaknesses, rejected, with equal haughtiness and bad policy, these overtures. In this the queen was the dupe of too great security. The bishop, finding his mediation refused, returned to the camp of the Yorkists, and both parties prepared for battle.

Whether this rejecting of all means of an accommodation had an effect on Edmund, lord Grey of Ruthyn, who commanded Henry's vanguard, or whether his conduct was owing to any other motive, he deserted to the earl's party soon after the engagement began, and contributed not a little to the victory of the malecontents. The battle began about two o'clock of the afternoon of the tenth of July, and was maintained with equal courage and obstinacy on both sides till seven in the evening, when the royalists were completely routed with a terrible carnage: the duke of Buckingham, the earl

earl of Shrewsbury (son of the great Talbot), who performed wonders that day, the lord Egremont, the lord Beaumont*, and sir William Lucy were among the number of the slain: the queen, the prince of Wales, and the duke of Somerset, with difficulty escaped and fled northward. As to Henry, that empty shadow of a king, he once more fell into the hands of the Yorkists, who, nevertheless, treated him with the exterior of profound respect; and this deference served in some measure to console him for his late misfortunes, which would have been to any other prince worse than death itself; but Henry's natural imbecility seems to have made him equally insensible of good or bad fortune.

He was immediately conducted to Northampton, where he reposed himself for three days, and then set out for London, where he arrived on the sixteenth of July, attended by a crowd of noblemen and others, who had lately appeared in arms against him. The success of the confederate lords had so elated the Londoners, who were well affected to their cause, that they broke out into several outrages against many persons of the Lancastrian party. The lord Scales, governor of the Tower for Henry, who had refused to deliver it up to the earl of Marche before the battle of Northampton, now finding his master in the power of his enemies, thought proper to abandon his charge, and privately took water, in order to seek sanctuary in the abbey of Westminster; but being discovered, was most barbarously murdered, and his body thrown into the river. No enquiry being made after the perpetrators of this vile deed, it gave encouragement to carry on a kind of proscription; and among others who suffered death by the violence of the mob, was Thorpe, formerly speaker of the house of commons, but now a baron of the Exchequer.

The king, soon after his arrival, called a parliament, to meet in the beginning of October following: in the mean time the great-seal was given to the bishop of Exeter; the earl of Warwick was confirmed, by a new commission, in the government of Calais, to which was added that of Guisnes, which was still held by the duke of Somerset; and on the first of August the earl of Salisbury received a commission as warden of the Northern Marches, with power to raise an army to oppose the progress of James II. king of Scotland, who, taking advantage of the intestine troubles of England, had laid siege to the castle of Roxburgh; but while the earl was preparing to set out on this expedition, news arrived that James had been killed before the place, by the bursting of one of his own cannon; and that his queen, a woman of a masculine spirit, had pushed the siege with such vigour, that the castle of Roxburgh had capitulated; after which she laid siege to, and carried that of Werk, and then ravaging a great part of the English borders, she returned into Scotland before the earl of Salisbury could assemble his army. James II. of Scotland was succeeded by his son James III. then but seven years old.

In the course of the same month (of August) died Charles VII. king of France. It is pretended he starved himself, through an apprehension of being poisoned by the dauphin, his son,

who now ascended the throne by the name of Lewis XI.

The confederate lords, who had now the king and government entirely in their power, failed not to give the duke of York, who was still in Ireland, continual notice of what was transacting, and that prince was now preparing to come to England, and put the finishing stroke to his grand project. The meeting of the parliament had been purposely delayed by his friends here, to give him time for being present at the opening; but, by the unforeseen accidents of wind and weather, he did not arrive in London till the third day of the session (viz. the fifth of October), when, without waiting even to refresh himself, he posted directly to the house of peers, who were then sitting, and, placing himself under the canopy of state, with his hand laid upon the throne, he gave a broad hint, that he expected the assembly would invite him to seat himself in the royal chair; but herein his own vanity, or the flattering insinuations of his creatures, had miserably deceived him; the majority of the members were far from entertaining any such thought, as they evinced by keeping a profound silence: at length the archbishop of Canterbury, a truly good man, who had joined the opposition merely because it tended to reformation, and at the same time had a sincere regard for Henry on account of his virtue and piety, came up to the duke, while he was standing in the manner already described, and asked him if he had as yet waited on the king, or whether he designed so to do? So sudden and unexpected a question involved the duke in the utmost perplexity: he had not yet openly avowed his claim to the crown; the silence of the house shewed him his intention was not universally approved: after some hesitation, during which the different changes of his countenance betrayed the tumult in his mind, he without giving a direct answer, said, that he knew no person in the realm to whom that compliment was due from him. This sudden declaration so greatly alarmed the whole assembly, that they broke up in some confusion.

Richard, however, was not to be discouraged by this rebuff. He went again the next day to the house of lords, and boldly seated himself upon the throne; but rising up soon, claimed the crown "as the next lineal heir of Edward III. and rightful successor to Richard II. who had been barbarously murdered by Henry of Derby, duke of Lancaster and Hereford, who wrongfully styled himself king Henry IV. as his own father had by Henry V. to secure the usurpation in his family: he put the lords in mind of the blood which had been shed by the first of those usurpers; of the loss of France, Normandy, and Guienne, with the many other disgraces and calamities that had befallen the nation, from the weakness and incapacity of the reigning king, Henry VI. and the corruption of the administration: he then exhorted them to shake off the government of an usurper and his issue, that peace might be restored to the land, and the crown recover its pristine glory†." The lords sitting like silent statues after the speech was ended, Richard rose up again, and desired them to consider what he had said, and the justice of his claim.

* He was the first viscount in England, so created 18 Hen. VI. Dugdale.

† Hollinghed, p. 1300—1302.

On the fifth day of the session the proceedings of the parliament of Coventry against the duke of York were annulled; and it was not before the eighth day of the parliament that the duke had it moved in the house of peers to be heard by his council touching his right and claim to the crown of England and lordship of Ireland: this claim was presented in writing on the sixteenth of October, by his council.

The duke of York's own account of his pedigree, as we find it on record, is as follows. "That the right noble and worthy prince Henry III. king of England, had issue and lawfully begotten, Edward his first begotten son, born at Westminster the fifteenth calend of July, on the vigil of St. Martin and Marcellanus, in the year of our Lord 1239. The which Edward (who, after the death of the said king Henry his father, was entitled and called king Edward I.) had issue Edward his first begotten son, entitled and called (after the decease of the said Edward I. his father) king Edward II. who had issue, lawfully begotten, the right noble and honourable prince Edward III. true and undoubted king of England and France and lord of Ireland. Which Edward III. had issue, and lawfully begotten, Edward, his first begotten son, prince of Wales; William of Hatfield, second begotten; Lionel, third begotten, duke of Clarence; John of Ghent, fourth begotten, duke of Lancaster; Edmund of Langley, fifth begotten, duke of York; Thomas of Woodstock, sixth begotten, duke of Gloucester; and William of Windsor, the seventh begotten. The said Edward, prince of Wales, who died in the life of the said king Edward, had issue, lawfully begotten, Richard, who succeeded king Edward III. his grand-father, in the regal dignity, and was entitled and called Richard II. and died without issue. William of Hatfield, the second begotten son of the said king Edward, died without issue. Lionel, the third begotten son of king Edward, had issue, and lawfully begotten, Philippa, his only daughter and heir, who was married unto Edmund Mortimer, earl of Marche, by whom she had issue, lawfully born, Roger Mortimer her son and heir; which Roger had issue, and lawfully begotten, Edmund, earl of Marche, Roger Mortimer, Anne, and Eleanor; which Edmund, Roger, and Eleanor died without issue; and the said Anne, being married unto Richard, earl of Cambridge, son of the said Edmund of Langley, fifth begotten son of the said king Edward III. as it is specified, had issue, and lawfully born, Richard Plantagenet, commonly called duke of York. The said John of Ghent, the fourth begotten son of the said king Edward III. and younger brother of the said Lionel, had issue, and lawfully begot, Henry, earl of Derby, who, immediately after that the said king Richard II. did resign the crowns of the said realms and the said lordship of Ireland, unrighteously entered upon the same, there being yet alive Edmund Mortimer, earl of Marche, son to Roger Mortimer, earl of Marche, son and heir to the said Philippa, daughter and heir to the said Lionel, third son of the said king Edward III. to which Edmund the legal title of the said crowns and lordship belonged †." And from hence he concluded, that it was evident, that, in right of blood, he, the said duke of York, claimant, had

a priority to all living, in succession to Edward III. the right of female succession to the crown of England being always admitted.

It was not without some difficulty that the lords would even permit this claim to be read in the house; but they came to a resolution to proceed no farther without communicating it to the king. Accordingly the lords spiritual and temporal waiting upon Henry, to acquaint him with the same, received for answer from him, that "it was his pleasure the affair should be referred to his judges, serjeants, and attorney-general, to consider upon the matter of right."

In consequence of the royal pleasure thus notified, on the morning of October 18, the lords sent for the king's justices, saith the record (the words of which we shall quote at large, as the best authority) "to defend his title against the claim of the duke of York, and in the king's name, strictly commanded them to find all objections as might be laid against the same, in fortifying the king's title; who, on Monday following, on the twentieth of October, answered, That the matter was so high, and touched the king's high estate and regalia, which is above the laws, and passed their learning; wherefore they durst not enter into any communication of the same, for that it pertained to the lords of the king's blood, and the appurage of this his land; and therefore besought all the lords to have them utterly excused. Then the lords sent for all the king's serjeants and attorney, and gave them strait commandment, in the king's name, that they sadly and wisely should search and take all things, as might seem best and strongest to be alleged for the king's avail, in objection and defeating of the title and claim of the duke: they answered, That if this matter passed the learning of the justices, it must needs exceed their learning, and also that they durst not enter into any communication in that matter; and prayed and besought all the lords to have them excused by giving any advice or counsel therein: but the lords would not excuse them, and therefore, by their advice and assistance, it was concluded, by all the lords, that the articles following should be objected against the claim and title of the duke.

"I. It is thought that the lords of the land must needs call to their remembrance the great oaths the which they have made to the king, the which may be laid to the said duke of York, and that the lords may not break their oaths.

"II. It is thought also, that it is to be called to remembrance the great and noble acts of parliament of divers of the king's progenitors, the which acts be sufficient and reasonable to be laid against the title of the said duke of York, the which acts be of much more authority than any chronicle; and also authority to defeat any manner of title made to any person.

"III. Item, It is thought that there is to be laid against the title divers entails made to the heirs of Henry IV. as for the crown of England, as it may appear by divers chronicles and parliaments.

"IV. Item, it is thought to be alleged to the title of the said duke, that the time that king Henry IV. took upon him the crown of England, he said he entered and took upon him the crown as right

† Brady's Introduction, p. 386, 387. John Whethamstede, p. 491, 492.

inheritor to king Henry III. and not as a conqueror."

To which articles the duke answered:

"Ist, That no oath, being the law of man, ought to be performed, when the same leadeth to suppression of truth and right, which is against the law of God.

"To the IId, and III, That in truth there being no such acts and entails made by any parliament heretofore, as it is surmised, but only in the seventh year of king Henry IV. a certain act and ordinance was made in a parliament by him called, wherein he made the realms of England and France, among other, to be unto him, and to the heirs of his body coming; and to his four sons, and to the heirs of their body coming, in manner and form as it appeareth in the same act; and if he might have obtained and enjoyed the crowns, &c. by title of inheritance, descent, or succession, he neither needed, or would have desired or made them to be granted to him in such wise, as be by the said act, which taketh no place, neither is of any force or effect against him that is right inheritor of the said crowns, as it accordeth with God's law, and all natural laws; how it be that all other acts and ordinances made in the said parliament sithen being good and sufficient against all other persons.

"To the IVth, That such saying of king Henry IV. may in no wise be true; and that the contrary thereof, which is truth, shall be largely enough shewed, approved, and justified by sufficient authority, and matter of record; and over that his said laying was only to shadow and cover fraudulently his said unrightwise and violent usurpation, and by that mayen to abuse deceivably the people standing about him*."

These, and many arguments of the like nature, having been debated for nine days together, with great learning and capacity, the lords agreed unanimously in opinion, that the title of the duke of York was indefeasible†; but, as a mean, to prevent inconveniencies that might ensue, they proposed, that, as Henry had now reigned thirty-eight years, and had all along led an innocent life, without giving any person cause to complain, he might retain the crown during his life, and the duke, with his heirs, succeed him. The argument against stripping Henry of his dignity seemed very strong; but the managers for the duke of York observed, that as Henry himself was altogether incapable of managing the reins of government, such a measure would only tend to the advantage of the queen and her ministry, who abused his name and authority; that, out of tenderness to him, they ought not to ruin the whole kingdom, nor commit a flagrant act of injustice from a principle of charity." Nevertheless, the duke of York, willing to pay deference to the authority of the parliament, and desirous to prevent the effusion of blood in prosecuting the immediate possession of a title which had been adjudged him, and out of regard to the peace and good of his country, agreed to a compromise, which contained the following articles.

"I. That Henry should be reputed king of England, with the royal dignity annexed, during his natural life.

"II. That Richard, duke of York, without prejudice to his own right, should honour him as such.

"III. That the said Richard should succeed therein, immediately after Henry's decease or resignation.

"IV. That all the lords in parliament should swear to maintain the succession of the said Richard, duke of York, and oppose, to the utmost of their power, all that should attempt to break this agreement.

"V. That Richard should be declared immediately the true and rightful heir to the crown, and have a grant of ten thousand marks per annum in land and castles, to support the dignity.

"VI. That the compassing the death of the said duke should be made high-treason.

"VII. And lastly, it was enacted that all the acts of Henry IV. and V. for settling the succession of the crown should stand repealed, and be held annulled, void, and invalid‡."

The duke of York and the earls of Marche and Rutland, his two elder sons, came in person to the parliament house, on the thirty-first of October, and there, in presence of the lords spiritual and temporal, bound themselves by oath to observe this agreement, provided it was duly kept by Henry; who, on his part, promising so to do, both these engagements were entered upon record under the guardianship of the parliament; and the next day, being the first of November, this accommodation was celebrated by a solemn procession to St. Paul's, at which Henry and the lords assisted. It was also notified by Henry's letters patent to the nation, and the duke of York was proclaimed protector of the realm and heir apparent of the crown, on Saturday the eighth of November, in the city of London, amidst the repeated acclamations of the populace||. As for Henry, he did not appear to be in the least affected with this sudden revolution in his affairs: satisfied with the present tranquillity which he was suffered to enjoy, he devoted his whole time to exercises of devotion, and committed the administration to those who acted under the sanction of his name and authority.

Very different were the sentiments of his queen Margaret, who was now, with the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, in the North, where the whole strength of the Lancastrian party lay: she was filled with inexpressible fury and indignation when she received the news of the compromise between her husband and the duke of York, which at once excluded her from power, and her son from the succession. By the advice and assistance of the last-mentioned noblemen, she set about levying forces, for undoing all that the parliament had done, and, in a short time, she got together a considerable army of fighting men, all determined to stand by the house of Lancaster.

The duke of York was soon apprized of the impending storm, and trembled for the consequences. Having the king entirely at his disposal, he prevailed on him to sign an order for the queen to repair immediately to London: but no regard being paid on her part to this extorted summons, York, putting the king under the care of the earl of

* Rot. Parl. 39 Hen. VI. n. 12.

† "Not to be defeated," are the words of the record. Cotton's Abridgment, p. 665.

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Warwick and the duke of Norfolk, set out, at the head of an army, on the second of December, and advanced by easy marches towards the North; while his son Edward, earl of Marche, was dispatched to the borders of Wales, to raise an additional body of forces, with which he was to join his father. The queen appears to have had exceeding good intelligence of his motions, and having her army ready, under the command of Somerset and Exeter, she marched southward, with twenty thousand men, to fight the duke before he could be reinforced, whose whole force at present did not exceed seven thousand men. Upon hearing that the queen was in full march to attack him, the duke, conscious of his inferiority, retired to his castle of Sandal, until he should be joined by his son Edward.

Queen Margaret, whose knowledge in military matters, and profound policy, so superior to her sex, might have done honour to the most experienced general, had recourse to every method she could devise for luring the duke from his retreat: she pretended to continue her march towards the south; she posted the greatest part of her troops in ambush, and, with only a part of her army, presenting herself before the castle of Sandal, challenged the duke to battle by the most insulting messages. Whether the duke was provoked by her reproaches, or was straitened for want of provisions, or, what is more probable, from former defeats of the royal party had acquired a contempt for his enemy, certain it is he drew out his men, on the thirty-first of December, determined to venture a battle, and advanced in excellent order towards Wakefield Green*, on each side of which the queen's ambushes were placed, under the command of Butler, earl of Wiltshire, and Courtney, earl of Devonshire, while the dukes of Somerset and Exeter led her main body.

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Queen Margaret, whose knowledge in military matters, and profound policy, so superior to her sex, might have done honour to the most experienced general, had recourse to every method she could devise for luring the duke from his retreat: she pretended to continue her march towards the south; she posted the greatest part of her troops in ambush, and, with only a part of her army, presenting herself before the castle of Sandal, challenged the duke to battle by the most insulting messages. Whether the duke was provoked by her reproaches, or was straitened for want of provisions, or, what is more probable, from former defeats of the royal party had acquired a contempt for his enemy, certain it is he drew out his men, on the thirty-first of December, determined to venture a battle, and advanced in excellent order towards Wakefield Green*, on each side of which the queen's ambushes were placed, under the command of Butler, earl of Wiltshire, and Courtney, earl of Devonshire, while the dukes of Somerset and Exeter led her main body.

The duke of York had scarcely marshalled his troops, when his ears were struck with shouts on each side of him, and the two corps in ambush suddenly starting up, he found both his flanks and his rear inclosed. He now, too late, found his error in trusting to appearances, or building upon former success in arms; he saw no probability of escaping, far less of victory: he resolved, therefore, to sell his life and newly affianced crown as dear as possible, and his courage being converted to fell despair, he rushed furiously on to the charge. The enthusiastic valour with which he was fired seemed to communicate itself to all his followers, who pursued the track of slaughter he marked out in a firm, resolute, and well-compacted body: but all their efforts availed little against the numbers with which they were overpowered: the bloody contest did not last above half an hour, each second of which, however, was marked by some distinguished death; and, in the short space above-mentioned, two thousand eight hundred of the duke's army were cut in pieces. The duke himself fell, transfixt with numberless wounds, after fighting valiantly on foot; sir Thomas Harrington, sir David Hall, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Thomas Neville

(third son of the earl of Salisbury) sir John and sir Hugh Mortimer, with many other gentlemen, signed the royalists' victory in their own blood: but no fate was more truly deplorable than that of Edmund Plantagenet, earl of Rutland, son to the duke of York, a youth of about thirteen years of age, who was inhumanly butchered on Wakefield bridge, as he was attempting his escape, by the lord Clifford; that nobleman, inflamed with revenge for the loss of his father, who had been killed in the battle of St. Alban's, had made such carnage with his own hands, that those even of his own party unanimously gave him the name of the Butcher; and now espying one Aspil, the duke of York's chaplain, conveying the young Rutland out of the field, he pursued them, and, notwithstanding all the entreaties of the priest, or the more melting eloquence of youthful innocence, the implacable Clifford plunged his dagger in the breast of the defenceless child. Returning reeking from this slaughter, he fell upon the dead body of the duke of York, and cutting off the head, carried it to the queen, who crowned it with a diadem of paper, by way of derision of his pretensions, and then sent it to be fixed on the walls of York.

Thus fell, in the fiftieth year of his age, Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, a prince endowed with many great and amiable qualities, and of whom the duke of Somerset, his chief opponent, said, "that if he had not learned to play the king by his regency in France, he had never forgot to obey as a subject in England." He had issue, by Cecily, daughter of Ralph Neville, earl of Westmoreland, eight sons: Henry, who died young; Edward, earl of Marche, afterwards king Edward IV. Edmund, earl of Rutland; John, William, and Thomas, who all died young; George, duke of Clarence; and Richard, duke of Gloucester, afterwards king Richard III. He had also four daughters: Anne, married to Henry Holland, duke of Exeter, but afterwards divorced from him, and married a second time to sir Thomas St. Leger; Elizabeth, married to John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk; Margaret, married to Charles the Hardy, duke of Burgundy; and Ursula, who died young.

The queen had a farther triumph by the earl of Salisbury, sir Ralph Stanley, and some other persons of quality, being made prisoners, who were soon after sent to Pontefract, and there beheaded; their heads were afterwards set upon poles on each side that of the duke of York. As to the loss of the victorious army, it is not mentioned; we can only say that the victors disgraced their success with shocking instances of the most savage barbarity. Short lived, however, were these bloody triumphs; for the hands of the son soon plucked down the trophies erected over the grave of the father, and cruelly repaid the sufferings of his party.

Edward Plantagenet, hitherto styled earl of Marche, but now, by this fatal event, possessor of the title of duke of York, was raising forces in the Marches of Wales when he received the news of his father's death: far from being discouraged by this dreadful accident, he was inspired with the

* Wakefield is a town in the West-Riding of Yorkshire, famous for its cloth trade, largeness, neat buildings, markets, and the bridge, upon which king Edward IV. built a very neat chapel, in memory of those that were cut off in this battle. The carved work of stone upon the chapel was very beautiful, but is now defaced. On the right-hand of the road

from Wakefield to Sandal, there is a square plot of ground hedged in from a close, whereon, before the civil war between king Charles and the parliament, stood a stone cross, where the duke of York was slain. The owners are obliged by tenure to keep up the hedge. Camden.

most implacable resentment, and determined to risque his life and fortune in revenging the untimely fall of the author of his birth, and asserting his pretensions to the crown. All the great qualities of the third Edward's race seem to have united in his person: the beauty of his figure is described to us by cotemporary historians as fair as fancy could form; his constitution was active and hardy; he had a quick and penetrating judgment; his fame as a soldier was surpassed by none, equalled by few, in his time; and success had hitherto waited on every martial exploit in which he had been engaged: in a word, this young prince seemed formed to re-establish the affairs of his family, and to add the right of glorious conquest to that of blood: but while we are relating his virtues, we must not conceal his failings; unhappily they were such in the course of his life as obscured the fair dawn that ushered in his youthful days. Like most of his ancestors, he was cruelly vindictive; and the laurels which he gained in the field, were stained and disgraced by the streams of noble blood which he caused to be shed, as well in the field as on the scaffold. Such as he was, however, we shall soon see him mount the English throne over the neck of all opposition.

After he had completed his levies, Edward began his march for London, at the head of twenty-three thousand men, intending to join the earl of Warwick, who had been left with another respectable body of forces, to secure the capital, and then go in quest of Margaret, whose cruel treatment of his friends he eagerly wished to retaliate. On his march he was met by Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, and James Butler, earl of Ormond and Wiltshire, who had been sent by the queen, with a body of Welsh and Irish troops, to intercept him in his route. The two armies were in sight of each other on the second of February, 1461, at a place called Mortimer's cross, in Herefordshire: a battle ensued; but the army of the two earls being far inferior to the duke of York's, either in number or discipline, were routed with the loss of above four thousand men; and all those who had the misfortune to be taken prisoners, were put to death with unrelenting barbarity. Thus, with more than savage rage, did Englishmen bury their daggers in the breasts of their countrymen, contending with each other for the horrid palm of brutality: among others who suffered on this occasion, our historians have mentioned Owen Tudor, the husband of queen Catherine, and father to the earls of Richmond and Pembroke.

Mean while the queen, with her son the prince of Wales, the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, the earls of Northumberland, Devonshire, and Shrewsbury, and several other of the nobility and gentry well affected to her cause, was on her march towards London, at the head of a very numerous army. The earl of Warwick, distrusting the affection of the Londoners, which he knew to be guided by every breath of success, did not chuse to be shut up within the walls to wait the queen's arrival, to whom the citizens might possibly open their gates, resolved to go forth, meet, and fight her. Accordingly, taking Henry along with him, he advanced as far as St. Alban's, though with a force much inferior to that of the queen.

The two armies met on Shrove Tuesday (February 17), and joining battle upon Barnard's Heath,

the earl had at first the better, till the lord Lovelace, who commanded the main body, mostly made up of Londoners, treacherously delaying to come up to the support of the vanguard, that body was almost cut in pieces, and in a short time the whole army of the Yorkists was put to the rout: however, the earl, rallying his men, made an excellent retreat, with the loss of about two thousand common soldiers, but not one officer of distinction. King Henry was left alone in the field, without any one to protect him from the outrages of a brutal soldiery, flushed with victory and bent on slaughter: there he was found by the queen, who received him with more joy than affection, and carried him to her army, at the head of which he knighted his son, the prince of Wales. Henry had given his promise to two gentlemen, the lord Bonnevile and sir Thomas Kiriell, to whose care he had been committed during the action, that, in case the queen's party obtained the victory, he would ensure their safety: trusting to the royal word, they had neglected to make their escape with the rest of the defeated corps: but being now taken, Margaret, without regard to her husband's honour, ordered both their heads to be struck off, in revenge for the blood of Thorpe, that zealous partisan of the Lancaster family.

The chief advantage resulting to Margaret from this victory, was the getting the king her husband into her hands, whose name she could now make use of to authorize her transactions. But she certainly committed a gross blunder in not advancing immediately to the capital, where the consternation her victory had thrown the citizens into, would, in all probability, have procured her an easy admittance. The citizens, indeed, were under great apprehensions of being plundered by her northern troops, who committed the most intolerable ravages in their march, and had already plundered the town of St. Alban's; but they were still more afraid of incurring the displeasure of a victorious army, whom they could not oppose: but Margaret, giving them time to recover themselves, and the ravages of her troops being represented in the most glaring light, the citizens now determined at all events to oppose her entrance; nay, they even went so far as to seize several waggons loaded with provisions that the mayor was sending to her army at St. Alban's, and killed those of her party who were detached to escort them. Margaret denounced vengeance against the Londoners for this insult, and had actually sent a detachment to force admittance into the city, intending to follow with her whole army; but the detachment was cut in pieces, and at the same time she received intelligence that the duke of York and the earl of Warwick had joined their forces at Chipping Norton, in Oxfordshire, and begun their progress for London. This news obliged her to retire back to the North, where she hoped to increase her army to such a formidable number, as would ensure success against all opposition.

On the twenty-fourth of February, the duke of York and the earl of Warwick entered the city, and were received as its guardian angels: nor was it in London only where Edward had ever been the idol of the people, nor yet in Kent or Essex, which had long declared their attachment to the house of York, and whence they repaired in incredible numbers to his standard, but from almost all the other counties in the east, south, and west of England:

multitudes strove who should be foremost to offer their persons to fight his battles, and their purses to contribute towards the exigences of his military operations: in a word, the tide of affection ran so rapidly in his favour, that it seemed to carry away with it all remembrance of Henry or the line of Lancaster.

The duke's friends were encouraged by these marks of general zeal and attachment to improve so favourable an opportunity, and resolved to save him the trouble and uncertainty of a parliamentary decision, and advance him to the throne by the consent of the people and the nobles. Accordingly, on the first of March, as the lord Fauconbridge was exercising a body of four thousand men in the fields near Clerkenwell, and an infinite crowd of people were assembled to amuse themselves with the spectacle, the earl of Warwick, attended by his brother, George Neville, bishop of Exeter, rode into the midst of the multitude, holding in his hand the agreement made between Henry and the late duke of York, and ratified by the parliament, which he read aloud, and then appealed to all present, whether Henry had not incurred the forfeiture expressed in that accord, by countenancing and joining the queen in her rebellion against his own deed and that of the estates of the land? This was answered in the affirmative by a loud peal of assent. The bishop of Exeter next addressing them, asked if they would still have Henry of Lancaster for their king? the whole multitude exclaimed against the proposal; but when he demanded if they would acknowledge Edward, duke of York, for their sovereign? all present, shouting and clapping their hands, cried out, as with one mighty voice, "King Edward for ever!"

The experiment thus succeeding to the wish of the party, a great council was called in Baynard's castle, where the archbishop of Canterbury and several other prelates, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Warwick, the lords Fitz Walter, Ferrers of Chartley, and others of the temporal nobles were present; and it being resolved, "that Henry had, by breach of the late agreement, forfeited all claim to the benefit thereof, or to the possession of the throne in which he had been indulged; and that Edward, duke of York, ought to be acknowledged king, according to his right of blood;" they waited upon him, on Tuesday the third of March, and petitioned him to assume the exercise of the government, to which petition he gave his assent.

The next day he rode in procession to St. Paul's, and there made his offering, *Te Deum* being sung with great solemnity. From thence he proceeded, with the like state to Westminster hall, and, sitting on the throne, with the sceptre of Edward the Confessor in his hand, was again recognized by all present. He next went to the abbey church, where he received the homage of all the nobility that were present. Then, returning to the city by water, he took up his quarters in the bishop of London's palace, the ordinary place where our kings were wont to reside when they lodged within the city: and the same day, being the fifth of March, he was proclaimed in London and Westminster, by the name of Edward IV.

Thus ended the reign of Henry VI. which had lasted thirty-eight years and a half, without his having ever intermeddled in all that time with the ad-

ministration of public affairs. He was about thirty-nine years and a quarter old when he was dispossessed of a crown, which he had worn almost from his very birth. He still lived long enough to be the sport of fortune, as will appear in the history of the following reign, where we again shall see him vested with the regal power.

Henry was possessed of many virtues: he was compassionate, devout, religious; but these qualities fitted him rather for a cloyster than a throne: of weak and narrow intellects, and of an unsteady and irresolute temper, he was easily drawn into every cruel or oppressive measure that the passion of his wife, or the views of his ministers, suggested; and yet so free was he from cruelty in his disposition, that he could not, without extreme reluctance, consent to the punishment of those malefactors who were sacrificed to the public safety, and would suffer the grossest insult offered to his own person without the least mark of resentment. He was remarkably continent, insomuch that, before marriage he would hardly allow any of the female sex to enter the court, who were single women. He was so inoffensive in the whole of his conduct, that the bishop who had been his confessor for ten years, avowed that, in all that time, he had not committed any crime deserving of penance. Yet, after, all it must be confessed, that this king was rather respectable for those vices he wanted than for the virtues he possessed; nay, these very virtues proved sometimes pernicious, by making him the dupe of those, who, under the sanction of his name and authority, committed the most flagrant acts of violence and injustice: and we cannot help subscribing to the opinion of a modern writer, that "a wise people could no more chuse to have their throne filled with a fool than a tyrant."

Henry had issue by his queen, Margaret of Anjou, only one son, Edward, prince of Wales, who, at the time of his father's deposition, was but in the eighth year of his age.

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES.

In the course of this reign queen Margaret began Queen's college, Cambridge, which was completed by the consent of Edward IV. Archbishop Kemp erected the Divinity school in Oxford, as it now stands; together with St. Paul's Cross. William Estfield, mayor of London, built, at his own charge, the water-conduit in Fleet-street; and John Wells, while he filled the same post, laid the conduit, commonly called the Standard in Cheap. In the year 1446, sir Simon Eyre, mayor of London, built Leadenhall, and allotted it as a common granary for the city. And in 1453, sir John Norman, while he enjoyed the same office, went by water to Westminster to take his oath: he was the first mayor that ever went in that manner, all his predecessors had rode thither on horseback. Stow's Survey.

In the fifth year of this reign, on Saturday, being the eve of St. Michael, in the morning between two and three o'clock began a very dreadful earthquake, which, being accompanied with thunder and lightning, struck terror into every one.

In the thirteenth year of his reign, on the twenty-fourth of November began a violent frost, which lasted till the tenth of February, and with so great violence that the Thames was frozen over, so that the merchandize and provisions brought to the Thames

Engraved for
MORTIMER'S
History of ENGLAND.



S. Wale delin.

C. Grignon sculp.

EDWARD IV.

Thames mouth were conveyed to London by land through Kent.

In the seventeenth year of his reign there was so great a dearth, that wheat was sold for two shillings and six pence the bushel, and malt at eight pence; and in some parts of the nation they were so strait-

ened, that they made bread of ferne-roots and ivy-berries. On the twenty-fifth of November, 1438, there was such a terrible wind, that it blew off the leads of the Grey Friars church, and almost beat down the whole side of a street call the Old Exchange.

EDWARD IV. The first King of ENGLAND of the Line of YORK.

A. D. 1461.

THE first act of Edward's reign was marked with blood: two days only after his being proclaimed, a tradesman of London was taken up, and executed for saying he would make his son "heir of the crown*," meaning only, as it is said, his own house, which had the sign of the Crown. It is probable, however, that this man might have been a favourer of the Lancastrian party, and have spoken contemptuously of the new king. However this might be, an execution upon so slight an account, was by many considered as a melancholy presage of those scenes of slaughter which were yet to follow, during the quarrel of the two contending houses. In order, however, to conciliate the affections of the generality of his subjects, he issued a proclamation, by which he declared himself ready to receive into favour all those who had adhered to Henry, upon their coming in, and submitting to the new government; an offer which was embraced by very few; a convincing evidence of the sincerity of each party in the cause it espoused; and though both could not be in the right, yet both are praise-worthy for their inviolable loyalty and unshaken constancy.

Edward, though he had assumed the title and authority of king, was far from being established in the quiet and undisturbed possession of the throne: he had a powerful adversary to encounter in the person of Margaret, Henry's queen, who possessed every qualification that constitutes the true heroine. An utter stranger to despair, she considered repeated defeats as so many motives to renew her endeavours to make a fresh stand. The lords of her party, the chief of whom were of the Lancaster race, were all riveted to her interest; and she had rendered herself so extremely popular in the northern counties, whither she had retired after quitting St. Alban's, that she soon collected an army of six thousand determined veterans.

The new king was no sooner informed of this, than, neglecting the ceremonies of his coronation, and the rejoicings attending it, he set out, on the twelfth of March, accompanied by the earl of Warwick, with an army of forty thousand men, to oppose the queen's progress, scarce resting till he came to Pontefract. From thence the king detached a body of troops, under the command of the lord Fitz Walter, to make themselves masters of Ferrybridge, a pass in Yorkshire upon the river Eyre, being convinced that the great push for vic-

tory must be made somewhere about that quarter. This body executed their commission with great success, and took post on the north side of the river. On the other hand, the queen committed the care of her army to the duke of Somerset, the earl of Northumberland, and the lord Clifford, all of them noblemen of high courage, and fast friends to her and her family: she, with her husband Henry, and their young son, the prince of Wales, retired to York city, in expectation of an event which was finally to decide their fate.

Clifford, by an admirable conduct, in part repaired the disadvantage Henry's army was likely to sustain by the surprisal of Ferrybridge; for, setting out with a party on the night of the twenty-eighth of March, he attacked the enemy's detachment so suddenly and critically, that he recovered the pass, the lord Fitz Walter himself being slain, with the bastard of Salisbury, and the greatest part of their men.

This loss might have proved fatal to Edward, at a time when a general battle was every moment expected, had it not been for the admirable courage and presence of mind of the earl of Warwick, who, immediately hearing of this disaster, rode up to the king, to acquaint him of it, who was then employed in reviewing his troops; and dismounting in sight of the whole army, he drew his sword and stabbed his horse, after which, kissing the hilt of his weapon, he swore to die in the field or conquer. This noble declaration of an officer so idolized by all the soldiery, seemed to awaken in every breast an insuppressible ardour; they rent the heavens with shouts of Long live king Edward, and the noble earl of Warwick! and when Edward, taking advantage of this disposition, caused proclamation to be made throughout his camp, "That every man who was unwilling to stay, or was afraid to fight, had leave to depart," they cried out, as with one voice, to be led on, declaring their resolution to gain the day, or die at the feet of their king and general. Nor were the officers less zealous than the private men: Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, hereditary earl-marshal of England, who had by his office the leading of the vanguard of the king's army, happening then to be sick, his post devolved to William Neville, lord Fauconbridge, who, with sir Walter Blount, his friend and companion in arms, disdaining to be out-done in hardiness of enterprise by the enemy, undertook to regain Ferrybridge; and, with that view, passing the Eyre

* Rapin has fallen into a droll blunder here; for not understanding the equivocal sense of the English expression, he tells us very gravely, that this man suffered for saying "that he would

make his son prince of Wales." The man's name was Walter Walker, a grocer, in Cheapside. Habington. p. 413.

at Cailleford, three miles above, they marched with such secrecy and expedition, that they came upon Clifford before he had the least notice of their design; and being thus surprized in his turn, his men put to the rout, and he himself was slain, together with the lord John Neville, son to the earl of Westmoreland, and almost the whole party.

The next day, being Palm Sunday, March 24, Edward crossed the river by day-break, and advanced towards the Lancastrians, who, to the number of sixty thousand, occupied the fields between Towton and Saxton. Whether it was because the enemy were so much superior in numbers, or out of resentment for the cruelties exercised by them at the battle of Wakefield, Edward now published an order through his army, that his soldiers should not encumber themselves with prisoners, which seems to have been the principal cause of the carnage of that day. The van of Henry's army was led by the earl of Northumberland and the brave sir Andrew Trollop, who had served many years in France; the other divisions were commanded by the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, the earl of Westmoreland, the lords Dacre, Grey, Wills, and other noblemen and officers. The lord Fauconbridge commanded Edward's vanguard; the main body was headed by the earl of Warwick: and sir John Wenlock, with sir John Denham, had the bringing up of the rear; while Edward himself, confined to no post, held himself ready to fly on every occasion where counsel or danger demanded his presence.

The battle began about nine o'clock in the morning, at which time a thick snow falling, was driven by a brisk wind full in the faces of the Lancastrians*, who were thereby prevented from observing the just distance of the enemy. The lord Fauconbridge, an old and experienced officer, made an admirable use of this accident; for he ordered his men to advance as near as they conveniently could, and to discharge a flight of arrows upon them, and then retire with all speed out of the reach of those of the enemy. This stratagem had a wonderful effect: the Lancastrians feeling the arrows, and thinking their enemies were not many yards distant, emptied their quivers by repeated discharges, Edward's men all the while keeping theirs in reserve; and the lord Fauconbridge perceiving the Lancastrians shot was near spent, and that they were advancing, as was customary, sword in hand, to begin a close fight, he plied them with another furious discharge, which obliged them to fall back to the main body. The earl of Northumberland and sir Andrew Trollop seeing the disadvantage under which they laboured in this way of fighting, pressed on to nearer combat, and then the battle became firm, obstinate, and bloody: the deathful contest raged with unremitted fury for ten hours equal dispute, and, after great numbers of Englishmen, lay dead in the field, towards the evening the Lancastrians began to give ground, and retreat towards Tadcaster bridge, all the while preserving their ranks, and facing about occasionally as they retired. Edward, who this day exhibited such proofs of surprizing courage, activity, and conduct as not a little inclined the victory in his favour, now endeavoured, in conjunction with the earl of Warwick, who had nobly seconded his

royal master, to animate his men to render the action decisive; the voice of their king, the presence of their beloved general, inspired every breast with manly resolution; they redoubled their efforts, and charged the Lancastrians with such impetuosity, that these latter could no longer keep themselves unshaken; the rout once begun, became general. Henry's men flying to gain the bridge, great numbers of them were drowned in attempting to pass the narrow but deep river, or rather brook, of Cock, which lay in their way. Edward followed close at their heels, dealing death to thousands of the fugitives: the pursuit lasted the greatest part of the night and the next day; and, dreadful to relate, many miles of the country round were stained with the blood of six-and-thirty thousand Englishmen, slain in the action by the hands of — Englishmen! Henry's party made by far the greatest number of the killed; they lost, besides private men and officers of inferior note, the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, the lords Dacres and Wills, sir John Neville, brother to Westmoreland, sir Andrew Trollop, and many other knights and gentlemen; the earl of Devonshire (Courtney), who had lately espoused the cause of Henry, was taken prisoner, and brought to York, where he was soon after beheaded by martial law, and his head placed on a pole over one of the gates of that city; while the head of the duke of York, Edward's father, and that of the earl of Salisbury, were taken down and interred with their bodies.

After this signal victory, Edward marched directly to York, hoping to find Henry and Margaret there, and by their captivity to crown the success of his arms; but this unhappy pair were no sooner informed of the defeat of their army, than they fled to Berwick, accompanied by the dukes of Exeter and Somerset, and, leaving that fortress under the care of the latter, they set out directly for Scotland. That kingdom was then under a wife and politic administration, who governed during the minority of James III. (son of James II. slain before Roxburgh castle), and were perfectly disposed to make the best advantage to themselves of the miseries of England. Notwithstanding the connexion between the royal family of Scotland and the house of Lancaster, by the young king's grandmother, who was a daughter of the earl of Somerset, Margaret soon found that some considerable sacrifice of interest must be made to engage such a ministry heartily in the cause of her husband; she therefore offered to cede to them the important fortress of Berwick and the city of Carlisle, to be reannexed to the crown of Scotland, and to affiancé her son, the prince of Wales, to a sister of king James: the bargain was soon struck; and we find by the rolls of parliament†, that, so early as the twenty-fifth day of April this year, Berwick was actually delivered to the Scots; but the intended marriage never took effect. This convention made, and the Scots having engaged to exert their utmost efforts in order to restore her family to the throne of England, the queen left her husband in the Grey Friars, at Edinburgh, a retirement which his love of solitude made agreeable, and embarked for France, to solicit supplies from Lewis XI. who then sat on that throne. In the mean while Edward

* Fabian. Biondi.

† Rot. Parl. 1 Edw. IV. n. 21.

continued to keep his head-quarters at York, from whence he made all the necessary dispositions for preserving the northern parts in awe.

Having, as he thought, fully provided for the peace, quiet, order, and security of those parts, by a pretty long stay in them, he returned, on the first of June, to his palace of Shene, near London; and was crowned, on St. Peter's day, Monday, the twenty-ninth of June, at Westminster. The king's younger brothers, George and Richard, who, being very young, had been sent, near six months before, to Bruges, as a place of safety during the war, came back to England on this occasion, and were created dukes †, the first of Clarence, and the other of Gloucester: Henry, lord Bourchier, was made earl of Essex; as the lord Fauconbridge was of Kent; and the lord John Neville, brother to the earl of Warwick, was created viscount Montagu; and others were raised to the dignity of barons.

The corruptions which prevailed universally, during the late reign, had produced an infinite number of disorders in all places, particularly in the courts of judicature. Edward applied himself with great assiduity to the correcting of these grievances; sat frequently in the courts of justice, to observe their methods, and the behaviour of the judges; and made a progress through Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, and other counties of the West as far as Bristol and the Marches of Wales, to learn the state of those parts, and to see how justice was administered. He returned in the latter end of October, to hold a parliament, which had been summoned to meet on the sixth of July, but, on the news of the Scots having invested Carlisle, had been prorogued to the fourth day of November.

The parliament meeting on that day, at Westminster, as soon as the forms usual at the beginning of a session were over, the commons waited on the king with an address, reciting "his great exploits and glorious victories, and returning him their humblest thanks for exposing his person for the safety of the realm, and the relieving the good people of England from the insupportable tyranny under which they had so long laboured; concluding with a request, that the king would be pleased to punish all persons guilty of such extortions, rapes, murders, and other outrages as had been passed over uncensured during the late reign." Being returned to their house, the first business they fell upon, was a review of all the usurpations of the house of Lancaster, from the time Henry IV. had seized the crown. Then an act was passed, confirming the title of Edward: all those which had been made against the house of York were repealed: Henry VI. after a reign of thirty-eight years, was declared an usurper, and all his transactions were annulled as illegal: and, lastly, he himself, his queen, and his son, with all their adherents, were attainted as traitors. The attainder of the earl of Cambridge, grand-father to the king, was next reversed: several acts of the like tendency passed; and on the twenty-first of December, the king adjourned the parliament, in the following speech to the commons, which we shall give our

readers in the old English language of those days, as it is the first genuine speech we have of any king of England.

"James Strangways, and ye that be commyn for the commons of this my lond, for the true hertes and tender considerations that ye have had to my right and title, that y and my auncestres have had unto the coronne of this reame, the which from us have been long withholde. And now, thanked be almighty God, of whos grace groweth all victory, by youre true hertes and grate assistens, y am restored unto that is my right and title; wherefore y thanke you as hertely as y can. Also for the tender and true hertes that ye have shewed unto me, in that ye have tenderly had in remembrance the correction of the horrible murder and cruel deth of my lord my fader, my brother Rutland, and my cosyn of Salysbury, and other, y thanke you right hertely: and y shall be unto you, with the grace of almighty God, as good and gracious sovereign lord as ever was of my noble progenitours to their subgettes and liegemen. And for the faithfull and lovyng hertes, and also the grate labours that ye have born and susteyned towards me, in the recovering of my said right and title which y now possesse, y thanke you with all my herte; and yf y had any better good to reward you with all then my body ye shold have it, in which shall alway be redy for your defence, never sparing nor letting for noo jeopardie. Praying you all of your herty assistens and good continuance, as y shall be unto you youre veray right-wisse and lovyng liege lord."

The parliament was then prorogued by the chancellor, at the king's command, till the sixth of May ensuing.

The year 1462 began in England with a scene of proscription and bloodshed, the fatal effect of jealous sovereignty. Not contented with the numbers of persons whose blood had been attainted, and their estates confiscated, for adhering to the house of Lancaster, Edward now determined to proceed against all such who had not heartily joined with him, as if they had declared themselves open enemies, and to punish them accordingly. Among many others sacrificed to this murderous policy was John de Vere, earl of Oxford, a venerable old nobleman of unblemished character, who was accounted the oracle of his time in all points of the constitution*, and whose qualities, virtues, experience, and parts gave him such authority as was decisive with the public. As he could not stoop to be the flatterer, he was doomed to be the victim, of the new government: he was arrested on pretence of having engaged in a correspondence with queen Margaret, and, without being admitted to trial, the most sacred right of Englishmen, was beheaded on Tower-hill, on the twelfth of February, together with his eldest son, Aubrey de Vere; and, on the twenty-sixth of the same month, sir Thomas Todenham, sir Walter Tirrel, and sir John Montgomery suffered the same fate, as did sir Baldwin Fulford not long after, at Bristol.

The lands and effects of these victims Edward distributed among his own adherents; at the same time, to secure one strong party in the nation in his

† By the cincture of a sword by their right side, and setting a cap of maintenance upon their heads.

* This John de Vere is said to have disputed, in a former parliament, the question about the precedency of temporal and

spiritual barons (a bold attempt in those days), and by his arguments carried it for the lords temporal. Stowe, p. 416. Hollingsh. p. 1313.

favour, he courted the good-will of the clergy, by confirming their privileges, exempting them from being prosecuted in civil courts for felony and other offences; with many other indulgencies, which he thought most likely to win them over to his side.

All this time queen Margaret was soliciting the French court at Chinon for succours for her husband, and which, if obtained, she knew would put the Scots upon acting vigorously in her favour; but it soon appeared what little stress was to be laid on foreign assistance: all her own and her father's instances could not engage the court of France to embark heartily in her interest; nor could she procure in any other manner succours equal to her enterprize. Lewis XI. was strongly prepossessed against any breach with England, and the most she could obtain of him was an underhand connivance at her raising troops in his dominions, and the privately furnishing her with a good general, Peter de Brezé, seneschal of Normandy, who was released from his confinement in the castle of Loches, on condition of entering into the service of her father, Regnier, king of Sicily, and commanding the forces levied by him and Margaret for a descent in England.

The French writers have computed these at two thousand men; but the English historians reduce their number to five hundred at most. With these Margaret and Brezé embarked for the North of England; but her ships were most of them dispersed or wrecked, and the vessel in which she herself was with her son, driven into Berwick: thither she was soon followed by Bregé, who, finding himself incapable of keeping the field against the lord Hastings, sir Ralph Grey, and sir John Howard, who were sent to oppose his attempts, shut himself up in Alnwick castle, where he defended himself gallantly, till he was relieved by the earl of Angus, at the head of twenty thousand Scots, who made an agreement with the English, that he should be allowed to retire with his troops to Scotland; and the castle being surrendered on the thirtieth of July, sir Ralph Grey was appointed governor. The lord Dacre soon after surrendered the castle of Naworth to John Neville, lord Montagu, warden of the East Marches. King Edward, on the first advice of this descent, had set out for the North; but finding it defeated, and having secured Donald, lord of the Isles*, and James earl of Douglas, in his interest, returned soon to London.

Upon the twentieth of March this year, the earl of Warwick was made keeper of the Narrow Seas, a post different from that of admiral of England, which, on the thirtieth of July following, was conferred on the new-made earl of Kent. In the autumn of this year, the new admiral, with the earl of Essex and the lord Audley, made a descent in Brittany, where they took the town of Conquette, and plundered the Isle of Rhée.

Queen Margaret, on finding that the force which she had brought over was not strong enough to encourage the Northumbrians to join her, she set sail in April, 1463, with four ships, from Kircudbright,

in Galloway, through the Irish Channel, to Brittany, where she prevailed on Francis II. who had succeeded his father John in that duchy, to supply her with twelve thousand crowns: and proceeding thence to the court of France, procured a succour of two thousand men. With this inconsiderable force, which was purchased by an engagement to deliver up Calais†, she landed, in October, near Bamburgh, in Yorkshire; and though the country did not rise in her favour, she found means to get possession of the castle of Alnwick, which was either treacherously given up by sir Ralph Grey, the governor, or reduced for want of provisions. Edward, alarmed at her progress, and expecting that she would be shortly reinforced by a powerful supply from Scotland, left London, on the third of November, with a numerous force, and marched directly for York. Margaret, hearing of his arrival there, thought fit to retire into Scotland, leaving the custody of Alnwick castle to the son of de Brezé and the lord Hungerford, and that of Bamburgh castle to the duke of Somerset, the earl of Pembroke, and sir Ralph Piercy. The king, seeing no enemy in the field, laid siege at once to the castles of Alnwick, Bamburgh, and Dunstanburgh; the two last of which places surrendered after a short siege: the duke of Somerset, the earl of Pembroke, and the lord Roos were suffered to retire into Scotland, with sir Ralph Piercy, sir H. Lewis, and sir Nicholas Latimer. Alnwick surrendered the ninth of January, 1464, to the earl of Warwick.

Queen Margaret, however, bestirred herself so effectually in Scotland, that she was in a condition to return again to the North of England with a considerable force, whom she had gotten together by promises of a full liberty in respect of plunder. Henry accompanied his warlike consort in this expedition, and they entered Northumberland the latter end of April. Fortune seemed at first to favour their undertaking; the queen surprized the castle of Bamburgh, of which she appointed sir Ralph Grey, who had entered into her service, governor: and, being joined by the duke of Somerset and sir Ralph Piercy, with their followers, she proceeded to take many places in that part of the county. The first check she met with was from Neville, lord Montague, who, on the twenty-fifth of April, routed a party of her forces, in an action on Hedgely Moor, where sir Ralph Piercy was slain, fighting valiantly in her cause, though deserted by his men, who acted upon no other principle than that of rapine.

Edward by this time began to look upon Margaret's progress as a serious affair: he had, on the first advice of her entering the Marches, fitted out a fleet, which he ordered to the northward, and was now on his march to York, attended by the principal noblemen of his court, and a large army, part whereof, upon his arrival there, he detached to reinforce the lord Montagu. But this able general, encouraged by his late success, resolved to have the sole honour of terminating the war, and, without waiting for the succours sent him, he, on the fifth

* The Western Isles, called by the inhabitants Inch Gall; by a writer of the last age, Hebrides; by the ancients, Beteorica, Inchades, Leucades, Hæbudes; commonly thought to be forty-four in number, but are really more. Among them is Jona, which Bede calls Hy or Hu, given to the Scotch monks by the Picts, for preaching the Gospel among them. Here stands a monastery, famous for the burial of the kings of

Scotland. The inhabitants of these islands speak the Irish language, and retain the customs, &c. of the ancient Scots, as the Highlanders do. They are enjoyed at present by the M^r Connells, who derive themselves from this Donald, who took the title of King of the Isles, and ravaged Scotland in a cruel manner.

† Du Tillet.

of May, advanced against the main body of Henry's army, which lay encamped on a plain called the Levells, upon the river Dowal, near Hexham. Here he made a most desperate attack, in the night-time, upon Henry's camp, and was as manfully received: however, after repeated attempts, he forced the trenches, and put the Lancastrians to a total discomfiture. There the duke of Somerset, with the lords Hungerford, Ross, and Moleyns, sir Thomas Hufsey, sir Thomas Wentworth, and sir John Findearn were taken prisoners. The duke of Somerset was immediately carried to Hexham, and beheaded; and the others were in like manner put to death a few days after, at Newcastle. As to Henry, being well mounted, he fled towards Lancashire, but was so closely pursued, that some of his body-attendants were taken almost by his side; and, among others, the person who carried his cap of state, which was presented to Edward at York.

Hexham lying at too great a distance from the Scottish territories to allow the Lancastrians an easy retreat thither in the sudden rout of their forces, and the country about it being full of woods and mountains, a great number of them, lost or skulking in the woods, were hunted and picked up from time to time, for two months after the battle; and it was the likeliest scene for that adventure which Monstrelet, the French historian, relates of queen Margaret.

This writer says, that, flying with her son in the confusion of the rout, and in the dusk of night, without any other attendant than her own heroic spirit, she was bewildered in one of these woods, where the splendor of her attire soon betrayed her into the hands of robbers. It happened, fortunately for her, that the richness of the booty occasioned a quarrel among those thieves, and, while they were disputing the matter, the queen, with her son, escaped out their hands. She had not gone far before she fell in with another robber, who was one of the out-guards of the gang, and on sight of her advanced with his sword drawn in his hand; finding it impossible to make her escape a second time, being already near exhausted with fatigue, she trembled for the life of her son; but happily recollecting that the party might have been driven into the practice of rapine by being proscribed for their adherence to her husband's interest, she summoned up all her resolution, and, taking her son in her hand, she approached the outlaw with an air of majestic confidence, and presenting to him the young prince, "Here, my friend (said she), save my son, the son of good king Henry." The robber, struck with awe at the name of his king, and with compassion at the distresses of persons of such high dignity, forgot the ferocious manners of his profession: he laid hold of the young prince with one hand, and supporting the queen with the other, he carefully conducted them out of the forest to a village by the sea-side, from whence she had soon after an opportunity of passing over to the duke of Burgundy's dominions in Holland, where we must for some time leave her, to attend the fate of her still more unfortunate consort.

Henry, having escaped after his defeat at Hexham, though with great difficulty, took refuge in Scotland; but having received intelligence that a truce was on foot between his rival Edward and that government, and fearing he should be delivered up; having no conveniency to escape by sea, he

unfortunately thought of sheltering himself in England. Accordingly he set out in disguise, and reached Waddington hall, in Cleatherwood, in Lancashire, where he remained concealed for a considerable time; but at length he was discovered by the indefatigable pains of sir James Harrington; a service which was amply rewarded by Edward, who ordered the unhappy Henry to be conducted to London, where he was confined close prisoner in the Tower.

Edward, after the victory of Hexham, having no longer any enemy to dread, returned in great triumph to London, where he employed himself in cultivating a good correspondence with the duke of Burgundy, by whose mediation a truce for fifteen years was concluded with the Scots, who had now deserted Henry's ruined fortunes, and who engaged on this occasion "to give no farther assistance or comfort to Henry, late calling himself king of England, Margaret his wife, Edward his son, or any of their friends or adherents:" and king Edward promised, on his part, to give no countenance or protection to any rebels or traitors to king James.

Edward's next care was to reward those who had most distinguished themselves in his service. To the earl of Warwick he gave the temporalities of the bishopric of Carlisle, which was then vacant, and created him great-chamberlain of England and warden of the West Marches of Scotland. The lord Montagu, his brother, was made earl of Northumberland, in the room of Henry Piercy, whose title and estate were forfeited as being a Lancastrian; and sir William Herbert, a knight of great interest in Wales, was created earl of Pembroke, in the place of Jasper Tudor: but Piercy submitting afterwards to the king, and obtaining his pardon, had his earldom of Northumberland restored to him, and the title of marquis was given to Montagu, in lieu thereof. But the two illustrious brothers, Warwick and Montagu, thought their rewards rather specious than solid; and from this time we may date their secret discontent with Edward.

This king, though no deep politician, had yet sense enough to perceive that the loss of this family might prove a severe blow to him, unless he could supply it by the means of a general popularity, to acquire which he spared no pains, extending his grace to all his opponents who submitted, and living among his loyal subjects with an unusual frankness and liberty. He carried this last point perhaps to excess, shewing himself more familiar with the commonalty as well as the nobility, than became his dignity and honour, particularly with the Londoners, whom he made his fast friends: in a word, he set himself up for the general patron among the men, as he was the general lover among the ladies. He laboured to restore the tranquility of his realm by an impartial administration of justice, and reforming the abuses of public offices. Nor were his cares to gain esteem confined to his own dominions only; he studied how to bring princes, hitherto neutral or averse to his friendship, to court it, in which he succeeded so well, that the public records shew us that, about this time, several matches were proposed to him by foreign courts, but particularly the three following ladies; Margaret, daughter to the king of Scotland; Isabella, sister to Henry IV. of Castile; and the lady Bona,

Bona, daughter to the duke of Savoy, and sister to the queen of France: Edward resolved upon Bona, and it was thought proper to appoint the great earl of Warwick to negotiate the match, who accepted the commission. He accordingly went over, with a vast equipage, to France, where he was received with raptures by Lewis XI. and his queen, who relished the proposition of the marriage so well, that Dammartin was appointed ambassador to England, to conclude the same. During the earl of Warwick's stay on the continent, he found means to conclude a truce with the duke of Brittany for one year. About the same time the see of York becoming vacant, George Neville, brother to the earl of Warwick, was promoted to it, by the king's recommendation.

The earl of Warwick applied himself with great assiduity to fulfil his commission; but, whilst he was labouring for the glory and advantage of his master and his country, an unforeseen accident subverted all this mighty scheme of policy, the amorous temper of Edward betraying him into a measure which proved very prejudicial to his future tranquility, and had almost deprived him of the throne. The young monarch, at a hunting-match in Wychwood forest, coming to the manor of Grafton, near Stony Stratford, in Buckinghamshire, resolved to pay a visit to the duchess dowager of Bedford (Jaqueline of Luxemburgh) who resided there, having been married a second time to sir Richard Wydeville, or Woodville, afterwards created lord Rivers, by whom, among other children, she had a daughter named Elizabeth, who had been married to sir John Grey, of Groby; and her husband being slain, fighting for Henry at the late battle of St. Alban's, his estate on that account was confiscated, and the young widow, who was esteemed the greatest beauty of her time, withdrew to her father's seat at Grafton, where she lived in privacy and retirement. Elizabeth thought the king's visit to her mother furnished her with a favourable opportunity of obtaining some grace from the young monarch, who was so extolled for his condescension and gallantry, especially to those of her sex. Accordingly she came into the royal presence, and throwing herself at the king's feet, she implored a maintenance for herself and her two sons, Thomas and Richard Grey, out of the forfeited estate of her husband.

Edward was young and amorous; he was instantly struck with the charms of the fair suppliant; he felt an impression which he mistook for compassion, but which was in truth love; he raised her from the ground with assurance of favour, and even intimated it was not in his power to refuse her any thing. He protracted his visit for several days, during which time he found his passion daily strengthened by the company and conversation of the lovely widow; till at length, his flame growing too furious for restraint, he avowed his love, and, in his turn, became a suitor for favours, which Elizabeth would not grant on any other condition than that of marriage. Edward, who had never known any of the sex proof against his charms, glowed with disdain at finding his suit so peremptorily rejected; he withdrew, resolving to conquer an inclination which he thought he could not indulge consistent with his honour and high dignity: he sought a cure in absence, but the shaft was too deeply fixed in his heart to be removed by all the

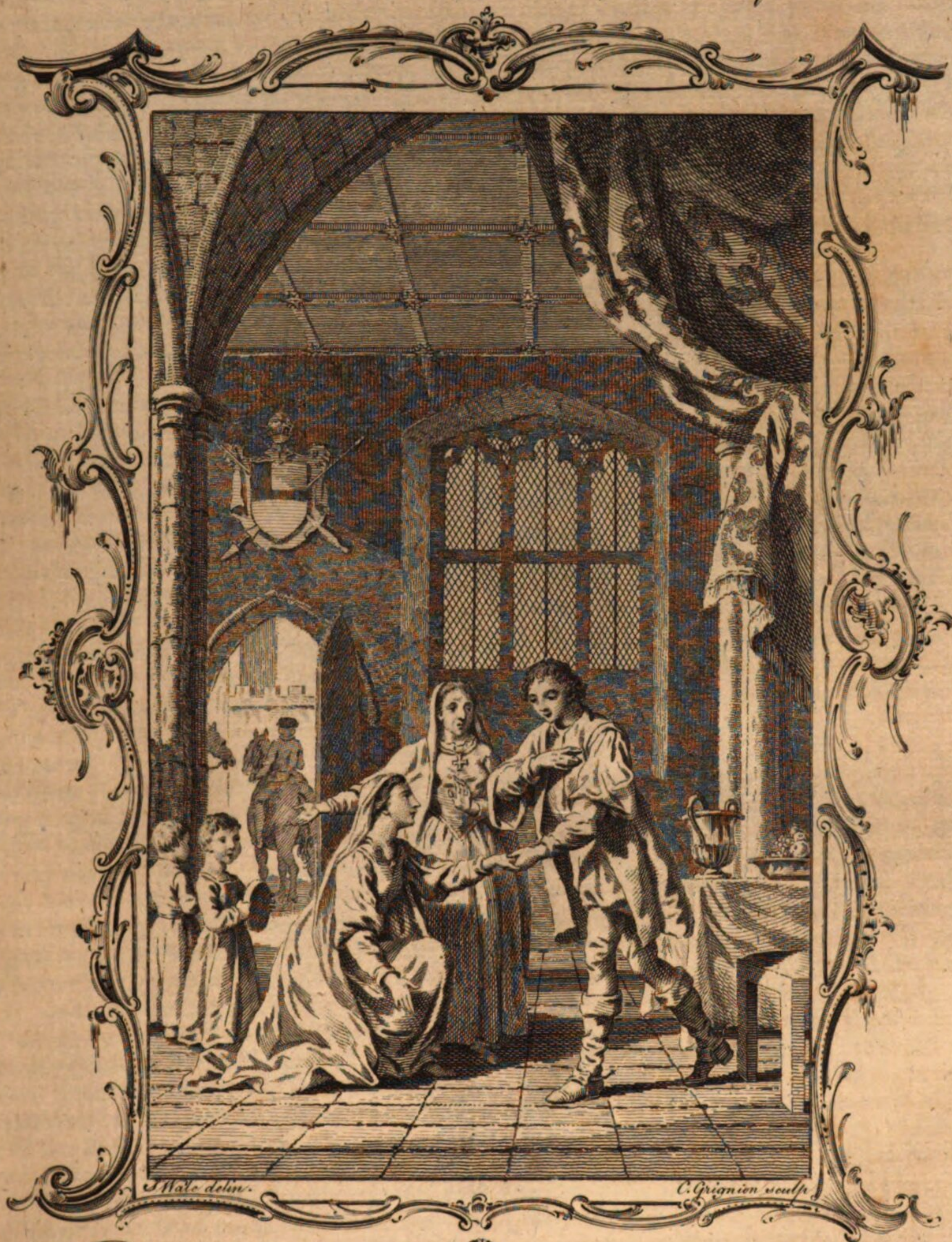
efforts of reason. Hopes of success engaged him to repeat his visit; each interview and conversation fed and increased the flame; opposition rendered the lover more eager; and Jaqueline, a woman of good sense and great art, managed matters so well for her daughter, that the king was at length persuaded to marry her, finding no other way of gratifying his passion; and the ceremony was performed on the morning of the first of May, at Grafton, by a private priest, no one else being present but the duchess of Bedford and two of her gentlewomen.

Edward had reason to dread the consequences of such an hasty inconsiderate marriage coming to be known; he is even said to have repented, and endeavoured to disengage himself; but he was too fast tied in the bands of wedlock, and all he could do was to keep it as secret as he could, and put the best face upon the matter when it could be no longer concealed.

Warwick had laboured so effectually at the court of France, that nothing remained but the ratification of the treaty, and the conducting the princess Bona over to England; but when the earl heard of Edward's clandestine marriage, which was not long before it transpired, he considered it as the highest insult that could have been offered to his honour, and, instantly breaking off the negotiation, he returned to England, glowing with rage and indignation: nevertheless, he seems to have concealed his resentment, for the king's marriage being publicly declared on the Michaelmas-day following, he himself assisted, with the duke of Clarence, in leading Elizabeth to the church of the abbey of Reading, where she was declared queen, and received the compliments of all the nobility; and on the twenty-sixth of May, 1465, she was crowned in Westminster abbey, by the archbishop of Canterbury. Her rise was immediately followed by that of all her relations: her father was created earl Rivers, and made high constable of England; her brother, John Woodville, at the same time was married to the daughter and heiress of the lord Scales, to whose honours he succeeded; her son, Thomas Grey, was created marquis of Dorset, and married the heiress of the lord Bonneville. Thus the queen's kindred were not only ennobled by titles, but enriched with great estates to support them.

The kings of England were accustomed not to take any step of moment without the advice of their council, and this advice is constantly mentioned in all their acts. The nobility of the kingdom, who, according to the rigour of the feudal system, could not marry without the king's consent, conceived themselves particularly interested in his marriage, and thought they had a right to be consulted on the occasion; therefore the king's marrying one of his subjects, without once consulting any of them, and that too when he was negotiating a match at the court of France, nay when that match was already concluded, made most of the nobility in a very bad humour with the court; and the partiality shewn in the late promotions of the new queen's relations, contributed not a little to increase their jealousy and discontent: but the earl of Warwick thought himself injured in a particular manner, by being made such a tool in the late negotiation, and he only waited for a favourable opportunity to make Edward feel the weight of his resentment. With this view, upon pretence of health, he got leave

Elizabeth Woodville at the Feet of Edward 4th



*To His Grace
Duke of
This Plate is most*



*Edw. Howard,
D. Norfolk,
humbly Inscribed.*

leave to retire to his castle of Warwick, where he began to practise all the arts of popular patriotism discontented with a court. Edward, alarmed at his sullen retirement, redoubled his attention to his conduct.

Determined, therefore, to provide against every accident which might interrupt his pleasure, or give encouragement to the discontent of this haughty subject, he endeavoured to strengthen himself by foreign alliances; and, in the course of this year, he concluded a treaty with the count de Charolois, and Philip, duke of Burgundy; and another of definitive alliance with the duke of Brittany: neither must we omit that Lewis XI. notwithstanding his late provocation, wanted to bring Edward over to his alliance; and that he was courted at the same time by the kings of Denmark and Poland, and by the great-master of the Teutonic order and the deputies of the Hanse towns, with all whom he entered into alliances till October, 1467*. Edward was equally successful with other courts, for he renewed his alliances with the kings of Castile and Arragon; and, after a long negotiation, concluded a treaty with James III. of Scotland, at Newcastle, whereby a truce then subsisting between that nation and England, which was to end on the thirty-first of October, 1470, was farther prolonged to the thirty-first of October, 1519, viz. for forty years†.

While Edward was thus successful abroad he was equally happy in the affections of his parliament at home, which granted him subsidies with a liberality unknown under any former reign. The commons also passed a bill of attainder against all who remained unattainted of the Lancaster party, the forfeiture of whose estates to the crown enabled the king to gratify his friends: in a word, faction was dumb at home, his friendship was courted and his enmity dreaded abroad, till the year 1466.

In the mean time, however, the queen was very active in improving the advantages which her marriage gave her; she was equally careful to procure every favour and grace to her own friends and adherents, and to exclude those of the earl of Warwick, whom she looked upon as her inveterate and implacable enemy: besides the preferments already bestowed upon her family, she now procured her sister Catherine to be given in marriage to the young duke of Buckingham, a minor and ward of the crown: Mary, another of her sisters, was married with William Herbert, who was thereupon made lord of Dunster, and afterwards earl of Huntingdon: and Anne, a third sister, espoused the son and heir of Grey, lord Ruthyn, who was honoured with the title of earl of Kent: her father, the earl Rivers, had also the office of treasurer added to that of high-constable, with which he had been before invested.

Edward, who was jealous of the earl of Warwick's power, that power which had placed him on the throne, and which had been still farther increased by his own liberality and munificence, was glad to raise up some counterpoise to it by creating him rivals among the new nobility; and thus, while he indulged his extreme partiality to the queen's relations, he pretended to be guided merely by the motives of national interest: the consequences of this conduct will appear in the sequel.

Early in the year 1466, Edward was made blessed by the birth of a daughter, the princess Elizabeth, who afterwards became the happy instrument of healing the wounds of England after a long and bloody civil war: and soon after Michaelmas the court of England was graced with ambassadors from almost all the powers of Europe; but none made so splendid an appearance as Anthony, bastard of Burgundy, who was sent over by the count de Charolois, to conclude a treaty of marriage between that prince and the lady Margaret, sister to Edward; a match which was not consummated till the year 1468. Historians have given us a very circumstantial and diverting account of a joust or tournament, which was held for five days successively in Smithfield, between the bastard and the lord Scales, the queen's brother.

The year 1467 was distinguished by farther prosecutions of the Lancaster party, in which the earl Rivers, the queen's father, and sir John Fogg, treasurer of the king's household, rendered themselves very unpopularly conspicuous: but what shews the jealousy and weakness of the government most, is that the queen and her father had interest enough to get sir John Markham dismissed from being lord chief justice of the Common Pleas, for not heartily concurring in the work of prosecution.

About Midsummer this year a parliament was held at Westminster, the great business of which was to pass an act of resumption, which in effect was proposed by the king himself, who, in a formal speech he made to the commons, declared, that "he designed to live upon his own revenue, without any charge to his subjects, except on great and urgent occasions, in which not so much his own inclinations or particular pleasure, the usual motives of former kings in their conduct, as the safety and welfare of his people, and the defence of the realm, were immediately concerned; and therefore he hoped they would be as kind to him as they had been to any of his predecessors‡." The design expressed in his speech was very agreeable to the commons; but Edward's real view herein seems to have been to get the Neville family and their friends in his power, and make them dependent upon him for the enjoyment of those vast estates he had granted them as a reward for their eminent services. The commons understood his meaning, and, for the better enabling him to live upon the crown revenue, brought in a bill to resume all grants of lands and offices since the day of Edward's accession, annulling them all, except in certain cases mentioned in special provisos added to the act when it passed the royal assent||. The king was so well pleased with having carried his point, that he ordered the chancellor (the bishop of Lincoln, in absence of the archbishop of York), to return the parliament thanks for this act of resumption; and the session was then adjourned to the sixth of May, 1468.

Philip, duke of Burgundy, dying on the fifteenth of June, in the seventy-second year of his age, was succeeded in his title and dominions by his only son, Charles (count de Charolois), whose martial achievements procured him the surname of the Hardy. This prince being sprung by his mother, a daughter of Portugal, from John of Ghent, was of course disposed to wish well to the house of Lan-

* Rymer, vol. xi. p. 543, 544.

† Ibid. p. 558.

‡ Rot. Parl. 7 Edw. IV. n. 7.

|| William Wyrcestre.

caster; but this circumstance was more than overbalanced by political considerations.

The dark and insatiable ambition of Lewis XI. of France, had raised great apprehensions among all his neighbours and vassals; and, as he was possessed of great abilities, and restrained by no principles of faith or honour, they found no security to themselves but in a mutual league and combination against him. The heads of the confederacy were the count de Charolois, whom we must hereafter name the duke of Burgundy, the dukes of Berry, Brittany, and Bourbon, and the duke of Calabria, brother to the exiled queen Margaret, Henry VI's consort. Burgundy's ambition was even more unbounded than that of Lewis, but supported by less power and policy, and therefore regarded with a more indulgent eye by the other potentates of Europe.

The clashing of interests, and a still greater antipathy of temper, occasioned a violent hatred between these two bad princes (Lewis and Burgundy), and Edward had the advantage of making either of them his friend, whose cause he chose to espouse. The duke of Burgundy, while earl of Charolois, had, as we have already observed, entered into a treaty with Edward, and actually agreed to marry that monarch's sister, the princess Margaret: the death of duke Philip appeared an incident the most proper to cement the proposed alliance, and the new duke, the very day of his father's death, ratified his agreement with England, and offered to put his hand to the final conclusion of the match with Edward's sister.

The friendship of Burgundy was more agreeable to the English than that of France; the commercial interests of the two nations were more closely connected; the jealousy and suspicion which both parties entertained of the growing power and dangerous designs of the French monarch, naturally led them to an alliance against such a formidable neighbour; and Edward, pleased to have it in his option to fortify himself by so powerful an ally, immediately accepted the proposal, and gave his sister to Charles.

A league which Edward made, in the beginning of the year 1468, with the duke of Brittany, seemed still farther to establish him in his throne, and to afford him a prospect of recovering those provinces which had formerly belonged to the English crown: but whatever towering projects the king might have formed, in consequence of these alliances, they were soon defeated by intestine commotions, which engrossed his whole attention.

The earl of Warwick, who, as we have already shewn, had retired from the court in great discontent, on account of the injuries and insults he had received from the family of the Woodvilles, prepared now to discharge the long-concealed bolt of his vengeance against the house of York. He redoubled his attempts towards popularity; his house was always open, his table always spread, for every one who chose to partake of his hospitality; and by these measures he soon rendered himself a greater favourite with the people than ever; but the most powerful friend whom Warwick engaged in his party, was George, duke of Clarence, the king's second brother. This prince was no less dissatisfied than the rest of the old nobility at the influence

the queen and her relations had acquired over the king; and as Edward had excluded his brother Clarence from all share in the administration of government at home, he was strongly inclined to join the earl of Warwick in his opposition to the court.

That discerning nobleman quickly perceived the duke's real disposition, and resolved to turn it to his own advantage: in order therefore to make sure of so valuable a confederate, he offered the duke his eldest daughter, Isabella, in marriage. The young lady was coheir of her father's immense fortune; and as this was a settlement superior to any thing the king himself could bestow upon Clarence, it effectually attached him to the earl's party.

Edward seems to have been jealous of the earl of Warwick's proceedings; for, about the beginning of the year 1469, we find the said earl named in a commission of inquest concerning some lands in Picardy; on the seventh of August, the same year, he was made chief-justiciary of South Wales, and constable of Cardigan castle, with other offices conferred upon him*. But Warwick's resentment was too stubborn to be removed by these advances: besides, if we may believe Hall, an historian worthy of credit, he had a stronger reason to hate Edward than any yet mentioned, and that is, the latter had attempted the chastity of one of his daughters; and this prince's character, who was not very scrupulous in these respects, makes the thing still more credible: the earl, however, was too wise to blaze this last circumstance abroad, but, retiring to his government of Calais, under pretext of solemnizing his daughter's marriage with the duke of Clarence, while he resided in this place, he seems to have tried the pulse of the English by raising an insurrection in Yorkshire, through the means of the archbishop of York and the marquis of Montagu, his two brothers; though the latter, in order to keep himself clear from suspicion, actually headed the king's troops in that part of the country, and, marching against the rebellious rabble, put them to rout, and caused their chief, Robert Hillyard, to whom they had given the nickname of Robin of Ryddesdale, to be hanged. This conduct would give occasion to presume that the marquis had no share in raising the sedition, had not his real views been more fully explained by his after-proceedings.

The malecontents, however, rather animated than discouraged by the ill success of their first attempt, re-assembled in greater numbers than ever, and found themselves joined by the lord Fitz Hugh and Henry Neville, son of the lord Latimer, friends to the Warwick party; so that it was no hard matter for the government to guess that this insurrection was promoted by the Neville interest. As neither of the two noblemen above-mentioned had experience in military matters, the command of the rebel troops was given to sir John Conyers, an officer of great reputation and conduct. Their first project was to make themselves masters of York; but as that could not be done without artillery, in which they were deficient, they resolved to march southward; and, striking into the London road, they openly declared, "that they marched to deliver their lawful sovereign, king Henry,

* Rymer, vol. xi. p. 641, 647.

from his confinement, and place him again upon the throne."

Edward was then in London, and not a little apprehensive of the consequences of this commotion. In the present exigency he took the wisest course he could have fallen on: he issued out orders to John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and Anthony, earl Rivers, to array and assemble all persons able to bear arms, in Norfolk and other parts; and made Henry, earl of Northumberland, and the prior of St. John's of Jerusalem, renew their oaths of fealty to him: he also wrote to his friend Herbert, earl of Pembroke, to assemble the Welsh, and, crossing the country, to intercept the march of the rebels from the North; he ordered him at the same time, at all events, to fight the malecontents on their march, promising him to be as expeditious as possible in raising an army to join and support him.

The earl of Pembroke applied himself so heartily to obey his master's orders, that in a short time he had gotten together ten or twelve thousand men, at the head of whom he began his march in quest of the rebels, who as he understood were advancing by Northampton. In his route he was joined by Humphrey, lord Stafford, lately created earl of Devonshire, with a large body of archers. The two armies coming in sight of each other, the earl of Pembroke detached all his horse, being two thousand, under his brother, sir Richard Herbert, with orders to observe the enemy's position, and, if he found it practicable, to attack their rear. Sir Richard, after due observation, was of opinion that the rebels could not be attacked without manifest disadvantage to his own troops; however, the fiery spirit of the Welsh not brooking the least appearance of coolness, they fell, against their leader's will, upon the rear of the malecontents; but Conyers had made such an admirable disposition, that the Welsh were repulsed with great loss.

In the mean time the earl of Warwick, pretending that he could not remain an idle spectator of his country's disasters at a distance, returned to England, and repaired forthwith to his castle of Warwick, where he and his son-in-law, the duke of Clarence, who had accompanied him over, assembled a considerable army, with which they lay perdu till they should see the event of the present commotions. The marquis of Montagu joined his brother Warwick soon after his arrival.

The rebels, upon hearing of the earl's arrival, instead of pursuing their road to London, took the way for Warwick, where they hoped to meet a cordial reception; but the earl of Pembroke, impatient to have his revenge, marched directly towards them, and forced them to halt near a town called Edgecot, about four miles from Banbury, and the two armies encamped at a small distance from each other; but the earl of Pembroke and the earl of Devonshire quarrelling about an inn, where each of them insisted upon taking up his quarters, a fatal dissention arose from this trifling cause: the earl of Devonshire, in revenge, during the night, traiterously drew off all his archers, and thereby left Pembroke exposed to the defeat which afterwards followed.

On the morrow, by break of day, the malecontents marched in good order to attack the king's

army. They had heard, by deserters, of the earl of Devonshire's retreat, and were resolved to make the most of so fortunate an incident. Henry Neville, one of their leaders, venturing to charge at too great a distance from the main body, was surrounded by the royalists, all his men were cut to pieces, and himself taken prisoner: this somewhat checked the ardour of the insurgents, who thereupon retreated to their camp for that day; but the Welsh having inhumanly put Neville to death in cold blood, the rebels were raised to such fury by this act of barbarity, that the next day they attacked the royalists with irresistible fury. They were received, however, with equal courage, and the fortune of the day was on the point of declaring for the earl of Pembroke, when sir John Clapham coming up in the heat of the battle with a body of fifteen hundred men, bearing the ensigns of the earl of Warwick, one of whose officers he was, the rebels, upon his appearing in sight, set up the cry of "a Warwick! a Warwick!" which so terrified the Welsh, who thought that earl, with all his troops, was at hand, that they betook themselves to precipitate flight. The earl of Pembroke and his brother, sir Richard Herbert, fell into the hands of the conquerors, who, carrying them to Banbury, ordered their heads to be struck off, in revenge for the murder of sir Henry Neville. After this, a party was sent to the house of earl Rivers, the queen's father, at Grafton, who dragged that nobleman from thence, and, carrying him to Northampton, there struck off his head, without any trial. The insurgents, having thus taken vengeance on the most obnoxious of the ministers, retired without doing any more harm; for the earl of Warwick, by keeping himself neuter, in appearance at least, put a stop to any farther action on any side: not that there is the least room to doubt that he was the prime mover of all the outrages that had been committed; and yet, by an inconceivable blindness, Edward was so far from suspecting this to be the case, that, early in the next year, a commission was issued to the earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence, for holding a general array of all the king's subjects within Worcestershire and other counties where they had interest.

The winter of this year, 1469, was spent in receiving ambassadors from Lewis XI. of France, under colour of renewing a truce; though his true aim was to be particularly informed of the situation of affairs here. At the same time Edward, desirous of strengthening his alliance with the duke of Burgundy, sent him the order of the Garter, which he received with great marks of honour and esteem.

We must not forget to note, that Edward, imputing the loss of the battle of Banbury to the earl of Devonshire's separating from Pembroke, on his return he ordered his head to be struck off, which sentence was executed at Bridgwater, on the seventeenth of August this year*.

The duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, who had hitherto preserved the exterior of submission and loyalty, thought they could never have a more favourable opportunity of coming to a breach with Edward, than that with which he himself had furnished them in their late commission of array. Accordingly Warwick levied what forces he pleased

* The battle of Banbury was fought on the twenty-sixth of July preceding. Hall, p. 202. Stowe, p. 422.

in the king's name, but reserved the command of them to himself; and Clarence did the like. Early in the year 1470 they began to give such broad indications of their designs, that Edward could be no longer mistaken; and we find him, on the thirteenth of March, issuing a proclamation from York, where the court then resided, appointing John, lord Tiptoft, lately created earl of Worcester, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, in the room of the duke of Clarence who before enjoyed that high post; and also setting a reward of a thousand pounds, or an hundred pounds a year, upon the heads of the duke and the earl of Warwick. Three days after, general commissions of array against the duke and earl by name were issued all over the kingdom, but with very little effect, for all Edward's authority could neither diminish the army of the rebels, nor raise one superior to them.

In this situation of affairs, Edward's best friends thought it would be most prudent to bring about a reconciliation, if possible, upon the basis of public reformation. The proposal was made, and accepted by the duke and earl, and an interview was agreed to be held between the king and the two chiefs of the opposite party, in London. But the conference had not the desired effect; it passed only in mutual recriminations, and Warwick in particular behaved so haughtily on the occasion, that Edward, unable to bear the insolence of the over-grown traitor, ordered him from his presence, and each side immediately appealed to the sword.

Warwick, immediately after leaving London, commissioned sir Robert Wills, son of the lord Wills, to levy troops in Lincolnshire, which he did with such great success, that Edward, alarmed thereat, sent an express to order the lord Wills to repair to court, with a design to oblige him to use his authority with his son to desist from supporting the rebels. The lord Wills did not think proper to slight this summons from his sovereign, and accordingly set out for London; but being informed on his way, Edward was highly incensed against his family for the attachment they had shewn to the Warwick party, he did not dare to face the king, but immediately upon his arrival took sanctuary in Westminster abbey, with sir Thomas Dimmock, his brother-in-law, who had accompanied him in his journey. Edward, informed of this, immediately sent them both letters of safe-conduct, upon the faith of which they quitted their asylum, and, at the instances of Edward, lord Wills wrote a pressing letter to his son, persuading him to abandon the rebels and return to his duty. But this order the young nobleman refused to obey, justly imagining his father to be under compulsion when the letter was wrote; and Edward marching towards Stamford, and finding that sir Robert Wills was more than ever attached to the party he had embraced, inasmuch that the earl of Warwick had given him the command next under himself, Edward, with a cruelty which nothing but the inhuman practices common in civil wars can account for, ordered the lord Wills, and sir Thomas Dimmock to be put to death for the disobedience of their son and nephew.

This cruel deed incensed sir Robert Wills to such a degree, that, deaf to all the dictates of prudence, he ventured to attack the royal army with a body of raw and undisciplined troops, without waiting to be reinforced by the earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence, who were on the march to join him, and were expected every moment to arrive. The event was such as may be supposed from so precipitate a measure; the rebels were obliged to yield to the superior valour and discipline of the royalists, and were routed with great slaughter. Ten thousand men are supposed to have fallen in this engagement†; and sir Robert Wills and sir Thomas de la Launde, being taken prisoners, were executed immediately after the action.

This defeat quite disconcerted the earl of Warwick, who now gave over all thoughts of being able to keep the field that season; and the forces he had with him not being sufficient to face the royal army, superior in numbers and flushed with success, he saw no other remedy than to embark for France, in order to shun the impending danger, and therefore, dismissing his troops, he set out, with the duke of Clarence in his company, for Exeter, in order to provide and fit out ships to carry them and their families to Calais.

But Edward, not thinking proper to allow Clarence and Warwick time to debauch the principles of the inhabitants of the West by any long stay amongst them, marched thither with so much expedition, that he was, by the fifteenth of April, at Dartmouth, from whence he issued commissions to the earl of Wiltshire, the lord Mountjoy, and sir John Fortescue and others, for arraying the counties of Devon and Cornwall. The confederate princes, finding themselves thus pressed, embarked on board the few ships they had ready, on the twenty-fifth, and sailed for Calais; but, to their great surprize, when they offered to enter the harbour, the cannon of the place fired upon them, upon which being forced to stand off to sea, to add to their distress the duchess of Clarence, who, with her sister, had accompanied her husband and father, fell in labour and was delivered of a son, named Edward, who was afterwards earl of Warwick.

The command of the garrison had been entrusted by the earl of Warwick to one Vaublere, a Gascon gentleman, one who had always before served him with unshaken fidelity; however, all he could obtain on this occasion, were a few bottles of wine for the refreshment of the ladies, who were in a truly pitiable state; but at the same time Vaublere accompanied this trifling present by a private intimation, that he was compelled, by the disposition of the garrison, to act as he did, and counselled the earl his master to retire into France, and trust to his fidelity for improving any change of circumstance to the advantage of his interest. It is not improbable that the Gascon intended to act a double game, and to lie by till he should see which was the strongest side: however this might be, Edward was so pleased with his behaviour, that he bestowed the government of the place upon him; and the duke of Burgundy added a farther reward of a

† The Lincolnshire men being driven out of the field, and throwing away their coats, that they might run the faster, this battle, fought on the seventeenth of March, was called "the

battle of Loose-coat Field." Hall, p. 204. Hollingshed, p. 1322.

thousand crowns by way of pension. In the mean time the duke and earl, obliged to give way to their untoward fortunes, directed their course towards Normandy, and, in a few days after, landed at Harfleur, where they were amicably received by the bastard of Bourbon, lieutenant-general of the province; and from thence they repaired to the court of France, at Amboise, where they were received by Lewis XI. with all the honours due to their dignity and reputation.

Lewis would not interfere in the affairs of England while the two rival families were contending for the crown; but now that Edward had engaged in such a strict alliance with the duke of Burgundy, his inveterate foe, he was induced from motives of interest to attempt the ruin of both; and to this he was the rather inclined, because, while he consulted the good and safety of his own dominions, by suppressing the insolence of Burgundy, he should at the same time have an opportunity of avenging the affront he had received from Edward in the affair of the marriage: moreover, the succours which that monarch designed to send to the confederate princes of France in arms against Lewis, plainly shewed, that while he should enjoy the crown of England, those princes would always consider him as a sure protector and ally.

Influenced by these and the like considerations, he determined, if possible, to effect a reconciliation between Margaret of Anjou, queen of Henry VI. and the earl of Warwick; and for that purpose sent for that princess, who had retired to her father's court. Lewis found great difficulty in bringing this point to bear, on account of the implacable and rancorous animosity that prevailed between the two parties; but at length, their enmity giving way to their interest, a seeming accommodation took place, and it was resolved to unite heartily in raising the house of Lancaster from its misery, and in restoring Henry to his throne. It was agreed between Lewis and the earl of Warwick, that the former should fit out all the ships he could raise, and that these, joining with the earl's squadron, should be entirely under his direction. Queen Margaret, on her part, promised that her son, prince Edward, should marry Anne, the younger daughter of the earl of Warwick, and, on Henry's being re-enthroned, declared his immediate successor; and in default of issue, the crown was to devolve upon the duke of Clarence, who, with the earl of Warwick, his father-in-law, were to be regents of England till Edward came of age. The duke of Clarence, being but one-and-twenty years of age, was entirely under the government of Warwick, and swore to this agreement; yet, young as he was, he could not but see that his hopes of an immediate possession of the crown were defeated, and his pretensions to it not only postponed, but made dependent on a mere contingency, which the marriage of Edward and Anne, now solemnized with great pomp, rendered unlikely to happen: nevertheless, the duke found himself too deeply engaged to be able to retreat, and was obliged to give himself up to the guidance of his father-in-law. Hence we may readily account for his being dissatisfied with the earl of Warwick, and for the reasons which induced him to abandon that party, and join with his brother Edward, against whom he had hitherto acted with all the keenness of inveterate rebellion. This, I say, may be accounted

for, without having recourse to the anecdote, which most of our historians have been so fond of relating after Philip de Commynes, who has carried a lady from England, who outwitted Vaublere, governor of Calais, who had secret proposals to communicate from Edward to Clarence, which, according to him, induced that duke to make his peace with his brother, and promise to serve him on his return to England. We cannot help pointing out one extraordinary circumstance which happened in consequence of this agreement of Amboise. By the marriage of prince Edward, Henry VI's son, with the daughter of the earl of Warwick, the duke of Clarence, Edward's brother, became brother-in-law to the young prince of the house of Lancaster; and the earl of Warwick equally related to the two rival families.

Nothing now remained but for the earl of Warwick to pass over to England with the fleet, which the French king had gotten ready for his service; and the daily accounts received from England, by a crowd of refugees, of the dispositions of the people to favour his cause, made the earl extremely urgent to depart. It seems that Edward, though he had been apprized by the duke of Burgundy of the agreement made at Amboise, had paid very little regard to that intimation, relying upon very uncertain principles, namely, the attachment of his subjects to his person and government, and Warwick's want of credit and influence; so that he neglected to take the necessary precautions for his own defence, and abandoned himself to a scandalous sensuality; but what is more amazing, at the time that he stood most in need of the good-will and affections of his people, he suffered them to be oppressed by every act of cruelty and malice that his ministers chose to exercise against those who were obnoxious to them: of these acts none gave so much horror as the execution of sir John Clapham, one of Warwick's officers, and about twenty other gentlemen of Henry's party, who, being taken on board a ship at Southampton, were, by the earl of Worcester (Tiptoft), lately made high-constable of England, ordered to be hanged, then fixed to the gallows by their legs, and afterwards impaled upon the highways. These instances of barbarity, instead of filling the spectators with fear and apprehension, inspired them with the most implacable hatred and indignation against the authors of the horrid scene. Numbers of reputable personages of the Lancastrian party fled over to France, among whom was John de Vere, earl of Oxford; who giving Warwick an account of the temper and state of the nation, and the certainty of his being strongly supported on his arrival, that nobleman drew the most favourable omen of success to his expedition: but he was for some time prevented from sailing by the proceedings of the duke of Burgundy.

This prince, as we have elsewhere remarked, espoused the interests of Edward; not so much out of regard to his alliance with him by the marriage of his sister, or any personal regard for him or liking to his cause, as out of hatred to Lewis; this constant motive of all his actions had put him upon joining Edward in pressing the parliament of Paris to send Warwick out of France; and he even carried his insolence so far as to threaten, if he was not sent away, to come with an army and seize him wherever he was concealed. This rhodomontade

was treated with the contempt it deserved: however Charles prepared to put his threats in execution, and, having fitted out a strong fleet, composed of large Flemish and Dutch vessels, he sent his admiral, la Vire, to block up the mouth of the Seine, where Warwick lay with his own ships and those which the admiral of France had provided, ready to sail for England; but a violent storm arising, drove the Burgundian ships from their station, and gave the earl of Warwick, with his fleet, an opportunity of sailing for England, where they landed at Dartmouth about the middle of September, and immediately declared for king Henry.

It is almost incredible in how short a time the wished-for news of Warwick's arrival spread through the kingdom, and by what numbers he was joined. No event more clearly shews than this, the facility of bringing about a revolution in England, when the hearts of the people favour the attempt, and the government hath lost its reputation: though, indeed, we shall have numberless examples to shew, that no people in the world are so liable as the English to the infection of plausible pretexts; the art is to raise the cry of the multitude, and to follow it becomes the fashion. Warwick was well acquainted with this disposition of his countrymen, and made a proper use of it by issuing a proclamation for all who were capable of bearing arms, between sixteen and sixty, to enter immediately into the service of their lawful sovereign, Henry VI. The earl had not been landed six days before he saw himself at the head of sixty thousand men, all ready to draw their swords, and sacrifice their lives, for the late despicable, distressed, despairing house of Lancaster.

So unexpected an event opened Edward's eyes, and shewed him the folly of his expectations. He was then on a progress into the North, to quell an insurrection raised in Yorkshire by the lord Fitz Hugh, who had married Alice, sister to the earl of Warwick; but hearing of the success of the latter, he immediately turned back towards London, and had advanced on his way as far as Nottingham: but Warwick, being resolved to engage him before he should reach that capital, where he knew he was very popular, overtook him within three miles of Nottingham, and prepared to give him battle. Edward was so weak as to depend upon the fidelity of the marquis of Montagu, though the brother of his adversary, and a nobleman whom he was sensible thought himself injured by being deprived of the great estate and honour of Northumberland. He had raised six thousand men, with whom he followed the king at some distance, as if his intention had been to reinforce the royal army; but his real aim was to join his brother, and he had already concerted the affair with his officers; when he therefore understood that Warwick was so near the king's camp, he quickened his march in order to fall upon the rear of Edward, who had no intimation of his design, till the traitor was within two miles of his camp, and the air resounded with the cry of "God bless king Henry!"

In this emergency Edward called a council of war, in which the lord Hastings (who had married a sister of Warwick, and who was the faithful companion of Edward in all his fortunes) gave it as his opinion, that great part of the army would revolt to the earl of Warwick; or that, even should they do their duty, they would not be able to cope with

the rebels, since this defection of Montagu: the duke of Gloucester, Edward's brother, with the earls of Rivers and Northumberland, joined in the same opinion, and it was agreed that they had nothing to trust to but flight, and that the king should immediately make the best of his way, attended by the chief of his followers, towards Lynn, in Norfolk, where some Dutch ships were at that time lying, on board of which they proposed to embark. Accordingly Edward set out, but without baggage or money, and got on board, on the third of October, and instantly put to sea, with his brother Gloucester, the lord Hastings, and some other friends; and, after having narrowly escaped a fleet of Easterlings, a set of freebooters then at war with both France and England, landed safely at Alkmar, leaving Warwick entire master of the kingdom, without a blow; and, what may appear still more surprizing, within the short space of eleven days after his landing at Dartmouth; for, on the morning of Edward's retreat, his army submitted to the victorious earl, who forthwith directed his march to London, which he entered in triumph on the sixth of October, accompanied by the duke of Clarence and other noblemen, when they once more led Henry from his prison to his palace.

Edward's unfortunate queen, seeing this reverse of fortune, though big with child, took refuge in Westminster abbey, to which she went privately by water from the Tower, and where, on the fourth of November, she was delivered of an heir to the crown of England, afterwards Edward V. She thus saved herself from violence and insult, for the whole city of London appeared now as extravagantly zealous for Henry as ever they had been for Edward.

Clarence and Warwick now assumed the government in Henry's name, and disposed of all posts: the judges, sheriffs, and coroners were changed all over the kingdom: Langstrother, prior of St. John of Jerusalem, was made treasurer; the archbishop of York, Warwick's brother, chancellor; the earl of Warwick himself, lord high-admiral of England; and the duke of Clarence, lord-lieutenant of Ireland. On this occasion no person was put to death but John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, who seems to have fallen a sacrifice to the public hatred. He was a corrupt and avaricious minister, and such a monster of cruelty that he was commonly stigmatized by the name of John the Butcher. Being taken concealed in a tree in the forest of Waverling, in Huntingdonshire, he was conveyed to London, tried in Westminster Hall, found guilty of high-treason, condemned, and executed upon Tower Hill.

Writs were now issued for summoning the great assembly of the nation, which met on the twenty-sixth of November; and as parliaments in such a juncture are always composed of persons obsequious to the will of the ruling party, this proceeded in all points agreeable to Warwick's directions. Edward was declared a traitor to his country, and an usurper of the throne; the paternal estate of York was forfeited; and the crown of England, in default of male heirs from Henry, settled upon the duke of Clarence and his descendants, according to the treaty of Amboise: and even Henry's personal government was set aside by this parliament, who declared the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick governors of the kingdom. They next proceeded

proceeded to reverse several attainders, particularly those of the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, and of John de Vere, earl of Oxford; and the duke of Clarence, to keep him firm in his present party, had a gift of the York estate: the marquis of Montagu was restored to his favourite post of warden of the East Marches of Scotland. A long truce was concluded with France, and all imaginable precautions were taken to guard against any invasion. But it is now time to see what became of the fugitive Edward.

He had, on his arrival at Alkmar, a sea-port town on the coast of Holland, been hospitably received by de Bruges, lord of Gruythuse, governor of Holland under the duke of Burgundy, who provided the distressed king and his attendants whatever was suitable to their quality: and, conducting them to the Hague, he sent to notify their arrival to his master, the duke of Burgundy, who was not a little perplexed when he heard of this event, as apprehending he might embroil himself with the new government in England, by giving this luckless exile an asylum; and he had reasons to dread the consequences of a rupture with that court in the present juncture, being already attacked by Lewis XI. who had declared war against him, and taken possession of St. Quintin and Amiens; but the obligations of alliance, the ties of blood, and above all their connections by being brethren of the same orders, fixed him to give Edward leave to come to his court of St. Paul.

Willing, however, to be assured in the part he had to act, he dispatched his secretary, Philip de Commines (the historian) to Calais, to see what Vaublanc would do in this sudden change of affairs, and to take measures for preventing a rupture with England. Philip found the governor, the garrison, and all the inhabitants of Calais dressed in Warwick's livery and wearing his badges, which they had assumed on the first news of his success, and was assured the earl was sending over four thousand men to begin hostilities in the duke of Burgundy's dominions, who, as the protector of Edward, had been adjudged the enemy of England. Commines, though startled at this intimation, put the best face upon the matter, and insisted that his master's treaty being made with the kingdom as well as the king of England, it was still obligatory; and that the duke of Burgundy conceived himself bound to maintain it, the change of a king's name from Edward to Henry making no alteration. These arguments, however would have had little weight had they not been supported by the (staple) merchants of London and Calais, who were then persons of great authority and influence upon the affairs of the nation, and who were afraid of losing their commerce by a war. At their instances, therefore, the earl of Warwick put a stop to all hostilities, and it was agreed that the treaty with Burgundy should continue in force*; and that duke even went so far in his complaisance for the new government of England, as to order all his subjects to give Edward no assistance, though at the same time, with a double-dealing too common among princes, who think themselves superior to all the vulgar considerations which bind inferior persons, he gave him underhand fifty thousand florins, with four large ships, which were equipped in the Isle

of Walkeren, in Zealand, where there was a free port, and secretly hired fourteen Easterling ships for his service. When all these ships were ready, Edward suddenly disappearing, the duke immediately ordered a fresh proclamation to be issued, that none of his subjects should presume to assist him, directly or indirectly, upon pain of death.

Warwick, however, was too discerning and active a politician to be the dupe of this dissimulation: he applied himself to every measure that he thought most likely to disappoint the attempt of his enemy; the sea-ports were strictly guarded, and it appears in the Collection of Public Acts, that in the month of January, 1471, the duke of Clarence was commissioned to raise an army to oppose the designs of Edward, in case he should return into the kingdom; and, on the tenth of February, the prior of St. John of Jerusalem received a commission to pass over to the continent, and bring back to England queen Margaret, and her son the prince of Wales.

Mean while Edward, who had got every thing ready for his expedition, put to sea from the port of Flushing, in Zealand, with the lords Hastings and Say, and about two thousand men, partly English and partly Flemings. On the twelfth of March he came before Cromer, in Norfolk, where he sent on shore sir Robert Chamberlain, sir Gilbert Debenham, and others, to discover how the people stood affected. These trusty messengers soon found, that, by the vigilance of John de Vere, earl of Oxford, and the great preparations he had made, it was unsafe to land in those parts; wherefore it was resolved to stand to the northward, and a storm arising in the night, they were at about at sea till the fourteenth, when they were obliged to run with their ships into Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, where Henry IV. had formerly landed, when he came to wrest the crown from Richard II. and whose policy Edward copied on this occasion; for finding, to his great astonishment and mortification, that, instead of being received with open arms, there was a general despondency and coldness in the people to his cause, he resolved upon a total alteration of his measures, and publicly gave out that he came not to reclaim the crown, but his paternal estates, which, he said, had been, against all law and right, given away, through the earl of Warwick's interest, by the late parliament.

It is incredible, says one of our old English historians †, what effect this politic dissimulation had upon the people: compassion now supplying the place of affection, numbers flocked to join him, deceived by his humble pretensions; and even the nobility shewed themselves willing to have him for a fellow-subject, though not for a king. On the sixteenth of March, the second day after his landing, he marched directly for York, in the neighbourhood of which he arrived on the nineteenth, and found the inhabitants universally disposed to assist him as duke of York, in recovering his paternal estates, though not as king of England. To quiet their minds in this respect, he hesitated not to take a solemn oath in the cathedral, never to renew his pretensions to the crown; to use the city in a gentle and courteous manner; and lastly, to be a true and faithful subject to his lawful king, Henry: an oath which he soon shewed he had no

* Memoires de Commines, liv. iii. chap. 6, 7.

† Hall, p. 215.

intention to keep; however, the better to support his perjury, he went so far as to put on the ostrich-feather, the badge of Henry's son.

During his short stay at York (where he borrowed some money of the citizens, and in return bridled them with a garrison) his army was prodigiously increased; he would not however, have ventured to march towards London, had he not received advice from his brother Clarence, whose eyes were now opened to his true interest, and who privately applied for a reconciliation with his brother, that he might safely approach, and that he would join him with all his troops the first convenient opportunity. He therefore began his march for the capital; but, instead of going through Pontefract, where the marquis of Montagu lay encamped with a strong body of troops, he took a compass of about four miles, and came to Nottingham, a county well-affected to his person and family, and was there joined by sir William Stanley with four hundred men, by the lord Hastings, by sir William Parr, sir Thomas Burgh, sir William Norris, sir James Harrington, and other gentlemen. This encouraged him to lay aside the humble guise he had hitherto worn, and to make an open claim of the crown, and his numbers still increased as he approached nearer the centre of the kingdom.

In the mean time Warwick, having assembled a body of forces, proceeded to Leicester, in order to join his brother, the marquis of Montagu; and hearing that Edward had taken the road to Coventry, he directed his march thither, with a view to give him battle: but just as the two armies came in sight of each other, the earl received a letter from the duke of Clarence, giving him to understand that he was on the march to join him, and desiring he would not hazard a battle with Edward until he should arrive with his forces. Warwick, who never suspected any private correspondence between Clarence and Edward, gave into the snare and suffered the latter to pass him in his way to London, thinking that he should by that means have him between two fires, that of his own army and that of Clarence, which was approaching. But while he was indulging himself in this expectation, and that Edward would soon be in his power, he heard of his reconciliation at Banbury with the duke of Clarence, and that this prince had joined him with his whole army.

This defection, which would have discouraged any other man, only animated the earl of Warwick to new efforts. The duke of Clarence, imagining it would be some kind of excuse for the treacherous part he had acted, if he could mediate between his brother and father-in-law, accordingly sent the latter a message, with the offer and assurance in Edward's name of any terms he should chuse to demand; but Warwick, rightly judging that such a mediator, who had so openly betrayed him, was not to be trusted, answered with great indignation, "That he had rather be consistent with himself, than to follow the example of a perfidious duke; and that he was determined not to put up his sword till he had either gained his point, or lost his life."

Presently after the junction of the two brothers, it was debated, whether they should attack the earl of Warwick in his entrenchments, or march directly for London, and Edward assume the royal authority,

which would give him infinite advantage over his adversaries. The latter counsel was very prudently embraced, and the king set forward on his march to London, leaving Warwick behind him; though, it must be confessed, that Edward ran great risks of being ruined in case the Londoners had kept their gates shut against him; but that unstable people, ever leaning to the side of prejudice or interest, hearing of the reconciliation of the two brothers, and that Edward was in full march for his capital, gave the earl of Warwick over for lost; and thinking they had nothing more to hope from the Lancastrian party, and every thing to dread from the resentment of an incensed and victorious sovereign, without waiting for a confirmation of Warwick's defeat, which they took for granted, on the ninth of April the lord-mayor and his aldermen demanded and received the custody of the Tower of London for king Edward's use; and on Thursday the eleventh of April, Edward once more triumphantly entered his capital, while Henry, who had not found means to escape, nor perhaps so much as thought of it, was again conducted to his confinement in the Tower, from whence he had been taken only seven months before, to remount the throne.

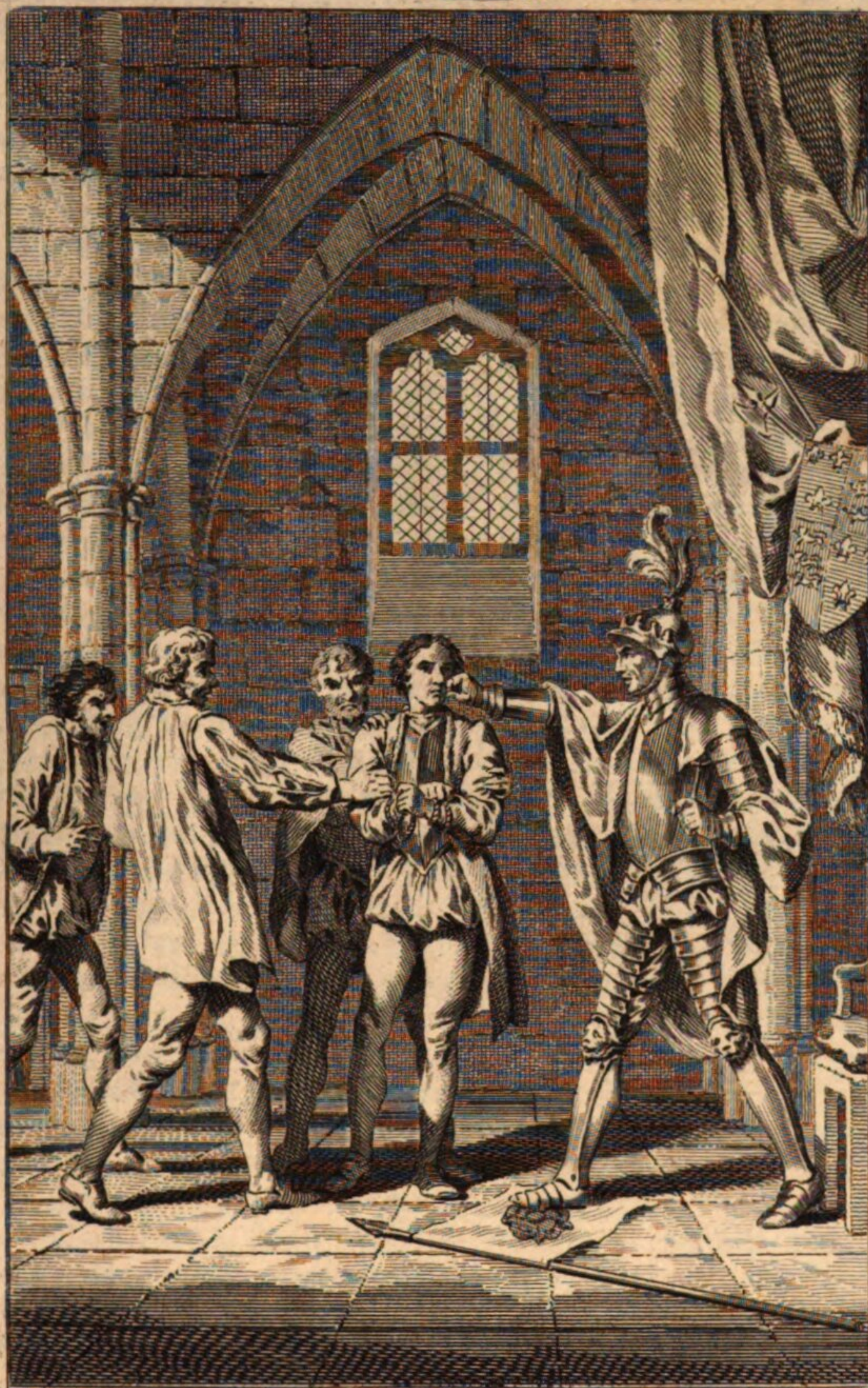
Edward's first care, after having secured the person of his rival, was to visit his queen, who still remained shut up in the sanctuary, from whence he now took her, and returned the same night to London, whose citizens seemed to vie with each other in expressions of loyalty and affection. He had, however, but short time for respite, for the next day (the twelfth), being Good Friday, he held a great council upon the news that the earl of Warwick, having left Coventry, had advanced by Northampton to St. Alban's. Upon this it was determined that the king should immediately put himself at the head of his army, which was quartered about London, and march against this formidable adversary.

The earl of Warwick, unfortunate in his best-laid schemes, now took a step which completed his ruin: he had not, without good shew of reason, depended upon the Londoners keeping Edward out of their city for at least two or three days: with this view he had marched from Coventry with a fine train of artillery, purposing to shut Edward up between his own army and the walls of London; but when he came to St. Alban's, which was on the thirteenth of April, he learned, to his infinite surprize and mortification, that the variable Londoners had admitted the king into their city, and that he was actually within a few miles of him, with an army much superior to his own. Edward pitched his camp to the north of Barnet, very near the earl's army, which lay upon a moor called Gladesmere Heath, between Barnet and St. Alban's.

Warwick now repented his having left Coventry; Margaret of Anjou was expected every hour to land, with a large reinforcement of troops from France; and, in any other situation, the earl would in all probability have declined a battle: but he was several days march from a place of safety, and too far advanced to make a retreat; the attempt, in the face of a superior enemy, flushed with success, was certain ruin; besides, his intrepid heart being a stranger to fear, he resolved to venture an engagement,

Early

King Edward the 4th striking Edward Prince of Wales with his Gauntlet.



To his Grace
Duke of
This Plate is most
humbly Inscribed.



Early next morning, which was Easter-day, the fourteenth of April, both armies drew out in order of battle†. Edward's van-guard was commanded by the duke of Gloucester; his main battle by himself, having with him the unfortunate king Henry and the duke of Clarence, who that day served as a volunteer; and the rear was led by the lord Hastings. In Warwick's army the right wing was commanded by the marquis of Montagu and John de Vere, earl of Oxford; the left by the earl of Warwick himself, and John Holland, duke of Exeter; and a body of archers, which was posted in the centre, by Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset.

The battle began by four in the morning, and lasted till noon; and never was field disputed with more bloody obstinacy. The troops of Warwick, though inferior to those of Edward in number, fought with desperate resolution, determined, after the example of their general, to conquer or die on the spot; and such was the impetuosity of their charge, that the earl of Oxford's division broke the main body of Edward's army, but the victorious corps pursuing the fugitives with too sanguine an eagerness, Warwick's main body was by that means left defenceless: Edward upon this brought up a strong corps de reserve, with which he attacked this weak part of Warwick's division; but the earl of Oxford, recollecting his mistake in following the Yorkists to such a distance, wheeled about in order to recover his former station; and that movement occasioned the loss of the battle: for his division, in which the men wore stars for their badges*, returning from the pursuit, and passing by the duke of Exeter's wing, the latter, mistaking their stars for suns, the badge which Edward gave (occasioned, as some say, by a mist that fell during the fight), furiously charged these squadrons as they were returning to their post, and put them to rout before the mistake could be discovered. This gave an opportunity for Edward's routed wing to rally, and now the battle was no longer equal; the late unfortunate accident had begot a suspicion of treachery in Warwick's ranks, and seeing the earl of Oxford's men fly, they imagined they had been charged in rear, and of consequence that they themselves were surrounded, they were instantly seized with terror and consternation; the panic spread from rank to rank, and universal disorder and confusion ensued. Edward, improving this opportunity, made a fresh charge, more dreadful than ever, and Warwick in vain exerted his utmost efforts to rally and encourage his dispirited forces; they reeled, they drooped, they shrunk from the charge, though they did not fly; at length, after having performed every thing that could be expected from the most consummate general and the most undaunted hero in vain, the noble Warwick, disdainful of life when victory was gone, rushed into the middle of Edward's ranks, where he quickly fell, covered with wounds: his brother, the marquis of Montagu, desirous to rescue him, perished in the attempt a few moments after him. Their deaths completed the defeat of their army, in which about three thousand of the earl's men fell, and about two thousand of the king's,

on whose side were slain the lord Cromwell, the lord Say, sir Humphrey Bouchier, and the lord Mountjoy's eldest son. It is said, Edward, who in all his other battles was accustomed to order that the common soldiers should be spared, and the officers put to the sword, had ordered now that no quarter should be given. The earl of Oxford and the duke of Somerset fled into Wales, to the earl of Pembroke, who was levying troops for the earl of Warwick; the duke of Exeter was wounded, stripped, and left for dead in the field, where he lay till the evening, when, coming to himself, he made a shift to crawl to the house of one Rutland, where his wounds were cured; but he was afterwards seized, and committed to the Tower.

This battle was no sooner over than Edward posted to London, and entering into St. Paul's at evening service, with his royal captive, he there offered his own and his enemies standards; and, to prevent any doubt of the death of the earl of Warwick and his brother, he caused their naked bodies to be exposed to public view for three days successively, in the cathedral of St. Paul, after which they were carried to Bisham, in Berkshire, to be interred in the priory founded by their ancestors of the house of Montacute.

Edward imagined, that by the death of the earl of Warwick he had established his throne on a solid foundation; but he soon received fresh proofs that the war was far from being ended with this battle: for, on Tuesday in Easter-week, queen Margaret, the brand of the war, and no less terrible to Edward than Warwick, had landed at Weymouth, in Dorsetshire, attended by her son the prince of Wales, the countess of Warwick, the prior of St. John of Jerusalem, the lord Wenlock, many other persons of distinction, and a body of French troops, in several ships. She had scarce time to repose herself after the fatigue of a very tempestuous passage, when she received the fatal tidings of Warwick's defeat and death, and of her husband being again a captive in the hands of his rival. Disasters like these were more than sufficient to strike the boldest with dismay: Margaret's former courage and magnanimity gave way to the shock; she was overwhelmed with grief and despair, and knowing not what other course to take, she retired to the abbey of Beaulieu, in Hampshire, where she registered herself, her son, and her followers as persons claiming sanctuary. But her drooping spirits were soon cheered, and her despair partly banished by the appearance of the duke of Somerset, the earl of Devonshire, the viscount Beaumont, sir Thomas Fulford, sir John Fortescue, sir Thomas Seymour, and many other gentlemen, who, on the first news of her landing, immediately repaired to her with their vassals and dependents, who all offered to stand by her with their lives and fortunes.

Encouraged with this show of affection, and the assurances that numbers were ready to join her as soon as she should take the field, she left her sanctuary, and, putting herself and son at the head of the few troops she had with her, began her march, passing through the counties of Devon and Somerset, where her troops were continually increased by

† Hall, p. 217.

* Being part of the arms of the family of de Vere, which are, quarterly, gules and argent, a star of five points in the first quarter.

the coming in of the inhabitants, until they amounted to a very considerable army. At length she reached Tewkesbury, in Gloucestershire, on the twenty-ninth of April, having that day performed an incredible march of thirty-six miles, through very bad roads: here Margaret proposed to rest her wearied troops for a few days, and then proceed towards Wales, to join the earl of Pembroke, who had gotten together a considerable body of archers from the counties of Chester and Lancaster, famous for breeding that kind of soldiers, and was on the march to meet her.

In the mean time Edward, who, on the first notice of the queen's landing, had proscribed her and all her adherents by proclamation, immediately set out at the head of his army, in order to attack her before she could join the earl of Pembroke; but as he had with him a great train of artillery, it was impossible for him to march with so much expedition as the Lancastrians; he however made greater dispatch than could be expected, and, after a very painful and fatiguing march, he, on the third of May, encamped within three miles of the enemy.

The queen and her generals hereupon held a council of war, to deliberate what measures were the most proper to be taken. Their first intention was to have passed the Severn about Gloucester; but that city having refused to open its gates, she could not cross the river from her present situation, without exposing her rear to certain ruin; it was therefore determined that the queen's forces should entrench themselves in a park adjoining to the town of Tewkesbury, where they were flanked on both sides with hollow ways, ditches, hedges, and almost impassable grounds, with the town and abbey behind, and a strong entrenchment was to be thrown up in their front; and in this position, which, if fully effected, would have been impregnable, they were to wait the coming up of the earl of Pembroke with his forces.

But the execution of this scheme was prevented by the vigilance, courage, and activity of Edward, who determined to attack them in their entrenchments before they could farther fortify them. With this view, he, the next day, May 4, drew forth his army in two lines, one conducted by his brother, the duke of Gloucester, while himself, with his other brother, Clarence, assisted by the lord Hastings, commanded the second. On the side of the Lancastrians, the duke of Somerset, with his brother, lord John Beaufort, commanded the first line; the lord Wenlock, under the prince of Wales, who was considered as the commander in chief, the second; and Courtney, earl of Devonshire, the third.

The attack was begun by the duke of Gloucester with great fury; but Somerset's men, who guarded the front of the entrenchments, stood their ground with great bravery, and it is more than probable that Edward would have been baffled in his attempt this day, had not one of those accidents so frequent in engagements turned the scale of victory: it seems the duke of Gloucester before the battle, had received instructions from Edward to use all possible means to draw the duke of Somerset's division out of the trenches; Gloucester pursued these instructions with equal punctuality and success. Finding himself so warmly received by the van of the Lancastrian forces, he began a

sham retreat, in such seeming hurry and confusion, that the duke of Somerset, naturally of an impetuous disposition, imagining they fled, ordered the second and third lines to support him, and began his march in pursuit of the runaways, through the defiles which led out of the trenches, and a desperate fight ensued; for the Yorkists facing suddenly about, recovered their former ranks, and fell upon the Lancastrians with the utmost fury; at the same time a detachment of two hundred horse, sent off by Edward, attacked Somerset's division in flank, and disordered him so much, that he was obliged to fall back through the defiles to his former station; but in doing this he was so hotly pursued, that most of his line were cut in pieces. The duke of Somerset, amazed at his not being supported by the lord Wenlock, found that nobleman coolly standing at the head of his division, without having advanced a single step to sustain the first line: the fiery duke was so enraged at this treachery as he thought it, that, riding up, he clove the lord Wenlock through the brains with his battle-ax.

By this time the duke of Gloucester had followed the enemy so close that he was actually within their entrenchments, and was soon followed by his royal brother, with the second line. Every thing in the queen's camp was now in confusion; the first division of her army was already defeated with great slaughter, and the second and third lines betook themselves to flight after a very faint resistance. In short, Edward gained the most complete victory perhaps that any history recounts; for, though not above three thousand of the Lancastrians fell in the fight, yet scarce a man of note of the queen's party escaped death or captivity. Among the slain were the earl of Devonshire, the lord John Beaufort, the duke of Somerset's brother, sir John Delves, sir Edward Hamden, sir Robert Whittingham, and sir John Luckner. The duke of Somerset, the great-prior of St. John, and about twenty other gentlemen, took refuge in the abbey church, as a place of sanctuary; but they soon found themselves deceived, for they were taken thence the next day, and executed. Margaret of Anjou herself was discovered, with her son, in another religious house, to which they had fled for shelter, and were brought to Edward, who ordered the queen to close custody in the Tower, where she continued four years, till the king of France thought proper to ransom her for the sum of fifty thousand crowns. But a more pitiable fate awaited the young prince; for, being brought into Edward's presence, and that king asking him "how he durst presume to invade his kingdom, with banners displayed?" the noble youth replied with an unseasonable vivacity, "that he came to recover his father's crown, and his own natural inheritance:" a reply which so stung Edward, that he struck the prince on the face with his gauntlet; this served as a signal to the king's remorseless friends, Hastings and the lord Thomas Grey (afterwards marquis of Dorset), who forthwith dragged the gallant youth out of the apartment, and plunged their daggers in his breast.

The battle of Tewkesbury, fought eighteen days after that of Barnet, was the twelfth since the beginning of the quarrel between the two houses of York and Lancaster; but it was not the last, though followed by no other during this reign: and though the event of this field seemed to have extinguished the hopes of the house of Lancaster, yet there was still

still a small army in the field, under the command of the earl of Pembroke; but this dispersed of its own accord, on hearing of Edward's late victory, and the earl, leaving the defence of Pembroke to sir John Scudamore, fled into Brittany, taking with him his nephew Henry, the young earl of Richmond. This young nobleman, so illustrious afterwards as king Henry VII. was eldest son to Edmund, earl of Richmond, who was himself the eldest son of Owen Tudor and queen Catherine, his father having been married to Margaret, sole daughter of John Beaufort, duke of Somerset, grand-son to John of Ghent; so that, after the extinction of Henry's race, he had very high pretensions to be the head of the house of Lancaster. He and his uncle were received with great affection and tenderness by Francis II. duke of Brittany, at whose court we shall now leave them, to trace the remaining events of this year.

Whilst Edward was employed in the West, a commotion happened in the interior part of the kingdom, which threatened him with the loss of his capital, and even of his crown. Thomas Neville, a natural son of the late William, lord Fauconbridge, earl of Kent, had been, by the late earl of Warwick, appointed vice-admiral of the Channel, but lost his employment after the death of that nobleman; upon which he withdrew, with the ships under his command, and for some time he and his crews led a life of piracy, assisted by a party of three hundred men from the garrison of Calais; and, tempted by the opportunity which the king's absence afforded, he ventured to make a descent with his forces at Sandwich, and was admitted into Canterbury by Nicholas Faunte, the mayor. The country flocking in to him, he began his march for London, at the head of seventeen thousand men, and on the fourteenth of May, entered the suburbs of Southwark, from whence he proposed to gain admittance into the city, over London bridge; but the news of the king's victory arriving about the same time, the citizens were so encouraged thereby, that they resolutely opposed his entrance; and though he made a desperate attempt to carry the bridge by storm, he was forced to desist, with some loss, notwithstanding that he sent part of his army cross the river to assault the city in another quarter; at the same time one part of his detachment actually made their way into the city through Aldgate, but were driven out again, by the valour of alderman Robert Basset and the citizens.

The bastard of Fauconbridge (for by that name this adventurer was known) finding himself thus baffled, and that his men, defeated of their hopes of plunder, began to desert him, embarked on board his ships, which lay at Blackwall, in the river Thames, and sailed round to Sandwich, whither king Edward, who, upon the advice of this disturbance, had returned in great haste, with a party of three thousand men, to London, pursued him, and, reducing the town, took the bastard prisoner, whom he caused to be immediately executed: and thus an end was put to the last enterprize of the Lancastrian party for recovering the crown of England.

All the legitimate male issue of that house now became extinct in the person of the hapless Henry VI. who, on the twentieth of June this year, died suddenly in his prison of the Tower. Though he

was wholly given up to devotion, and seemed utterly insensible to the cares of ambition, yet he could not but sensibly feel the heavy afflictions that now fell upon him at once, particularly the inhuman butchery of his only son, and the captivity of his queen; his feeble frame sunk beneath the weight of so many calamities, and he died overwhelmed with grief, which probably brought on an apoplexy, for he was found dead in his bed between eleven and twelve at night. It has been industriously handed down by a number of historians, particularly those of the Lancastrian faction, that the duke of Gloucester slew him with his own hand; but that prince's memory has been loaded with this crime without any sufficient authority; and if an act of that kind was really perpetrated, it seems much more reasonable to impute it to the bloody jealousy of Edward, who had now little about him of a man besides his form and his follies, and who, from the late insurrection under the bastard of Fauconbridge, might suppose that he could never be safe on the throne while Henry was alive. But the truth is, no authority can be found to prove that Henry died a violent death; on the contrary, it is on all hands allowed that his corpse was conveyed to St. Paul's church, and from thence to Black-friars, at both which places it lay for some time exposed to public view; a circumstance which ill agrees with a private murder. His remains were afterwards deposited in the abbey of Chertsey, from whence they were removed by Richard III. and interred in a more pompous manner at Windsor.

Edward, now seeing himself in firm possession of the crown of England, which had cost him so much perjury, dissimulation, and bloodshed to acquire, thought proper to create his son Edward prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester, which he did on the twenty-sixth of June this year; and, though he had seen sufficiently, by his own practice and that of others, how weak an influence oaths have upon the actions of mankind, when forced upon them, yet he thought it no unnecessary precaution to assemble, on the third day of July, ten bishops, five dukes, six earls, fourteen barons, sir William Courtney, and ten other of the most considerable among the knights, in the Parliament-chamber at Westminster, where they swore to maintain and support the succession of the crown in his family, and took the oath of eventual allegiance to his son Edward, prince of Wales.

Shortly after, Edward granted a pardon to William of Wanefleet, bishop of Winchester, and seven other prelates, who had adhered to the house of Lancaster. From the beginning of his reign to the end he always carried it fair with the clergy; however, George Neville, archbishop of York, was sent by him into exile, and imprisoned in the castle of Guisnes, near Calais, for several years, during which time Edward enjoyed the revenues of his see, after having seized all his other effects. The dignity of great-chamberlain of England, vacant by the death of Warwick, was conferred on the duke of Gloucester, who afterwards resigned it to his brother Clarence, on being appointed constable. The government of Calais was bestowed upon Anthony Woodville, earl Rivers, the queen's brother; but the garrison refused to admit any person in that quality except the lord Hastings, who was therefore appointed governor, and sir John Howard was nominated his deputy.

The

The remaining part of the year was employed in negotiations with different potentates, of which we shall proceed to give a cursory account. The first was with James III. king of Scotland. During the troubles in England, the truce between the English and Scots had been frequently violated, contrary to the intention of the two kings: after Edward's restoration, James sent ambassadors to propose a congress, and it was agreed that one should be held at Alnwick, in Northumberland, on the twenty-fourth of September, for a mutual reparation of the outrages committed by the two nations upon one another. The two kings were equally desirous to preserve the truce, and even to conclude a final peace; this negotiation, however, was not ended till the year 1473. It appears in the Collection of Public Acts, that Edward empowered his ambassadors to propose a marriage between the king of Scotland and one of his daughters: but more of this in the sequel.

On the thirtieth of September he renewed a treaty of commerce and truce for thirty years with Francis II. duke of Brittany. This confirmation was necessary, as the truce made during the earl of Warwick's administration had been often violated.

Lewis XI. was very sensible Edward had no reason to be pleased with him: but, however, he made him proposals of a truce, as that made with Henry VI. was of no force now Edward was restored. In the present situation of the English affairs, it was by no means proper for Edward to renew the war with France: his kingdom was too much exhausted to think so early of such an undertaking; therefore, without much entreaty, he agreed to continue the truce from the first of September this year, to the first of May following.

Edward, however, did not place so much dependence on these truces as to neglect the necessary means either for defending his realm, or attacking his enemies; and a parliament meeting on Tuesday the sixth of October, at Westminster, he obtained from the commons a supply of fourteen thousand archers; and from the lords spiritual and temporal, a grant of the tenth of their rents and the profit of their estates. The thirtieth of November the house was adjourned to February following.

The years 1472 and 1473 were neither of them distinguished by so many great and important events as the last; they were wholly spent in negotiations tending to settle the tranquility of the king and kingdom, by truces or alliances with foreign princes. Edward was particularly careful to prevent every possible cause of discontent with the duke of Burgundy's subjects; for this purpose he appointed commissioners for settling all commercial differences, and to conclude a final peace with the Hanse towns*. A congress was accordingly held at Utrecht; but it was not till the year 1474 that all difficulties were adjusted. Edward also, by his letters patent, confirmed the ancient alliance between Richard II. and John, king of Portugal, for them and their successors.

But while Edward was thus providing for his security abroad, his peace at home was interrupted by the arrival of John de Vere, earl of Oxford, in England. Of all the noblemen whom his cruelty had made his enemies, none were more determined than Oxford: this earl, who was a zealous favourer of the house of Lancaster, had retired into France after the battle of Tewkesbury; but as he met with a cold reception from Lewis XI. who did not chuse to quarrel with Edward, he resolved to return to his native country, and maintain his ground to the last drop of his blood. With this view he shut himself up, with only seventy followers, within St. Michael's Mount, in Cornwall. Edward, ever fearful that the least spark of resistance left unextinguished, might rekindle the flame which had threatened the destruction of his house, lost not an instant in providing against it: he ordered Fortescue, one of his favourites, to march immediately with some troops into the West, and besiege the earl in his strong hold. Though Vere had no chance of either escaping or of holding the place out for any time, he boldly stood a siege; but being at length obliged to surrender, through a scarcity of provisions, he was sent prisoner, with two of his brothers, the lord Beaumont, and sir Thomas Clifford, to London, where the regard which all ranks of people had for the earl, prevented Edward's accustomed cruelty from taking place. The earl and his two brothers had their lives spared; but the former had his estate confiscated, without any provision being left for himself or countess, even the common necessities of life; and the earl himself was sent prisoner to the castle of Guisnes, where he remained as long as Edward lived.

But John Holland, duke of Exeter, who had been in confinement ever since the battle of Barnet, had entreated his wife, who was Edward's sister, to employ her good offices for his release; but that princess preferring her affection for her brother to that for her husband, abandoned the latter in his distress, and received from Edward a separate allowance. Upon this the duke found means to get out of his prison, and no one knew what was become of him, till he was found dead, some months after, on the sea-shore in the county of Kent.

This nobleman was the last branch of the house of Lancaster that could give Edward any disturbance, except the earl of Richmond, who resided at the court of Brittany, with his uncle Jasper, earl of Pembroke; and although these were in no condition to interrupt the quiet of his reign, he eagerly desired to have the young earl in his power: he accordingly sent over an embassy to the duke of Brittany, pressing him to deliver up these noblemen; but that duke pleading the protection he had granted, and the ties of blood, excused himself from complying with this request; though, at the same time, he gave Edward the most solemn assurances, that he would keep them in such a manner that they should never disturb his government.

The parliament, which had, by different prorogations, sat almost two years, passed an act, on the

* These are certain towns in Germany, confederate for the benefit of trade. They are so called from the word Hanse, signifying Alliance. Bremen, in Lower Saxony, is said to have been founder of this confederacy, about the year 1164. How many towns were associated at first is not known: but the design so visibly prospered, that most of the chief trading places in Europe, to the number of seventy-two, entered into

the confederacy. In the flourishing times of their alliance, these Hanse towns had four general staples viz. London, Bruges in Flanders, Bergen in Normandy, and Novogrod in Russia. At present the Hanse Towns are in a manner reduced to these six, Lubeck, Hamburgh, Bremen, Rostock, Dantzick, and Cologne.

sixth of October, 1473, for the resumption of all grants of lands and offices, in order to improve the royal revenues. The king of Portugal this year demanded the restitution of some vessels, which had been taken by the English from his subjects; but as it appeared, in the course of the inquiry, that they had been pillaged by the bastard of Fauconbridge, during his rebellion, the king of Portugal desisted from his demand. In this parliament the earl of Northumberland was restored to the honours and estates of his family; and Edward, willing to testify his gratitude to Lewis de Burges, lord of Gruytheuse, by whom he had been so hospitably entertained in Holland, created him a peer of England, by the title of earl of Winchester; and afterwards, by letters patent, allowed him to bear the arms of England in his escutcheon. We now come to the year 1474, which will afford us a greater plenty of matter.

Notwithstanding the cold reception which the duke of Burgundy had given Edward during his exile, the political interests of the two nations were so closely connected, that the English monarch was still obliged to maintain a friendly correspondence with that duke, and this correspondence now became more frequent than ever; for the duke of Burgundy having continual reasons to be disgusted with Lewis XI. whose restless and turbulent disposition would not suffer any of his neighbours to be at peace, saw no other way to free himself from the persecutions of his enemy, than to engage the king of England to make a powerful diversion in France; and, in order to effect this purpose, he sent ambassadors to England in the beginning of the year 1474, furnished with very ample powers for concluding a treaty for undertaking the conquest of France jointly with the king of England. The duke of Brittany was in the secret of this negotiation, and it was so privately carried on that Lewis, notwithstanding the good intelligence he generally had, got his first information of it from the court of Scotland, the king of which at that time was in treaty of marriage with Edward, for his son James with the princess Cicely, Edward's youngest daughter. Lewis thereupon sent one of his ministers to Scotland, to thank James for his intelligence, and to endeavour to keep him firm to the ancient treaties between the two crowns.

It was the twenty-first of July this year, before matters could be adjusted, for the great undertaking of the conquest of France, between Edward and the duke of Burgundy. On that day is dated the duke's convention for assistance to Edward: in the preamble of this act, the government of France is loaded with the most horrible imputations; Lewis is termed its usurper, and Edward its lawful king. This convention, which is mutual, stipulates,

"I. That before, or about, the first day of July 1475, Edward should be in readiness, with an army of upwards of ten thousand men, to land in France, for the recovery of the duchies of Normandy and Guienne in particular, and the kingdom of France in general.

"II. The duke of Burgundy engages to assist him in person with all his force, towards the said recovery, against Lewis and all others.

"III. The third article propounds that Edward shall listen to no propositions, nor so much as ad-

mit any messages, or letters, without consent of the duke, from Lewis or any possessing the crown of France. This article is mutual.

"IV. Both powers, as soon as they should declare war, were, throughout their dominions, to proclaim Lewis as their common enemy, and to distress him in all convenient places, so as to be within reach of one another's assistance.

"V. By the fifth article, both parties, and their lieutenants, are obliged to march to one another's assistance in all places of necessity or danger.

"VI. The sixth article provides, that neither prince shall give over the war while the other is willing to continue it; and that if either is absent from the army, his lieutenant shall be bound to obey the prince that is present; and that both shall agree in their winter-quarters, and in finishing their campaign: nay even after both parties were retired to winter-quarters, if either prince thought fit again to take the field, with all, or part of his army, the other prince, or his lieutenant, was obliged to do in like manner."

Next follows what the records call "a letter of agreement between the two contracting parties," but it is only in general terms, and Edward by it promises to relieve France from the hardships she suffered under the government of Lewis, and to restore banished justice; he likewise renews his former engagements with the duke of Burgundy. Then follow what they call "explanation of the articles concerning the mutual quotas of troops."

"It is agreed, that when either party make the requisition of six thousand men (which either party might do of the other), the party so required was obliged to pay three thousand six hundred of them out of his own pocket, in case the other party was engaged in a war for his own defence; while the remainder was to be paid by the party requiring: but if the war was undertaken from other motives than self-defence, then the requiring party was to be at the expence of all the six thousand. This treaty was held to be perpetual."

The next article stipulates, "That the duke of Burgundy should, in consideration of the assistance he was to give Edward, have the duchy of Barr, the earldoms of Champaign, Nevers, Retel, Eu, and Guise; the barony of Ducie, and the lordship of Tournay, the city and lordship of Linghen, the town and castle of Pequigney, all the towns with their lordships on each side of the Somme, and all the estates of the earl of St. Paul, not holding of the duchies of Normandy and Guienne; all which he was to hold without any resort, independent of Edward, or any of his successors; as he was to do all the rest of his dominions, which he then held of the crown of France."

We have next a more particular convention between Edward and the duke, by which the latter obliges himself "to furnish to the former any number of men not under ten thousand, nor above twenty, whenever he should be required; the wages and particular provisions for these men are likewise stipulated." Edward next promises to pay those troops regularly; and in case he was a year in arrear, that the duke should not be obliged to furnish him the next year. He then stipulates, "That, notwithstanding any convention between him and the duke, he should be crowned at Rheims*."

* Rymer, vol. xi. p. 806, 807, 808, 809, &c.

These treaties being ratified and approved by the parliament, now in the fifth session, which granted the necessary supplies, the king began to issue commissions for levying troops, and in the mean time sent ambassadors to the different courts of Europe, to form new alliances, or at least to prevent the union of the several powers with his enemy; and he secured the commerce of his subjects, and his realm from invasion during his absence, by renewing the truce with Scotland, which having, ten years before, been agreed on till October 31, 1479, was now renewed for four years longer. This was farther cemented by a contract for a marriage between the princess Cecily, Edward's youngest daughter, not yet five years old, and James, eldest son and heir of James III. king of Scotland, not yet three years of age; and in case either of the parties died, his or her place was to be supplied by another of the same sex respectively. A jointure was settled; the sum of twenty thousand marks fixed for the young princess's portion, to be paid by stipulated sums at different times; but to be refunded if the marriage was not completed when the parties came to be of a fit age, or, through any accident, did not take effect: the two kings engaged mutually to assist each other in suppressing all rebellions, and to give neither countenance, aid, or protection to any rebels whatever.

On the first of February, 1475, Edward directed his letters to almost all the sheriffs and magistrates in England, for a rendezvous of his troops by the twenty sixth of May, at Portsmouth, in the county of Southampton. The army accordingly assembled to the number of thirty thousand; and, what is very extraordinary, those all of them Englishmen, a circumstance which was peculiar to this Edward, his great predecessors Edward III. and Henry V. having under them, in all their expeditions, great numbers of French and foreigners.

On the twelfth of June, the lords Audley and Duras had a commission to command three thousand auxiliaries, in the duke of Brittany's service: and on the twentieth of that month, the army being embarked, Edward, after leaving his son, the prince of Wales, not yet five years old, guardian of England, sailed over to Calais; and his troops, mindful of the great conquests which their ancestors had made in the French dominions, flattered themselves with the prospect of the same good fortune.

But all their sanguine hopes were blasted, when they saw themselves joined by the duke of Burgundy with no more than his ordinary equipages, and not a soldier attending him. That prince, transported by the violence of his temper, had carried his armies to a great distance, and employed them in wars on the frontiers of Germany and against the duke of Lorraine: when Edward justly reproved him with his remissness in executing his part of the convention between them, he excused himself by pretending that his army would soon be re-assembled, and by putting into the king's hand a letter from the count St. de Pol, constable of France, promising to deliver up St. Quintin immediately to the English. Edward appeared somewhat satisfied upon reading this letter; and, in full confidence of its contents, he advanced towards Peronne, and sent off a detachment to take possession of St. Quintin. Being arrived at Peronne, he was acquainted that his detachment had not only been refused admittance into

St. Quintin, but lost some men by a sally from the garrison. The duke of Burgundy in vain laboured to re-inspire the English with confidence, after this instance of dissimulation; and beginning to be apprehensive about the safety of his own person, the next morning, under pretext of setting out for his army, he took his leave of Edward, without giving any orders for the subsistence or accommodation of his allies.

Edward perceiving that there was no dependence to be placed on so thoughtless and treacherous an ally, resolved to depend upon his own strength for making conquests. He had brought with him as fine an army as had ever entered France from this country, was attended by all the considerable noblemen of his kingdom, and his forces were provided with all necessaries, and qualified in every respect to force its way from one end of France to the other.

Lewis saw this, and trembled; more influenced by political considerations than the vain punctilios of honour, he thought no submissions too mean, which could deliver him from enemies who had proved so formidable to his predecessors, and who again threatened to involve the kingdom in the like calamities which it had suffered by their victorious arms. Edward, upon his landing at Calais, had sent an herald with a letter to Lewis, demanding the crown of France, and giving him defiance in case of refusal. Lewis received the letter with great moderation, and was so far from treating this bravado with that contempt and indignation which a prince of less prudence would have discovered, that he replied in a very mild and gentle manner, and even made the herald a handsome present: this so won upon the latter, that he gave Lewis a hint, that the lords Howard and Stanley, who had Edward's ear, would not be inaccessible to any application from Lewis. The French king took the hint, and it afterwards did him great service.

For hearing that Edward was now preparing to enter Artois, he took an occasion to send an herald to the English camp, and gave him directions to apply to the lords Stanley and Howard, who, he was informed, were inclined to a peace, and whose good offices he earnestly solicited towards effecting an accommodation. The two lords interested themselves warmly in this project; and Edward himself being equally dissatisfied with the duke of Burgundy, for failing in his engagements, and with the constable of St. Pol for his treachery, was the more disposed to hearken to Lewis's proposals: in fine, the matter being debated in the cabinet-council, it was resolved to agree to a treaty for free commerce with France, and a truce for seven years, on the following terms.

"That Lewis should pay seventy-five thousand crowns to indemnify Edward for the expence of the expedition, on receipt of which the king of England should immediately retire with his forces. That Lewis should likewise grant him an annuity of fifty thousand crowns for their joint lives, by two equal half-yearly payments, the first to commence at Easter next following. That the dauphin of France should espouse Elizabeth, daughter of Edward, and settle sixty thousand livres a year upon her, as a jointure. And that neither party should encourage civil wars in the other's kingdom; but that both parties should assist each other in suppressing the insurrection of their subjects."

We

We know of no manner of objection made on the part of the French king against these preliminary demands, which being accepted, an interview was agreed upon between the two kings at Pecquigny, after a seven years truce was proposed and agreed upon. The lord Howard and John Cheney, esq. were pledges from Edward for his performance.

The duke of Burgundy no sooner heard what had passed between Edward and the king of France, than he posted to the English camp, and severely upbraided Edward with his breach of the alliance subsisting between them: but the latter set his own conduct before him in so strong a light, that the duke had little left to say: in a word, neither his opposition, nor that of the duke of Gloucester, Edward's brother, who, enraged to see the fine prospects he had formed by the conquest of France, now about to vanish, could divert Edward from his resolution of giving Lewis the meeting. This interview was held between the two kings on the twenty-ninth of August, near Pecquigny, on a bridge built quite across the Somme: in the middle of the bridge was a box, which was divided into two by a lattice, the openings of which were but just large enough for thrusting a man's head through them; and on each side the lattice was a room for twelve persons. A short compliment passed between the two monarchs, and the articles that had been agreed upon being produced, both kings swore to observe them: after this, the attendants being ordered to withdraw, they had a private conference, the result of which was, that if the duke of Burgundy and the constable de St. Pol should refuse to take the benefit of the treaty, the king of France was left at full liberty to treat them in what manner he pleased; but as to the duke of Brittany, Edward gratefully declined abandoning him; and Lewis finding this, insisted no longer upon it: but by another circumstance of this agreement, Lewis gained an advantage which contributed greatly to the aggrandizing of the French monarchy; for on this occasion he persuaded Edward to release Margaret of Anjou, for the ransom of fifty thousand crowns: to this Edward consented, though not till Lewis had engaged to get a full discharge from Margaret of all her claims upon the crown of England for her dower. This unfortunate princess was released the November following, and Lewis punctually paid the money. Full of gratitude to her deliverer, Margaret, the following year, signed a conveyance of all her right of succession to Provence and Anjou to Lewis and his heirs, and confirmed it afterwards by her will at her death, which happened in 1482. Thus Lewis became the sole heir of all those dominions, which by this means became united to the crown of France.

This interview being ended, the two kings parted extremely well satisfied with each other. Lewis, however, appears to have been struck with terror at the sight of the English army: he was of that genius, that he bought peace if he could at

any rate; but if forced upon a war, no prince acted with greater resolution, and few had better fortune. Commynes, who was an eye and ear-witness of all these transactions, tells us that Lewis dreaded nothing so much as Edward's taking a liking to France; and wished above all things, that he would return to his own kingdom†. And he was so much afraid of the other's breaking his engagements, that he bestowed considerable pensions upon the principal members of Edward's council*, that they might exert their endeavours in persuading their master to adhere to the treaty.

If we candidly examine all the circumstances of this treaty, we cannot give our assent to the representations of those historians, who, without foundation, have magnified the wisdom of Lewis on this occasion, and pretend that the English were his dupes. It is plain, that the French king did not dispute any one article prescribed him by Edward; and though it was afterwards disputed between the French and English, whether the annual payment of fifty thousand crowns was to be styled a pension or a tribute, the former being willing to consider it in the first light, and the other in the latter, yet I think we may with the strongest reason give the name of tribute to this annuity: this seems to be implied by the word "Census," put in the title of acquittances and other instruments relating to the payment, though all words expressing either, seem to be industriously avoided in all such instruments: again, as the court of France never granted a pension to any foreign prince, without receiving for it an oath of fealty and an act of homage (neither whereof were required in this case); and as Edward in the treaty styles Lewis only his cousin of France, this annuity seems to be a sort of tributary compensation for Edward's delaying his claim upon the crown of France, occasioned by this truce: and the following circumstance, given us by Commynes, strongly proves that the French court dreaded nothing so much as an altercation on this point.

"One of the English (says that historian) told me, that had the duke of Burgundy joined them with his army, perhaps the peace had not been concluded. The viscount of Narbonne over-hearing him, replied, "Could you be so weak as to believe the duke of Burgundy wanted a great number of good soldiers? he had only put them into quarters of refreshment; and you were in such haste to be at home again, that six hundred pipes of wine, and a pension from our king sent you back into England." The Englishman was in a passion, and answered with much warmth, "Do you call the money your king gave us, a pension? It is a tribute: and, by St. George! you may prate so much as will bring us back again to prove it." I interrupted them (adds Commynes) and turned it into a jest; but the Englishman would not understand it so. When I informed the king of it afterwards, he was highly offended with the viscount

† The interview being ended, Lewis repaired to Amiens, attended by the lord Howard, who was left as an hostage for Edward's performance of the articles of the treaty; and while the king was washing his hands, after supper, this nobleman whispered in his ear that Edward might easily be persuaded to take a journey to Paris: Lewis made no answer to this hint until it was repeated, and then he said, that the war which he was carrying on with the duke of Burgundy would not allow him to go to Paris, and therefore he was very sorry he could not have the honour of receiving the visit of the English mo-

narch. "Edward (said he privately to Commynes) is a very handsome and amorous prince; some ladies at Paris may be as fond of him as he shall be of them, and may invite him to return in another manner." Commynes, liv. iv. chap. 10.

* The lords Hastings and Howard, the bishop of Lincoln, the master of the rolls, the marquis of Dorset, sir Anthony St. Leger, with six or eight more of Edward's chief counsellors, all received yearly stipends from the French court; and all but the lord Hastings gave acquittances for the same. Commynes, lib. vi. chap. 2.

of Narbonne." Commynes could speak of these things with certainty, since he was in Lewis's service and confidence. At length, however, Lewis was rid of all his fears by the departure of the English, who returned to their own country extremely well pleased with the relish of the French wine, and the goodness of the French money.

The duke of Burgundy, at parting with Edward at his last interview, had sworn that he disdained the mediation of England so much, that he would not be comprehended in the truce, nor enter into any negociation with Lewis until three months after the English army had arrived in their own country; but he soon found reason to retract his declaration, and within a very few days, viz. on the thirteenth of September, he made a truce for nine years with Lewis. As to the constable St. Pol, who had deceived the three princes, and been the principal author of their division, he saw himself forsaken in the end by all, and forced to retire into the duke of Burgundy's dominions, upon the faith of a safe conduct; but, notwithstanding that security, he was delivered up by the duke to Lewis, who commanded his head to be struck off; a just retaliation upon a person who had so scandalously juggled with both parties.

Edward being now at peace with all his neighbours, and having no insurrection to dread at home, applied himself to the administration of justice, and filling his coffers. The disbanding of the army, lately returned from France, had filled all the roads with robbers, and nobody could travel without danger of losing their lives or effects: to remedy this grievance, the king, early in the spring of 1476, made a circuit with his judges through the kingdom, and exerted himself on this occasion with such vigour and impartiality, that he restored the public peace, that had been so greatly injured. The nation had shewn itself so discontented with the miscarriage of the late expedition, from which it had entertained such sanguine expectations, that Edward was deterred from asking any farther supplies from parliament, and therefore had recourse to other methods of accumulating treasure: he engaged in commerce, which he carried on to a great extent as a private merchant; he sold the profits of vacant prelacies; he demanded fines for the restitution of temporalities; he ransacked old records to find defective titles, and obliged the proprietors to pay large sums for their confirmation; and he imposed exorbitant taxes upon the clergy. By these methods he amassed large sums, the vice of avarice growing stronger as his wealth increased and his age advanced: the time not employed in these cares, he chiefly passed in female conversation and amusements; and his court, from the example of its head, became a scene of lust and lewdness.

In this cessation of every manly employment, the reader is to expect very little business: the ancient treaties, however, with the king of Denmark were now renewed; as also those with the Hanse Towns, in Germany, and with the court of Castile. The open demonstration of friendship which Edward had given towards the duke of Brittany, made him imagine that duke would readily embrace an opportunity of shewing his acknowledgement; he therefore sent ambassadors to him, under colour of renewing their truce; but the true end of their commission was to propose the delivering up of the earl of Richmond, pretending that Edward, de-

sirous of reconciling the jarring factions of York and Lancaster, proposed to marry young Henry to one of his own daughters. The duke of Brittany, a good prince, judging of others by himself, agreed to deliver up Richmond and his uncle, the earl of Pembroke: and the ambassadors having got them into their hands, carried them with all speed to St. Malo's, there to embark; but the duke's ministers representing to him how infamous it would make him appear in the eye of the world, should the two princes fall victims of Edward's jealousy, which was most probable, he, upon recollection, confessed the justness of the remonstrance, and forthwith dispatched his favourite, Landois, post to prevent their embarkation. Landois arrived just time enough; the earl and his uncle were on the point of embarking, but Landois found means to draw them aside, and gave them intimation of his errand; thereupon they instantly took refuge in a church, from whence Landois told the English ambassadors they could not be taken, and those latter were forced to depart without their prey; and when they came to England, their failure brought them into disgrace, and embittered all Edward's enjoyments. Thus, by a sort of miracle, Henry, earl of Richmond, escaped the danger to which he was exposed, Providence having preserved him on this occasion, in order to place him one day on the throne of England. The rest of the year 1476 affords nothing remarkable concerning the affairs of England, except the death of the duke of Burgundy. This prince possessed the ambition as well as the courage and intrepidity of a conqueror; but being destitute of policy and prudence, qualities no less necessary, he was unsuccessful in all his enterprizes, and perished at last in a battle against the Swiss, in the forty-sixth year of his age, leaving behind him an only daughter, Mary, who, as she was heiress of his extensive dominions, was earnestly courted by all the potentates of Europe.

The death of the duke of Burgundy afforded Lewis an opportunity of procuring this match for the dauphin, and by that means of adding to the crown of France all the provinces of the Low Countries, together with Burgundy, Artois, and Picardy; but Lewis had conceived such a violent and implacable hatred against the house of Burgundy, that he determined to reduce the young duchess by force of arms; and entering her dominions with his troops, in the spring of 1477, he made himself master of the duchy of Burgundy, and of that part of Picardy which had been yielded to Philip the Good by the treaty of Arras: but the states of the Netherlands were so incensed at his base and ungenerous proceedings, that they bestowed their sovereign on Maximilian of Austria, son of the emperor Frederic, from whom they hoped for relief in their present distress. Thus was France deprived of the opportunity, which she could never after regain, of enlarging her dominions by the addition of those fertile and beautiful provinces; and the marriage of the duchess with Maximilian not only changed the face of affairs, but introduced a new system of politics into Europe: nay it may be said to be the first and principal source of most of the wars wherewith we have been troubled ever since. But it is now time to take a view of affairs in England.

It appears, that the administration was wholly engrossed by the queen and her relations, who were
now

now become extremely unpopular, not only by their continually grasping at all power, but also by the haughtiness of their demeanor, and the pride they seemed to take in opposing, on all occasions, the king's brothers. Richard duke of Gloucester, who was naturally close, reserved, and deliberate, managed so with them as not to come to an open breach; but George, duke of Clarence, a weak prince, of great pride, ambition, and impetuosity, could not suppress his indignation, which was continually breaking out into threats and invectives.

This behaviour, doubtless, increased the aversion of the queen and her family to Clarence; and an event which happened about this time, contributed to heighten the animosity between them, and seems to have laid the first foundation for the duke's untimely fate: George having lost his wife Isabel, daughter of the late earl of Warwick, a short time before the death of Charles, duke of Burgundy, applied to his sister Margaret, duchess dowager of Burgundy, who loved him above all her brothers, for employing her good offices to bring about a match between him and her step-daughter, Mary, the heiress of Burgundy. It was the most desirable alliance for England that could be formed; and Margaret used her utmost endeavours to effect it: but Edward, king of England, having gotten intelligence of this negotiation, by means of Lewis XI. (who strove all in his power to keep the English court in good humour), and being jealous of his brother's elevation to so great a sovereignty, or biased by the queen, who wanted to secure this match for her own brother, Anthony Woodville, earl Rivers, threw such obstacles in the way, as allowed time and means for the emperor Frederic to succeed in behalf of his son Maximilian.

It is natural to suppose that such treatment would not fail to exasperate the mind of Clarence, who shewed his resentment by coming less frequent to court, by saying little or nothing in the privy-council, and carefully avoiding seeing his brother Edward in private. This behaviour occasioned a coldness and reserve in the king towards Clarence, who now complained of the measures of the court with greater vehemence than ever. This inconsiderate conduct served only to facilitate the designs of his enemies, every motion of his being watched, every peevish expression aggravated, and every action misrepresented, or wrested to render him suspected. In this his brother Richard, duke of Gloucester, is said to have had a principal hand, who having already formed a design to seize the crown at the death of their elder brother, whose spirits and health were daily wasted by his excessive indulgence in pleasure, thought the only means to secure success to his enterprize, would be to remove Clarence out of the way, who stood between him and the succession, and therefore determined to accomplish his ruin. With this view he artfully inflamed the hatred of that duke against the king, until he wrung from him such expressions as, being afterwards related to Edward, made that barbarous brother, who held no blood dear, if his jealousy was alarmed, gave orders for seizing Clarence, on suspicion of treason against his crown and life; and he was committed close prisoner to the Tower.

A parliament was ordered to meet on Friday the sixteenth of January, 1478, at Westminster; and Henry, duke of Buckingham, was appointed high-

steward of England, to preside at the trial of Clarence, whose accusation was laid in the following articles.

I. For having reflected on the king for putting to death one Burdett, a retainer or vassal of the duke's; and that he, the said duke, had industriously propagated this accusation against his sovereign.

II. That he had accused the king of practising necromantic arts to take off such of his subjects whom he could not reach by law.

III. That he had openly said king Edward was a bastard, and not begotten by Richard, duke of York.

IV. That the said duke had compelled his vassals to take an oath of fealty to him and his heirs.

V. That he had slanderously alleged the king did him wrong, and that he had used witchcraft to deprive him, the said duke, of his life.

VI. Lastly, that he had attempted to avail himself of the act of parliament, by which he and heirs were declared successors to the crown of England, failing the male issue of Henry VI.

The duke denied every part of the charge, and it is certain it would have been very difficult for his enemies to have proved all these articles of impeachment: they seem to have been too sensible of this; and all our historians agree, that he was secretly put to death in the Tower, a few days before his trial was to have come on; and that the duke of Gloucester assisted in this inhuman office, by helping to thrust his head into a butt of malmsey, by which he was suffocated.

The death of the duke of Clarence raised such an outcry among the people, that the court began to grow apprehensive for the consequences; and, to quiet their discontents, gave out that he died of an immoderate debauch of drinking, to which he had taken out of grief for his confinement; but this artifice was not capable of amusing the public, who could not without horror reflect upon a prince of the blood thus dying a prisoner in private, and in the power of his declared enemies. The duke left behind him one son, named Edward, who inherited from his grand-father, by the mother's side, the title of earl of Warwick; and a daughter called Margaret, who was afterwards countess of Salisbury; both of them following their father by a violent death, from the cruel unrelenting suspicion of their kindred kings.

It has been pretended by an old writer (Hall), that Edward was afterwards greatly grieved for the death of his brother, insomuch that when any one sued to him for the pardon of a condemned malefactor, he would break out into this exclamation, "Oh, unfortunate brother Clarence! for whose life not one creature would make intercession!" And yet we find this penitent prince chusing the very time of his brother's untimely fate, to redouble the revels of his court by investing his eldest son, Edward (afterwards Edward V.) with the principality of Wales, the earldom of Chester, and his other estates; and creating his second son, Richard, duke of York; and, though not above two years and a half old, marrying him to Anne, only daughter of John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, and heiress to that title and estate, then about six years old, and her fortune, in case of death, was settled upon the young duke. The rejoicings of Edward and his court on this occasion seemed not so much

on account of the two princes' promotions, as their satisfaction to see the project of the duke of Clarence's ruin effected; and their indecent conduct served only heighten the murmurs of the people.

During these transactions in England, Maximilian, who had married the young duchess of Burgundy, resolved to wrest from Lewis the French king the places he had taken in his bride's country; and he met with such success in his endeavours, on account of the affection of the inhabitants for the house of Burgundy, that, in all probability, he would have recovered the whole duchy, had he been supported by his father, the most covetous, or Edward, the most voluptuous prince of his age: but both of them failed him; the one being loth to part with his money, and the other wholly under the influence of his queen, who resented the refusal her brother Anthony, earl of Rivers, had met with in his pretensions to the young duchess of Burgundy: add to this, that Edward suffered himself to be amused from time to time by Lewis, with flattering promises, that the other never intended to perform; nor had any thing been adjusted all this time relating to the treaty of Amiens. But this year Lewis sent over ambassadors, to offer that both the truce and the payment of the annuity should be continued for one hundred years after the death of each of the kings. To this Edward agreed; but, at the same time he put the French ambassadors in mind, that his daughter Elizabeth was now twelve years of age, therefore capable of matrimony: and that, though the dauphin was yet too young for consummation, yet that was no reason why she should not be betrothed to him, and immediately enter on possession of the sixty thousand livres a year, agreed upon as her appointment, as soon as she came to a matrimonial age. All this was digested into instructions to Edward's residents at the French court, who had orders to make the demand, and betroth the princess to the dauphin.

But Lewis, who had another match in view for his son, put them off, from time to time, with a dilatory answer; and finding that money was the means to prolong Edward's lethargy, he paid off the remainder of the ransom of Margaret of Anjou, and sent over the bishop of Elna, in February of the following year, 1479, to offer security for the payment of fifty thousand crowns annuity for the long term to which it and the truce were now extended. The security which the prelate offered, was the oath of Lewis, together with the bonds of the bank of Medicis, and letters patent confirmed by the estates of France, and the papal authority denouncing excommunication in case of failure. This security effectually quieted Edward's scruples: indeed, the English monarch was grown too indolent to undertake any enterprize that required personal activity, and all that we know of Edward's proceedings this year (1479), was that he entered into a treaty with the duke and duchess of Burgundy, by a marriage between his daughter Anne and their son, a child scarcely a year old; as also another treaty between the prince of Castile and his daughter Catherine, to the same purpose; that he confirmed his alliance with the court of Denmark; and made his infant son Richard, duke of York, lord-lieutenant of Ireland*.

Thus stood matters in England till May, 1480, when Edward, beginning to be uneasy at the shuffling of Lewis, sent over John, lord Howard, to treat with that king, about the speedy celebration of the marriage between the dauphin and Elizabeth, and to adjust the time and place for that princess's coming over to France and taking possession of her dowry; but Lewis was so far from giving any satisfaction on these heads, that, having gained the principal point he had at heart, namely, the preventing Edward from acting offensively on the continent, he no longer thought it necessary to keep measures with the English court, and entered into a treaty with Maximilian of Austria, and Mary, heiress of Burgundy, for marrying the dauphin to their daughter Margaret, an infant of two years of age.

Not contented with this notorious breach of faith, or, perhaps, fearful, that Edward's eyes being opened to his perfidy and dissimulation, he might be tempted, indolent as he was, to take revenge for such indignity, the French monarch, whose prudence was equal to his falshood, endeavoured to avert the impending danger; and, by a proper distribution of presents in the court of Scotland, he prevailed on James III. to break off the marriage which had been stipulated between his eldest son and Cecily, Edward's second daughter, though the Scottish prince had actually received a great part of her portion, and to commence hostilities against England, notwithstanding a truce subsisted at that time between the two nations for forty years to come.

James III. king of Scotland retained all his family affection for the house of Valois: though he had hitherto continued in good correspondence with the court of England, yet it was only by the permission and direction of the king of France. He was governed by a set of low, worthless, and corrupt ministers, at whose instigation he had thrown his brother Alexander, duke of Albany, into prison; but this prince having made his escape, took refuge at the court of England, where James, earl of Douglas, had long found protection: and the Scottish monarch and his favourites making this an handle, it was resolved in his worthless cabinet that England should be invaded. Accordingly, having gotten together an army, they entered the borders; but the Scottish authors and records give us a very blind account of the proceedings of this army: thus much is certain, they did nothing of any moment, probably owing to the disappointments James met with in the supplies he expected from France, and that the duke of Albany and the earl of Douglas had a powerful party attached to their interests among the great men in Scotland; and to distract that kingdom the more, endeavours were used to draw the earl of Ross, lord of the Isles, into their measures.

Edward, who now began to rouse from his lethargy, was equally astonished and incensed at Lewis for the unpardonable affront that monarch had put upon his family in the person of his daughter Elizabeth, who had for some time been distinguished by the appellation of dauphiness, in which she was now supplanted by an infant. Listening to the suggestions of his revenge only, without considering that Lewis, on this occasion, had done nothing

* Rymer, vol. xii. p. 110, &c.

more than retort his own behaviour in the case of the lady Bona, and that his own finances were in a bad state for supporting a war, he resolved to carry fire and sword into the heart of France. But as it was necessary to end his quarrel with Scotland before he embarked in a foreign expedition, he, in the beginning of the year 1481, declared his resolution of marching in person against the Scots, and gave orders for the necessary preparations towards a great expedition.

In the mean time, in order to secure his interest in the continent of France, he renewed his alliance with the duke of Brittany; and, on the twenty-second of June this year, we find him concluding a peace with that prince, which was cemented by a marriage between Edward's son the prince of Wales and the duke's eldest daughter Anne, presumptive heiress of the duchy. Neither of the parties were yet of an age fit for marriage; it was therefore provided by the articles, that if either of them died before consummation, their places should be supplied by brother or sister so long as Edward and Francis should have any children remaining alive of the respective sexes. The dower of Anne was settled at twenty thousand crowns a year, and her fortune at two hundred thousand crowns, if Francis should leave a son to succeed him in the duchy, who in that case was to marry one of Edward's daughters; but if the princess of Brittany inherited her father's territories, a moiety of this fortune was to be remitted: it was farther provided, that in case two sons were born of this intended marriage, the younger should bear the arms of Brittany, be brought up in that country, and succeed his mother in the duchy: the other articles of the treaty provide that each power should furnish to the other, if attacked by France, three thousand archers, to be maintained three months at the expence of the furnishing party*.

On the twentieth of January, 1482, Edward called a parliament at Westminster, in order to obtain a supply for carrying on the war with Scotland; and, on the fifteenth of February, the commons, by the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, granted him such an aid as they thought proportioned to his necessities, by the help of which he was enabled to raise a powerful army, in the mean time: but for some reasons, instead of heading it in person, he gave the command to his brother Richard, duke of Gloucester, with whom he joined Alexander, duke of Albany, younger brother to James III. whom he had engaged to assume the title of king of Scotland, and concluded with him a most infamous contract to depose his brother and usurp his throne. A private treaty was also made between them, in which Alexander promised to do homage to Edward for his crown: he then engaged to break the ancient alliance between France and Scotland, and associate with Edward against Lewis; to surrender Berwick to England; to espouse Edward's daughter Cecily, already affianced to the prince of Scotland, provided he could get rid of his present wife, according to the laws of the church; or, should that be found impracticable, to match his son with some princess of the royal family of England†.

This treaty being ratified, the duke of Gloucester, accompanied by the duke of Albany, began his

march for Scotland, about the latter end of May, and arrived at Alnwick in the beginning of July. The number of men in this army, with their chief commanders, are thus handed down to us by three of our old English historians‡: the first column was led by Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, under whom served the lord Scroop of Bolton, sir John Dukfield, and other persons of distinction, with six thousand seven hundred common men: the second column was commanded by the dukes of Gloucester and Albany, having under them the lords Lovel, and Greystock, sir Edward Woodville, and others, with five thousand eight hundred men: the lord Neville brought up the rear with three thousand. These three columns, which were all foot, were accompanied by two great bodies of horse, to act as wings; the right of which was commanded by the lord Stanley, and consisted of four thousand men of Lancashire and Cheshire; and the left wing was led by the lord Fitz Hugh, assisted by sir William Parr and sir James Harrington, consisting of two thousand men; while a thousand were appointed to guard and attend the ordnance. Besides all these land forces, a fleet was likewise fitted out, under Robert Radcliffe, which was to transport the heaviest of the artillery, and attend the motions of the army. In this order they marched, and formed the siege of Berwick, the town of which presently surrendered, though the castle prepared for a vigorous defence: but the duke of Gloucester having advice that the Scottish nobility, who generally hated James, had risen on their march, murdered three of that prince's chief favourites, and afterwards disbanded their troops, and that James himself had taken refuge in Edinburgh castle, he left the siege of the castle of Berwick to be carried on by the lord Stanley, sir John Elrington, and sir William Parr, with four thousand men, and set out with the rest of the army towards Edinburgh, wasting the country as they advanced; and as James was in no condition to make head against him, they entered Edinburgh in triumph. The duke of Gloucester, unwilling to come to extremities, desired a conference with the nobility at Haddington, a town between Edinburgh and Berwick; when, after some altercation on both sides, it was agreed that the citizens of Edinburgh should give security for the repayment of the sums Edward had advanced as the fortune of his daughter Cicely with the eldest son of Scotland, in case that match should miscarry; that the castle of Berwick should belong to the English; that the duke of Albany should be appointed regent of Scotland, that duke promising to acknowledge James as his sovereign; and the archbishop of St. Andrew's, the bishop of Dunkeld, the chancellor, and the earl of Argyll, obliging themselves to procure a free pardon and safety for the duke's own person, and indemnification to his followers||. This agreement being ratified, the duke of Albany, to his great mortification, found himself obliged to lay aside his late assumed title of king, and do homage anew to his brother James. That prince, however, could not forgive him the part he had acted, and resolved to seize the first opportunity of being revenged: the duke, apprized of his intention, soon after retired to the castle of Dunbar, which he surrendered to the English, after having renewed

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 141, 142.

† Ibid. p. 154, 156.

‡ Hall, Stowe, Hollingshed.

|| Rymer, vol. xii. p. 160—168.

his former treaty with Edward; but, upon that king's death, despairing of succour from England, he repaired to the court of Lewis XI. where he was accidentally killed by a splinter of a lance, in a tournament with the duke of Orleans, afterwards Lewis XII.

The war with Scotland being thus terminated, though in a manner far from honourable or advantageous to Edward or his kingdom, the king then devoted his whole attention towards the prosecution of the revenge he had vowed against Lewis: but, as he was busied in making preparations for this purpose, death put an end to his life and projects, on the ninth of April, 1483, in the forty-first year of his age, and twenty third of his reign. Some writers will have it, that he was carried off by a severe fit of a quartan ague; but it is most probable that his intemperance and incontinency had broke his constitution, and that an ill habit of body, contracted by excesses, terminated his life without any particular visible distemper.

The history of this prince's reign, and what has been already said of his person, his manners, and his political connections, leave little more to be added to his public or private character: we shall only observe, that some writers have shewn an unpardonable impartiality between this king and his brother the duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III. and in the character they have given of them, have, at the expence of truth, blanch'd the memory of Edward, in order to blacken that of Richard. Certain it is, that Edward possessed many amiable qualifications; but they were all disgraced by a dastardly jealousy, which made him seek to drown every rising apprehension in torrents of blood, no matter how noble, or nearly allied to his own; and he could teach his face to wear the bewitching smile of affability, while his breast meditated perjury, revenge, and murder. But we shall forbear enlarging upon this subject, and proceed to close the history of the fourth Edward with an account of his issue.

Edward his eldest son, and Richard duke of York, were all the male lawful issue that out-lived him; his son George, who was born at Shrewsbury, and created duke of Bedford, dying in his cradle.

His daughters were,

1. Elizabeth, born at Westminster on the eleventh of February, 1466; promised in marriage to the dauphin of France; courted by her uncle Richard; and at last married to Henry VII.

2. Cicely, who had been betrothed to the prince of Scotland, but afterwards married to the lord Wells, and had issue two daughters, both of whom died childless. The second husband of this Cicely was one Kyme, of Lincolnshire, by whom she had no children. Her body lies buried in Quarena, in the Isle of Wight.

3. Anne of York, duchess of Norfolk, third daughter of Edward IV. was espoused to Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, earl-marshal and lord-treasurer of England, by whom she had a son, named Thomas Howard, who died young.

4. Bridget of York, his fourth daughter, was born at Eltham, in Kent, on St. Martin's eve, the tenth of November, 1480, in the twentieth year of his reign.

5. Mary of York, fifth daughter, was promised in marriage to the king of Denmark, but died before the consummation thereof, at Greenwich, on the Thursday before Whit-sunday, 1482.

6. Margaret of York, sixth daughter of Edward IV. was born the nineteenth of April, 1472, and died the eleventh of December following, and was buried in Westminster abbey, in the king's chapel.

7. Catherine of York, who was married to William Courtney, earl of Devonshire, and died the fifteenth of November, 1527, leaving issue one son, Henry Courtney.

His natural children, mentioned by writers, were,

1. Arthur Plantagenet, viscount Lisle, begotten on Elizabeth Lucy. And,

2. Elizabeth Plantagenet, married to Thomas, lord Lumley.

They seem, from the name of Plantagenet, to have been owned by their father. But, besides these, there was another, called,

3. Elizabeth (by Catherine, daughter of sir Robert Clavenger, and widow of Thomas Petit), who was married to John ap William, serjeant at arms, and reduced at last to such poverty, that Glover, Somerset herald, who knew her, says she was forced to sue for relief.

There is still another mentioned in a MS. of Thomas Wriothesley, Garter king at arms, called Isabel Mylbery, said to be married to John Audley, esq. brother to the lord Audley.

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES.

In the seventh year of this king's reign the people had an extravagant way of adorning their feet; they wore the beaks or piques of their shoes so long, that they encumbered them in walking, and were forced to tie them up to their knees; the fine gentlemen did it with chains of silver or silver gilt, and others with silk laces. This ridiculous fashion was in vogue ever since the year 1382; but now it was prohibited on the forfeiture of twenty shillings, and pain of cursing by the clergy. The same year the king concluded a league with the king of Castile and Arragon, by which he allowed certain Cotswold sheep to be transported into Spain, where the breed so increased that their fine wool has since proved very detrimental to England.

In the eleventh year of his reign, 1471, William Caxton, a mercer of London, a lover of letters, and author of the Chronicle called *Fractus Temporum*, brought the art of printing into England, and practised it first in Westminster abbey.

In his seventeenth year there was so dreadful a plague, that historians relate more people were destroyed by it than by fifteen years war before.

In his nineteenth year, Robert Byfield, one of the sheriffs of London, was fined fifty pounds by the court of aldermen for affronting the lord mayor; which it seems was only kneeling too near him at prayers, at St. Paul's church.

In the year 1483, the last of this reign, was born Thomas Parr, a Shropshire man, noted for his extraordinary great age. He lived till the year 1635, being then brought up to London by the earl of Arundel, as a great rarity; when he died, after having lived in the reigns of ten kings and queens, and to the age of one hundred and fifty-two years.



Engraved for
MORTIMER'S
History of England.



S. Wale delin.
EDWARD.V.
C. Crispin sculp.

EDWARD V. The second King of ENGLAND of the Line of YORK.
A. D. 1483.

EDWARD IV. was succeeded on the throne by his eldest son, of the same name, who was proclaimed the very day of his father's decease, in London, by the name of Edward V. being then only twelve years, five months, and some days old. Before we enter into the history of this reign, in which the measure of England's guilt was full, it will be necessary to shew the state of the court of England at the death of Edward IV.

Elizabeth Woodville (or Grey), who from a subject was raised to the dignity of queen, held the first rank at court, as well by the privileges common to all queens, as by her great credit. Edward, notwithstanding his libertinism, could never get rid of that weakness for her person which first subdued him into marriage; hence, during his life-time, she had prevailed on him to lavish honours and preferments on all her relations; and hence, at his death, she, by the same influence, got him to leave her and her family in actual possession of all the executive power of the kingdom; nor do we find that either the duke of Gloucester, or any of the old nobility, had any share in the public councils.

It is natural to suppose that this disposition of affairs sat very uneasy upon the latter, and that they could not look upon the queen and her family with any friendly eye: they had shewn it before Edward's death, by retiring from court. The principal members of this party, besides the duke of Gloucester, were Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham; William, lord Hastings; and Thomas, lord Stanley. The first of these was sprung from a daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, and son of Edward III. and enjoyed the office of high-constable; the lord Hastings was high-chamberlain, and possessed a large share of the king's confidence, on account of the many eminent services he had done him; and the lord Stanley was the representative of an ancient family. Edward had not been able, during his life-time, to moderate the animosity of the two rival parties; but fearing that, after his decease, they would come to an open rupture, he on his death-bed, earnestly recommended a reconciliation, to which they in appearance readily agreed: the queen undertook for her brother Rivers, who was absent, and her eldest son, the marquis of Dorset, embraced the duke of Buckingham and the lord Hastings, in the presence of the dying king, with all the marks of the most cordial affection. The duke of Gloucester, who was then in the North, on the affairs of the kingdom, was not present at this ceremony, which bade fair to ruin his deep-laid schemes of usurpation, had not an inward animosity still remained between the parties.

This shewed itself almost as soon as the breath was departed from Edward's body; they forgot their mutual engagements, and each party endeavoured to gain the ascendant over the other by securing the person of the young king, whose name might serve to authorize all their proceedings.

Young Edward, at the time of his father's decease, was keeping his court at Ludlow castle, in

Shropshire, under the tuition of Anthony Woodville, earl Rivers, his mother's brother, who had been appointed his governor; his uterine brother, sir Richard Grey, possessed another very considerable place about his person; sir Thomas Vaughan was his chamberlain, and all the other places in his household were filled with the queen's creatures.

Upon the death of her husband, she dispatched an express to her brother, earl Rivers, to bring the young king up to London, attended by a large body of troops, in order to his coronation, which was fixed for the fourth of May. The intent of the queen and her party in this, was to have a sufficient force at hand to over-awe their enemies, in case they should attempt to obstruct them in the full government of all affairs during the king's nonage.

On the other side, the duke of Buckingham and the lord Hastings sent an express to the duke of Gloucester, acquainting him with the king's death, and the queen's measures, pressing him either to come immediately to town and take on him the protectorship, or to take Ludlow in his way, and assume the guardianship of the king's person. The duke of Gloucester, during the life time of Edward IV. had been greatly embarrassed between the two parties at court: he knew the only way to please the king was to affect a complaisance for the queen; but, on the other hand, as he saw the aim of the latter was to engross the government, and her haughty treatment of the old nobility, he could not be attached to her without forfeiting the affections of the ancient families, of which he might one day stand in need. As he was naturally a great dissembler, he resolved to make his court publicly to the queen, but in private he joined with the duke of Buckingham, the lord Hastings, and their party. On receiving the letters of the above noblemen, he sent to desire they would meet him at Northampton, in order to a conference: thither they accordingly repaired, with a great number of their vassals, and there, in a long and laboured harangue, they represented to Gloucester the danger to which both himself and they would be exposed, should the queen continue to manage the reins of government; and concluded with desiring him to get the king out of the hands of Rivers, and take the helm of state into his own management. Richard required not much entreaty to gratify the favourite purpose of his soul; however, finding that Rivers had got the start of him in point of strength, he had recourse to policy and dissimulation: he caused his nephew to be proclaimed at York, and, taking the oath of allegiance to him, he obliged all the magistrates, with the nobility and gentry of the county, to follow his example: he wrote a letter of condolence to the queen, so full of deference, submission, and kindness, that Elizabeth, who knew little of men or things, fondly imagined that she should find as much obsequiousness from the first prince of the blood, who alone could rival her in the government of her son, as she had found from her late husband.

In the mean time Hastings returned to London, where he was very popular, and, coming to the council, presented letters from the duke of Gloucester, wherein, under pretence of keeping the peace of the nation, he advised them to prevail on the queen to countermand her late order to her brother Rivers, and that the number of troops destined to attend the young king to London, might not exceed two thousand; "for (alleged the artful duke) the raising forces for the defence of the king, at a time when there is not the least appearance of danger, may revive former jealousies and suspicions, and finally involve the kingdom in civil war and confusion." The queen, very imprudently, followed the advice, of which she perceived not the venom, and sent orders to her brother Rivers to disband his forces; with which he was the more readily induced to comply, as the crafty Gloucester had taken care to write to him in much the same style as he had to the queen; his letters were filled with assurances of friendship to him, and with those solemn professions of duty and obedience to the king, which he affected to make upon all occasions, and in all public places. Rivers was completely duped on this occasion; he was weak enough to believe all that was wrote to him: dismissing therefore his forces, he set forth with the young king and his ordinary attendants, and even suffered himself to be trepanned into fellowship, feasting, and even familiarity with the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham at Northampton. It was so contrived that young Edward lay that night at Stoney Stratford; and as earl Rivers, with Buckingham and Gloucester, were going thither the next morning, when they came almost to the entrance of the town, the earl and sir Richard Grey, who had come forth from the king to meet them, were both seized; and Gloucester hastening to the house where the king lodged, took him into his own custody, and secured his principal officers and attendants. It was in vain for the young monarch by his tears and intreaties to intercede for persons so near to him in blood, so dear to his tender years; though no act of exterior respect, reverence, and tenderness were omitted by Gloucester towards the king, yet he lent a deaf ear to his request, and Edward was carried back to Northampton, while Rivers, Grey, and sir Thomas Vaughan, were sent prisoners to Pontefract castle.

The queen was no sooner apprized of these proceedings, than she at once conceived the whole design of the duke of Gloucester, and, considering her brother and two sons as totally lost, fled for refuge in the middle of the night to the abbey of Westminster, accompanied by the duke of York, who was about nine years of age, the marquis of Dorset, and the rest of her family. The lord Hastings, then at London, though he hated the queen and her relations, had yet a sincere affection for his late master, Edward IV. and was unalterably devoted to the young king and his brother: he had been in the secret of Gloucester's taking Edward out of the hands of the earl of Rivers; and, as he had an high opinion of Gloucester's virtue and loyalty, received the news of their design having taken effect with great pleasure; he even wrote to Rotherham, archbishop of York, then lord-chancellor of England, desiring him not to be alarmed at what had happened, as it would all turn out for the good of the nation: and making use of his popularity with the city of London, which began to shew some tu-

multuous inclinations upon hearing of their sovereign being forcibly taken from his friends and relations, he took upon himself to answer for the duke of Gloucester's conduct and loyalty: this pacified the majority of the people; and Gloucester coming to London on the fourth of May, with the king, he carried him to the bishop's palace, where he was attended by the lord-mayor, the magistracy, and a great number of lords. Gloucester, on this occasion, rode bare-headed before his royal nephew, bowing on each side popularly low, and ever and anon crying out to the gaping crowd, "Behold your king! behold your king!" This management, and the king's being lodged among the citizens, entirely removed the scruples they had began to entertain against Gloucester, on account of the affair at Northampton.

The rejoicings for the king's safe arrival being over, it was necessary to settle the government during his minority, which was to last seven years. The great-seal was taken from the archbishop of York, and delivered to John Russel, bishop of Lincoln: the former of these prelates had given Gloucester a very plausible pretence to remove him; for when the queen fled to sanctuary, he hastened thither before day-light, to give her all the consolation in his power, and had even assured her, that if any ill fortune should befall the king, he would immediately crown the duke of York, his brother; and, as an earnest of his sincerity and affection to his former master's family, he had left in her custody the great-seal of England; he had, indeed, sent for it again next morning, but this could not excuse him in the eyes of the faction.

Gloucester, finding no one dare to oppose his will, was, on the twenty-seventh of May, declared protector and defender of the kingdom. All these steps were very agreeable both to the ancient nobility and the common people, as well on account of their general hatred to the queen's family, as that the duke of Gloucester was the only prince of the blood capable of holding the reins of government, and he had carefully concealed his true design from the eye of the world; but knowing that these could be but half completed, unless he could get the duke of York in his power as well as the king, since were the latter removed, the other must stand in his place, Richard therefore, in an artful speech, addressed to the council, grievously complained of the distrustful conduct of the queen, which, he said, "reflected dishonour on all the lords of the council, and would make foreigners expect to see troubles break out in the realm, when the king's brother should seem under a necessity of taking refuge like a common felon in a sanctuary, and that the king should not be attended on his coronation-day (which he declared to be fixed for the twenty-second of June) by his only brother:" in short, he wrought so much upon the council by his plausible arguments, or rather the members were by this time so moulded to his purpose, that the greater part concurred in his sentiments, and it was now proposed to take the young duke away from his asylum by force. Here Gloucester had a fresh opportunity of playing off his artillery of dissimulation: he objected to the least appearance of violence being used towards the young prince, and recommended that the archbishop of Canterbury might be sent, at the head of a deputation from the lords, to make the queen sensible of the impropriety

*The Queen Dowager of King Edward 4th parting
with the Duke of York.*



*To his Grace
Duke of
This Plate is most*



*Thomas Osborne,
Seeds,
humbly Inscribe.*

propriety of her conduct, and to request that she would deliver up the duke, "as the place he was then in was not only a scandalous shelter, but dangerous to his health, and very afflicting to the king, who pined for want of his brother's company *."

The deputation waiting upon the queen, a long conference passed between them, the result of which was, that Elizabeth, seeing, in case of her obstinate refusal, that she should be obliged to do that by force, which was now only respectfully desired of her, and the archbishop pledging his sacerdotal word that the duke of Gloucester did not entertain the least design injurious to the royal family (as indeed the good prelate truly thought), she suddenly caught the young prince in her arms, and, taking a most affecting farewell of him, delivered his person to the lords of the deputation, by whom he was instantly carried to his uncle Gloucester, then waiting for the event of the conference in the Star-chamber, who received the royal youth with dissembled affection, saying, "Now welcome, my lord, even with all my heart." Then taking the child in his arms, he introduced him to the king his brother. This was done on the thirtieth of May, and the protector having now both the princes in his power, he removed them from the bishop of London's palace to the Tower. This step occasioned the less suspicion, as it was the constant practice for the kings of England to pass some time there before their coronation, from whence they always went in cavalcade to Westminster to go through that ceremony.

Now Gloucester was drawing near the summit of his wishes: master of the persons of the king and his next heir, all he required to crown his ambition was to get some of the leading persons among the old nobility to favour and abet his views. Buckingham he had already made sure of, by promising him the earldom of Hereford, which he claimed by a family-right; by his settling in his family the office of high-constable of England, and by lavishing other gifts and preferments upon him even beyond the extent of his wishes: add to this, that he knew Buckingham mortally hated the queen and her family, because it was through their means that the late king had refused to give him possession of the Hereford title and estate. The lord John Howard was actuated by the same principles as Buckingham; a settled hatred to the Woodville family, by whom he had been disobliged: of the lords Stanley and Hastings, between whom there was a great intimacy, he was not yet so sure, and therefore it behoved him to come at their sentiments, those of Hastings in particular, as the least mistake might be fatal to his enterprize.

The protector would gladly have won over the lord Hastings to his interest, both on account of that nobleman's great credit with the people, and a personal friendship he had for him; but finding by sir William Catesby, a tool, whom he had employed to sound him, how inflexibly Hastings was attached to his deceased master's family, and considering how easily his interest, with that of the lord Stanley, might disconcert all his schemes, if once they had sure grounds for believing he aimed at possessing himself of the crown, he resolved upon the destruction of both those lords. In the mean time, to amuse those he had the most reason to ap-

prehend, Richard artfully named a committee to settle the form, manner, and pretensions at the approaching coronation. This committee consisted of the archbishops of Canterbury and York, Morton, bishop of Ely, the lords Hastings, Stanley, and others. Thus business enough was found for them to blind their vigilance, and give Gloucester full scope for completing his treason; who, continuing his dissimulation, issued out writs, on the fifth of June, to upwards of fifty noblemen and gentlemen, summoning them to take the degree of knighthood at the approaching coronation; and, between that and the thirteenth, such pageants and preparations were made as inclined even the most distrustful at last to believe that the protector was in earnest; but the deceitfulness of these appearances soon became manifest.

The duke of Gloucester, desirous to rid his hands of the prisoners at Pontefract, as their death would deprive the royal family of their chief support, now signed a warrant for the execution of the earl Rivers, sir Richard Grey, and sir Thomas Vaughan. The lord Hastings had but too great a share in this sanguinary measure: the queen and her family had done him many ill offices with the late king, and were once very near worming him out of the royal favour; on this account he hated them mortally, and dreaded nothing so much as their getting again into power; but by concurring with the protector in their destruction, he unhappily furnished a precedent for his own.

Richard, as we have already observed, had taken a resolution to remove him, if he could not be gained over to his interests; but he was still willing to have him his friend if possible: he therefore commanded Catesby to try him once more, and even to hint the scheme that was laid for the exclusion of his nephews. Catesby, in this second conference, found Hastings more resolved than ever to oppose any attempt that should be made against the rights or lives of his master's children; which being reported to Richard, he determined to get rid of him without delay.

This resolution being taken, he called a council at the Tower on the thirteenth of June, under colour of finishing the affair of the king's coronation: he came himself at nine o'clock in the morning, and his behaviour was remarkably affable and good-humoured; after a short stay he went out, desiring the lords of the council to continue their deliberations in his absence. In about an hour after his departure, he returned with a furious aspect, knitting his brows, biting his lips, and exhibiting all the marks of the most violent indignation: after a short pause, "My lords (said he), what punishment do those deserve who have plotted against my life?" He then proceeded in a long speech to accuse the queen and her adherents of having practised upon his health and life by necromancy, a pretence common enough in those days, when men in power wanted to get rid of their enemies; and, to confirm the truth of his allegation, he bared his left arm, which was withered, and shewed it to the council, who all stared upon each other, as they knew his arm had always been in that shrivelled condition. The lord Hastings was the first who broke silence, incensed at this infamous piece of deceit in a man he had once so good an opinion of:

"If, my lord (said that nobleman), they have been guilty of such practices—" "How! (cried the protector, interrupting him in a fury), dost thou answer with Ifs and Ands, as if I had forged the accusation? I tell thee, they have conspired against my life, and thou thyself art one of their accomplices!" so saying, he struck the table with his hand, and immediately a number of armed men rushed into the council-chamber, and, at the protector's command, seized Hastings and Stanley, with Rotherham, archbishop of York, and Morton, bishop of Ely; the three last of whom were conducted to prison; but the first, being allowed only half an hour for confessing to the first priest that offered, had his head chopped off on a log of timber, which was found on the green before the Tower chapel. His execution happened, as near as could be judged, about the very hour when the queen's unfortunate relations and friends were, by his advice, suffering the same fate at Pontefract castle.

Glocester being apprehensive that the death of so distinguished a nobleman and so very popular as Hastings was, might, from the illegal and sudden manner of it, occasion a tumult in the city; to prevent it, sent for the mayor and chief citizens, to acquaint them with the reasons of the proceeding: they found him and his confident, Buckingham, cased up in rusty armour, hastily put on over their cloaths, and affecting to be under the terror of an immediate insurrection; the protector, taking the word, told them, "that the lord Hastings, and some others, had formed a conspiracy for killing them both that day in the council; that they had no certain information of it till ten o'clock in the morning, and had no time to provide for their defence, or to put on any armour but what came next to hand: that the suddenness of the execution, without a legal trial, was owing to the imminent danger of an insurrection to rescue him; and his guilt being evident, it was thought proper to inflict the deserved punishment of his crimes immediately, to secure the peace of the nation:" he concluded with telling the mayor and his brethren, "that he had sent for them to be witnesses of the truth, that they might acquaint the people, and prevent or appease the commotions which ill affected persons might endeavour to excite in the city."

The mayor, Edmund Shaw, was a mere creature of the protector's, and of course was easily satisfied with any apology; and causing a proclamation to be made in the city, to the same effect as the speech that had been addressed to him, interspersed with many false and malicious aspersions on the character of Hastings, matters were so ordered, that no disturbance ensued; and the next day sir Richard Radcliffe, a creature of Glocester's, arriving in town with a body of troops from Yorkshire, and others that Buckingham had sent for from Wales, all apprehensions of a forcible opposition vanished, and Glocester now began to be less reserved in declaring his purpose of dethroning his nephew. In the mean time, to give the more colour to his proceedings, he ordered the sheriffs of London to arrest Mrs. Jane Shore, who had been the favourite mistress of the deceased Edward IV. and had, after his death, continued her unlawful commerce with the lord Hastings. This lady too was charged with treason and witchcraft, and having conspired, in concert with the last mentioned nobleman, against the life of the protector; but not being able to fix either

of those charges upon her, she was condemned to do penance through the streets of London for incontinence, and it was by proclamation ordered that no one should presume to accommodate her with lodging, or even food. Notwithstanding this severity she found support, and was alive in the reign of Henry VIII. when sir Thomas Moore, the historian knew her; but she was then without any remains of her former beauty, for which she had been so much renowned.

These proceedings of the protector rather lost than gained him the affection of the Londoners, who began to think the accusation against Hastings and the rest of his friends was all a forgery, calculated to serve the worst purposes. Glocester was therefore put to his last expedient, which was to endeavour to establish a belief of the bastardy of the of the young king and his brother. Pretences are never wanting on such occasions, and they were now furnished by the late king's inordinate passion for the fair sex; it was said that the late king Edward had promised marriage to several of his mistresses, and that he had been actually joined in wedlock to the lady Eleanor Talbot, widow of sir John Boteler, by which means all the posterity of Edward's marriage with the lady Elizabeth Grey, the present queen dowager, became illegitimate. This story was given to Dr. Ralph Shaw, the mayor's brother, an eminent preacher of those days, to handle in such a manner as should be most likely to prepare the minds of the people for approving Richard's title to the crown. Shaw accordingly mounting the pulpit, on Sunday the twenty-second of June, at St. Paul's cross, preached a sermon from these words, "Bastard slips shall take no deep root," (Wisd. of Solomon, chap. iv.) and after setting forth as above represented, he expatiated on the blessings which God usually bestowed on the fruits of the marriage-bed, and the calamities which on the contrary fell upon the children born out of wedlock. He supported his argument with a number of examples, as well from sacred as prophane history: he then warmly asserted Richard's right to the crown, running into a thousand excessive and ridiculous encomiums upon the person of the protector, who he said carried in his air, his countenance, his disposition, and in his whole behaviour, the express image of his illustrious father, Richard, the late duke of York.

It was so contrived, that at the moment when his fulsome periods were closed, the protector and the duke of Buckingham came into the congregation, expecting no doubt peals of applause, and that the people would shout, God save king Richard! but they were disappointed; the people hung their heads in sullen silence, equally enraged at the impudence and the venality of the preacher, who lost all his popularity by this shameful prostitution of his talent.

The protector and his cabal finding the little impression this sermon had made on the audience, it was determined by them, that, on the Tuesday following, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and livery of the city of London, should be assembled at Guildhall, whither the duke of Buckingham was to repair, and in direct terms to propose Richard to be king. Buckingham was universally esteemed the finest speaker of his age and country, and he exerted every nerve of elocution to carry his point; but when he had closed his oration, and waited for the

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C. Grignion sculp.

RICHARD III.

the cry of King Richard ! so sudden a silence ensued, that even the set of hirelings who had been planted to begin the cry, durst not venture to open their venal throats. The duke, vexed to the soul at the stubbornness of the people, could not forbear hinting his disappointment to the mayor, who, not knowing what else to say, answered, that perhaps the people were silent because they used to be harangued only by the recorder, who was the mouth of the city ; upon this he commanded that officer (Thomas Fitz Williams) to speak to the people. He accordingly repeated the substance of the duke's harangue, but still without effect. Upon this the duke, addressing himself again to the assembly, told them in plain terms, " that the lords in council, and the commons of the kingdom, had resolved that no bastard should ever reign over them, and that the election of Richard was a thing resolved on, whether they gave their concurrence or not ; however, he desired they would give their opinion, and answer whether they would have the protector for their king." This speech, which was in the style of a menace, caused a general murmur through the crowd, when some of the duke's creatures, at the lower end of the hall, throwing up their caps, shouted, Long live king Richard ! This acclamation was seconded by a few of the citizens, who had been previously bribed for the purpose, and echoed by the rabble and apprentices who stood without the gate. This the duke pretended to call an universal assent, and ordered the mayor, aldermen, and chief citizens to attend the next day at Crosby Place, where the protector resided, to join with the lords and commons in an address, that his highness would be pleased to ascend the throne and manage the reins of government.

Richard and his junto had previously drawn up an act of succession to the crown, which he got signed by several lords spiritual and temporal, and some principal men among the commons : this roll was the next day presented to him in form, as from the three estates of the kingdom ; the lord-mayor and aldermen, being introduced by the duke of Buckingham and other noblemen, joined their endeavours to persuade him to accept of the crown. This matter was carried on with amazing grimace : the modest and loyal Richard pretended to be greatly surprized at the proposal, which he absolutely rejected, declaring that he loved his brother's children better than all the crowns upon earth. In this strain he went on, till Buckingham, with a well-counterfeited resentment at his obstinacy, roundly told him, " that the people were firmly determined that none of Edward's children should enjoy the throne of England ; and that, if he refused to accept the crown, they must cast their eyes on some other person." In this Buckingham seems to have copied after Mortimer and his faction, when they deposed Edward II. and raised his son, Edward III. prematurely to the throne.

Richard affecting to be greatly moved with this solemn declaration, yielded with hypocritical reluctance to their desires ; and going, the day following, to Westminster Hall, he placed himself in the royal seat, made an harangue to the audience, and gave the judges a strict charge for the due administration of justice. He was the next morning, June 27, proclaimed king in London, and gave the great-seal to John Russel, bishop of Lincoln, declaring him chancellor : from that day all acts of royalty passed in Richard's name, and we must therefore here close the short reign of Edward V.

RICHARD III. commonly called **CROOKBACK.** The third King of **ENGLAND** of the House of **YORK**, and last of the Race of **PLANTAGENET.** A. D. 1483.

THE first care of Richard, after his getting possession of the regal power, was to reward those who had assisted him in his treasonable attempt, and to gain others over to his interest by acts of munificence. The lord Howard, one of his chief favourites, was son to the daughter and co-heiress of Mowbray, duke of Norfolk and hereditary earl-marshal of England ; the Mowbray family being extinct in the male line by the death of John the late duke, Richard, the young duke of York, second son to the deceased king Edward IV. had been married to his only daughter and heiress*, and was made duke of Norfolk and earl-marshal of England : but on this occasion the usurper Richard, by the plenitude of his power, without regarding the infant duke's rights, on the twenty-eighth of June, created the lord Howard duke of Norfolk, and appointed him earl-marshal of England and high-constable, to act as such for his coronation. This promotion was followed by several others : the duke of Norfolk's eldest son, Thomas Howard,

was made earl of Surry and Warren ; William Barclay (or Berkeley) was made earl of Nottingham (a title which had likewise been conferred by the late Edward upon his son the duke of York) ; the lord Lovel was made viscount of that name ; Thomas Rotherham, archbishop of York, was released from prison ; and the lord Stanley was not only set at liberty, but even appointed steward of the household, and made a knight of the Garter : this last promotion, however, seems to have been the effect of fear rather than of favour ; for the lord Strange, Stanley's son, had begun to raise forces in Lincolnshire, and Richard thought this the most likely means of preventing the danger of a rebellion from that quarter.

But the flood-tide of his bounty was directed towards the duke of Buckingham, who so essentially served him on the late occasion : this nobleman received vast sums of money from him by way of present, and was constituted governor of all the royal castles in Wales, and steward of all the royal

* See p. 117, of this volume.

manors in the counties of Salop and Hereford, and chamberlain of North and South Wales; and, besides other posts of profit and power, was made constable of England; he was likewise put in possession of all the lands which he claimed as the next heir in blood to Humphrey de Bohun, last earl of Hereford.

The coronation of Richard and his consort, Anne (daughter of Richard, earl of Warwick), was performed in Westminster abbey, on the seventh of July, with the greatest magnificence; the queen's train was borne up by Margaret, countess of Richmond, wife of lord Stanley and mother to the earl of Richmond, then in exile in Brittany. To give this ceremony a greater lustre, seventeen knights of the Bath were made: in short, no circumstance of pomp or pageantry was omitted; as if the addition of these could supply the defect of right!

Richard, after his coronation, began to think of securing himself on the throne, to which he had mounted by such a series of treachery and dissimulation; and that he might strengthen his power with foreign alliances, and prevent his enemies from receiving any assistance abroad, he, on the twelfth of July, appointed Bernard de la Force his ambassador to the court of Castile, with orders to renew the ancient alliance between that crown and England. The next day he gave the like commission to Thomas Hutton, to treat of the prolongation of the truce with Francis II. duke of Brittany*; probably Hutton had secret instructions to endeavour to procure the earl of Richmond to be given up, or at least to renew the treaty upon that subject between Edward IV. and Francis. On the sixteenth of July Dr. Gunthorpe was made keeper of the privy-seal; and two days afterwards Richard appointed commissioners to treat with the court of France concerning some breaches of the truce, in order to have occasion to confirm it. Lewis XI. of France was now drawing near his last moments, but still retained his old maxims; the infirmities under which he laboured gave him a specious pretence for shifting off any personal connections with the usurper, nor does it appear that he ever entered into any connections with him. The duke of Brittany, though ready to renew the alliance with the crown of England, could not be prevailed on to violate the rights of hospitality, by giving up young Henry of Richmond; but the league with Castile (now governed by queen Isabella and Ferdinand, king of Arragon, her husband) was renewed.

These public affairs being dispatched, Richard resolved upon a progress through some parts of England, and passing through Windsor, Oxford, Gloucester, and Coventry, he at length stopped at York, where he appeared in all the pomp of royalty, with his queen and his son prince Edward (late created prince of Wales, and knighted), and was crowned anew in the cathedral. It was during this progress that, according to all our historians, Richard contrived the making away with the late king's two sons, Edward and Richard, duke of York, that their death happening in his absence,

he might be the less suspected. This murderous commission was given to one sir James Tyrrel, a man fleshed in the ways of blood, and who, having found access to the Tower, is said to have taken away the lives of the two innocent princes by the hands of two ruffians, Miles Forest and John John Dighton, who smothered them in their beds, and buried their bodies under the stair-case†. Various are the opinions of writers concerning this tragedy, some peremptorily charging the whole guilt of it upon Richard, others endeavouring to exculpate him from it. That Richard got the crown by the most infamous and villainous means, is most certain; but their murder seems inconsistent with Richard's cunning and dissimulation; nor can we suppose him so weak a man as to give such a bloody commission under his hand, or put it in the officer's power to blast that reputation which he was so anxious to preserve; besides, it may be considered, that, after what had passed with regard to the illegitimacy of the young princes, it was scarcely worth Richard's while to remove them by murder. That the two princes either died or disappeared about this time, is beyond all doubt, though no historian is absolutely positive as to their fate.

Richard having finished the business of his progress, and received the welcome tidings of the death or removal of his two nephews, he returned to London; but it was only to meet with an inveterate enemy where he thought he had a fast friend; and though he thought his throne secure, as having been recognized king of England by the court of Spain, and the other courts of Europe, he found himself deceived.

We have already seen with what a lavish hand Richard had bestowed honours and riches on the duke of Buckingham, who had been his great friend and support; it happened, however, that Buckingham, presuming too far on his merit, had raised the jealousy or indignation of Richard; and, while they were together at Gloucester, the duke having made some demands which the king thought unreasonable, he gave him such an answer as plainly shewed he was highly displeased. Buckingham, who was haughty, violent, and avaricious, was so offended with the king's refusal, that he desired leave to quit the court to look after his private affairs: Richard, not imagining his denial had made so deep an impression upon the duke, or perhaps despising the effects of his resentment, gave him the leave he desired, and Buckingham quitting Gloucester, retired to his castle of Brecknock, where Morton, bishop of Ely, who had been committed to his custody by Richard, was confined. This prelate was an artful politician, and a zealous friend of the family of Lancaster. As he was known to have great politeness and address, the duke indulged himself in frequent conversations with him, in the course of which it was easy for the bishop to perceive that his noble keeper was highly dissatisfied with the court; he drew a favourable omen from this discovery, which he resolved to improve

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 193, 194.

† In the time of sir Thomas Chicheley master of the ordinance, great heaps of records of bills and answers lying in the Six Clerks Office, were removed to be repositied in the White Tower; and a new pair of stairs were made into the chapel there, for the easier conveyance of them thither. The labourers in digging at the foot of the old stairs, came to a wooden chest,

containing the bones of consumed corps, covered with a heap of stones: which bones king Charles caused to be interred in Henry VIIIth's chapel, near two other royal children, Mary and Sophia, daughters of James I. with a monument of white marble, and an inscription on it in capital letters. Sandford, p. 427—429.

to the advantage of that cause for which he was so warm a stickler: he plied the duke with that judicious flattery which is the key to almost every breast, how reserved soever; he expatiated on the virtues of the duke; thought that services like his were never to be forgotten; and distantly hinted, that the reigning king had been somewhat deficient in gratitude to the man to whom he owed his crown.

Buckingham took fire; he inveighed against Richard in such terms, that emboldened Morton to talk to him more freely: in a word, without detaining our readers with the long conversations which have been recorded by Hall, Hollingshed, and others of our historians, we shall only observe, that they soon came into a scheme for driving the tyrant Richard from the throne, and placing thereon the young earl of Richmond, who, by his mother Margaret, indisputably inherited all the rights of the house of Lancaster, on condition that the said earl should oblige himself upon oath to marry the princess Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of the deceased Edward IV. as this alliance would engage the two families of York and Lancaster in his interest; an expedient which was at once conformable to justice and equity, and admirably well calculated to extinguish the flames of civil war, which had so long desolated the kingdom.

In order to secure this alliance, which was the necessary preliminary to all their future proceedings, they determined to impart their scheme to Margaret, the old countess of Richmond, that she might inform her son of their design, and endeavour to procure the consent of the queen dowager. The bishop being intimately acquainted with one Reginald Bray, a servant of the countess of Richmond, sent for him to Brecknock, where he was charged with instructions to treat and settle these different points; and it appears from several authentic accounts, that this man had credit enough to draw in many of the most considerable personages in England to join in the scheme for recalling the earl of Richmond, and even to get them to appoint a general day of insurrection.

His first step was to gain the queen dowager's consent, and that of the princess Elizabeth; this was done by the mediation of one Dr. Lewis, a Welsh physician, who being consulted in that capacity by both the queen and the countess of Richmond, went between them without suspicion; for as the countess and the queen were declared enemies to each other, a personal interview might have caused an alarm. She assured the doctor that she was ready to concur in any design that tended to remove the barbarous usurper; but she insisted on the article of marriage between the earl of Richmond and her daughter as a *sine qua non*. This great point of the queen's concurrence being settled, the countess of Richmond found means to raise a large sum of money among her friends in London, and sent it over to Brittany by sir Hugh Conway, to enable her son to levy a body of troops, and provide ships, sailors, and all other necessaries for his enterprize; at the same time she dispatched sir Thomas Rain over to Calais, from whence he was to proceed with all haste to Vannes, in Brittany, where the earl then resided, to inform him of the disposition of the nobility to join him, and with some instructions about the proper place for his landing. Both these messengers arrived safe in Brittany, and

returned with the earl's consent to the proposed marriage. Bray, in the mean time, managed matters so well in different parts of England, that a respectable body of the nobility engaged to be ready for a rising in their several counties on the eighteenth of October, when the duke of Buckingham was also to declare himself.

But while these things were transacting, the bishop of Ely, with whom a regard for personal safety was more prevalent than any other consideration, reflecting that the impetuosity of the duke of Buckingham's temper might hurry him into some rash attempt before their design could be brought to maturity, and thereby endanger the lives of all concerned therein, began to grow very uneasy under his confinement; and being now indulged in greater liberty than he formerly had, he took an opportunity to escape in disguise, and got over sea to Flanders. His escape threw the duke of Buckingham into great consternation, from which he was, however, somewhat relieved on receiving a letter from the prelate, excusing the step he had taken, and exhorting him to proceed in his enterprize, and assuring him that he could be of more service to him on the continent, than in England.

The bishop's suspicion proved to be but too well grounded; for Buckingham having impolitically forced great numbers into his service, this made them his enemies; and Richard spared no money to get intelligence, and, to have it brought him the earlier, had established stages of post-houses, at twenty miles distance from each other, throughout the realm, a practice first introduced by his brother Edward during the late war with Scotland; he had likewise his spies and emissaries in all parts, and we have an undoubted proof from the public records, that by the beginning of October he had full information of the conspiracy against him; for at this time a proclamation was issued, directed to the sheriffs of England, offering one thousand pounds in money, or one hundred pounds per annum in land, for apprehending the duke of Buckingham, the bishops of Ely and Salisbury, or the marquis of Dorset, who had it seems escaped out of sanctuary; and five hundred marks each, for several other persons, their accomplices, mentioned therein. We are told, that before this proclamation Richard had sent several orders to the duke of Buckingham, commanding him to repair to court, but which he as often disobeyed, returning for answer, that he did not think proper to expose his person by putting himself into the power of his mortal enemy, whom he neither loved nor would serve.

After this declaration Richard found that he must necessarily proceed to extremities. He accordingly collected his troops, and began his march towards the western counties, where he was informed the earl of Richmond proposed to land, and where several of his friends were already up in arms, expecting to be joined by Buckingham with his forces, a junction which if it had been effected, Richard's reign must have had yet a shorter date; but they were kept asunder by a wonderful operation of nature, equally sudden and unforeseen.

The duke of Buckingham having advanced, by long and hasty marches, into the Forest of Deane, in order to cross the Severn and join his western friends at Salisbury, found that the waters of that river had overflowed their banks in such a manner,

as had not been known before in the memory of man; the inundation lasted six whole days, during which his army could neither pass the river, nor subsist where they were. He now found it impracticable to keep his men together; his soldiers had a distaste to his person, they were so struck with the prodigy they beheld before their eyes*, and terrified with the prospect of perishing for want of provisions, that they deserted in such numbers as to leave the duke in a few days with only one single servant, who was faithful enough to attend his master in his distress. In this wretched condition he saw no other resource than that of concealing himself until he should be able to retrieve his ruined affairs; he therefore took refuge in the house of one Banister, who had been a dependent on him, and whom he had by his liberality raised to a comfortable estate near Shrewsbury; but this wretch, dead to all the feelings of honour and gratitude, and allured by the promised reward in the king's proclamation for seizing the duke, treacherously betrayed his master and benefactor to John Milton, the sheriff of Shropshire, who conducted him to Shrewsbury, at which place he, on the second of November, lost his head without any form or process of trial. Upon the first news of this catastrophe, Buckingham's friends, who were ready in arms expecting him in the West, dispersed themselves; some lurked among their friends, and others took refuge in sanctuaries; but the greatest part took shipping and went over to the earl of Richmond, perceiving there was no safety for them in the kingdom; the marquis of Dorset was of this number.

In the mean time Henry, earl of Richmond, supposing that every thing was ready for his reception in England, embarked at St. Malo's about the latter end of October, with five thousand men, on board of forty vessels; but a violent storm arising forced the greatest part of his fleet on the coast of France, though the earl's ship, being stouter than the rest, rode it so well out, that she cast anchor off Poole, in Dorsetshire, where he saw the shore crowded with troops, with which Richard had lined all the coast, with orders to the officers of the several parties, that if the earl should attempt to land he should not be opposed; and that if he should send on shore to make any enquiries, they should pretend they belonged to the duke of Buckingham, and were stationed there to wait the arrival of the earl of Richmond. The earl, as the tyrant had foreseen, sending a boat with a messenger on shore, received this answer, which he mistrusted, and made the best of his way back towards the coast of France.

Upon his return to the court of Brittany, he there found the marquis of Dorset, the two Courtneys, the lord Wells, sir John Bouchier, sir Edward Woodville, sir Robert Willoughby, sir Giles Daubeney, sir John Cheney and his two brothers, with several others who had fled from England: from these he learned the dismaying news of Buckingham's overthrow, and their own dispersion, which seemed totally to annihilate all future hopes of success, and must have sunk the spirit of any but a prince of Henry's deep ambition and true judg-

ment, who considered the abhorrence in which Richard was held by the greatest part of the English nation as a happy omen of future success; and the duke of Brittany engaging to continue his assistance, he determined to make another attempt with all convenient dispatch: mean while he bound himself by a solemn oath, in the cathedral of Benes, that he would espouse the princess Elizabeth, or, in case of her death, her younger sister Cecily; upon which all the English who were there present did homage to him as king of England. But let us now return to England.

On the twenty-third of January, 1484, the parliament met at Westminster, in consequence of its summons, when an act of attainder was passed against the bishops of Ely, Salisbury, and Exeter, the earls of Oxford and Pembroke, and other ringleaders of the late insurrection, who had fled the kingdom; and Richard was empowered by the two houses to make grants of their forfeited estates. Among the persons attainted were the earl of Richmond, and his mother, the countess dowager of Richmond; the estate of the latter, however, was given to her husband the lord Stanley, whom the usurper had lately created constable of England, and who became answerable to keep the countess from all illegal correspondence for the future. Richard's title to the crown, as set forth in the address of the three estates before-mentioned, was confirmed; and his son Edward being declared heir apparent, the lords spiritual and temporal soon after swore to maintain his succession. The parliament then broke up, on the twentieth of February, after passing several excellent laws for the good of the people, for the security of their liberties and properties, for the redress of grievances, and for the administration of justice: in a word, if we will believe Richard's most bitter enemies, he exercised his ill-acquired power with a moderation and equity, which might have done honour to a better title.

Richard, however, was soon alarmed by the arrival of Dr. Hutton, a civilian, whom he had sent as his ambassador to the court of Brittany, and who informed him that the duke had engaged to continue his assistance to the earl of Richmond; and that Henry and the refugees were actually planning another invasion. Richard, on receiving this intelligence, thought it behoved him to use his utmost endeavours to detach the duke from the interest of his rival; and an accident furnished him with a very favourable opportunity. The duke being old and infirm, was entirely guided by his treasurer, Peter Landois, the son of a taylor, who behaved himself with so much insolence, that he incurred the hatred of all the Bretons, insomuch that in the course of this very year the nobility had entered into an association against him, and had even made an attempt to seize his person in the court; but miscarrying in their project, they were, by the interest of the favourite, declared rebels and traitors, and obliged to fly the court. Landois dreading that the weight of popular resentment might at length crush him, resolved to strengthen himself by foreign connections; and having learned by his intelligence that Richard was now become absolute

* This inundation was so remarkable, that for a hundred years after it was called the Great Water, or Buckingham's Water. It is said to last ten days, and that men, women, and

children were carried away in their beds with the violence of it, and that the tops of the mountains were covered with the waters. Hall. fol. 39. Hollingshed, p. 1402.

master over the English, he sent ambassadors to him with certain proposals, which the latter readily embraced. On the eighth of June an armistice was agreed on between Brittany and England; and by another private treaty the king agreed to send a thousand archers, under the lord Grey of Powis†, for the support of Landois, who, in consideration of this, promised that the earl of Richmond should be delivered up, and that his master and Richard should oppose the regency of France with their joint forces. Richard, that he might omit no precaution necessary to maintain the crown he had usurped, entered into several other negotiations in the course of this year, either for making new alliances, or rivetting the old ones; he secured the courts of Castile and Portugal, and the friendship of Maximilian, archduke of Austria; and though he had no apparent occasion to fear any thing from France under a minority, disturbed with intestine divisions, yet he sent ambassadors to Charles VIII. to desire a prolongation, or at least confirmation of the truce. There remained now only Scotland that could give him any uneasiness. As James III. who held the sceptre of that kingdom, was descended from a princess of the house of Somerset, the king imagined that he might naturally be induced to countenance the designs of Richmond, and therefore that he ought to make himself secure from that quarter: to that end he negotiated with James a truce, which was concluded in September this year, and which was to last to the same day of the year 1487. At the same time he gave his niece, Anne de la Pole, daughter of his beloved sister Elizabeth and the duke of Suffolk, in marriage to James, duke of Rothesay and prince of Scotland, the king of Scotland's eldest son; and, to deprive the earl of Richmond of all hopes of accomplishing his designs, he laid hold of a melancholy incident which happened in his family by the death of his own son Edward, prince of Wales, and declared his nephew John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, and brother to the lady Anne above-mentioned, presumptive heir to the crown, and proposed to have this declaration confirmed by parliament.

These several precautions appeared so just as to screen Richard from all danger: but coming to the knowledge of that most material circumstance of the plot which his enemies had formed against him, the union of the friends of the York family with the adherents of the house of Lancaster, by means of the earl of Richmond's marriage with the princess Elizabeth, he determined if possible to defeat a match which might occasion the subversion of his throne; and he saw no method so effectual as that of making Elizabeth his own wife, a rank to which he had an opportunity of raising her by the death of the lady Anne, daughter of the famous earl of Warwick, and widow of Edward, eldest son of Henry VI. whom he had persuaded, soon after the cruel murder of her husband, to accept of his hand. And we wish that historical truth would allow us to say, that the alliance now proposed was disrelished by the queen dowager and the princess Elizabeth, with all the horror that was due to the usurper of the rights of their family, the supposed murderer

of both their husbands, and the author of the infamous bastardization of his brother's children; but the contrary is, unhappily for the memory of the fair, too notorious*: in short, the fact is, that Richard knew the queen's weak side so well, that he found means to revive in her mind all her hatred towards the house of Lancaster, and, by taking a solemn oath to her and her daughters, before an assembly of the lords spiritual and temporal, that he would never do her or hers the least injury, or suffer any to be done, and by lavish promises of taking her family and friends, the marquis of Dorset particularly, into high favour, he made such an impression, that the queen was persuaded to leave her sanctuary, and to deliver up her five daughters; nay, so thoroughly satisfied does she appear to have been with the usurper, that she sent into France, to her son the marquis of Dorset, pressing him to quit the earl of Richmond, and return home to take possession of the high honours that awaited him.

Mean while the earl of Richmond, having gotten intelligence of the treaty concluded between Richard and Landois, and knowing that minister to be a person capable of committing the vilest acts for his own advantage, he resolved to retire privately into France, and for that purpose sent Christopher Urswick, one of his followers, secretly to king Charles for a passport, which was readily granted him, and he departed from Vannes in disguise, attended by five persons only, and with great difficulty escaped the spies Landois had set to watch his motions, who pursued him so hotly that he was obliged to strike out of the high road, across the country, and at length got to Angers, a town in the French dominions, from whence he went to Lansy, where the French court then resided, and where he was received with great politeness and friendship; but the affairs of the French regency being at this time in great confusion, no prompt resolution was taken for the earl's assistance: however, the appearance of English noblemen and gentlemen, who every day flocked to the French court, gave his cause a favourable turn.

Among others, he was joined by John de Vere, earl of Oxford, who, as we have already seen, had been shut up prisoner, by Edward IV. in the castle of Guisnes, or, as the English called it, Hames. Having heard in prison, that the earl of Richmond laid claim to the crown of England, he had persuaded sir John Blount, governor of the castle (in the room of the lord Mountjoy, then lying dangerously ill), to declare for the house of Lancaster, and actually brought that officer with him to pay his respects to Henry. The regency began now to look more favourably upon the earl, and to take his affairs into serious consideration, and it was resolved to lend him three thousand fighting men, a certain number of ships, and even to supply him with a sum of money.

Richard had fitted out a large squadron of ships, to oppose any attempts Henry might make to land in England; but having notice of his flight from Brittany, and being assured from the court of France that they had very little inclination to assist

† Rymer, vol. xii. p. 222—248.

* There is a letter written with the princess Elizabeth's own hand, preserved in the Arundel collection, expressing her impatience till her marriage with Richard took effect, and pressing the

duke of Norfolk to use all his interest for the conclusion of it, "as the king (she says) was her only joy in the world." Buck's Life of Rich. III. p. 128, 129.

his enemy, he thought it needless to incur the expence of maintaining a fleet, and ordered it be laid up in the beginning of the summer of 1485. This ill-timed measure proved the usurper's ruin; for the earl of Richmond, resolving to embrace this opportunity, solicited the French ministry with such importunity to put their last resolves in his favour into execution, that they at last agreed to his request, not from any belief that his enterprize would succeed, but as imagining it to be for the interest of France to stir up dissensions in England: they, however, demanded hostages of him, as a security for the repayment of their expences; and the earl, who had some reason to suspect the fidelity and attachment of the marquis of Dorset, took an occasion to leave him, together with sir John Bouchier, as his hostages at the French court.

Every thing being nearly adjusted, the earl set out for Rouen, that he might be nearer at hand for equipping his small squadron. At length, having mustered all his troops, both English and French, he put to sea on the first day of August, from Harfleur, in Normandy, and landed, on the seventh day of that month, in Milford Haven, expecting to be there joined by the friends and followers of his uncle Jasper, earl of Pembroke, and sir Rice ap Thomas; but they not being in readiness, he continued his march next day to Haverfordwest, where he was joyfully received by the inhabitants.

But it is more than probable that he would have met with insuperable difficulties in his enterprize, had it not been for the unaccountable indolence and security of Richard. This prince, who, on all other occasions, was the most active man in nature, did not think it worth his while to exert any great efforts against so despicable an enemy as Henry appeared to be; but contented himself with sending orders to sir Walter Herbert to raise the militia of the county, and drive out the invaders, which he imagined was a very easy matter: nor was it here alone, but almost in every step that he afterwards took, that Richard appears to have contradicted the natural sagacity for which he was before remarkable; he had, indeed, on news of the intended invasion, marched to Nottingham, a place situated near the centre of the kingdom, and convenient enough as well for the rendezvous of his northern forces, as for dispatching parties to any quarter where the enemy should appear; but he betrayed such strong symptoms of his mistrusting his principal officers, that sir Thomas Bouchier and sir Walter Hungerford, with several other persons of rank, went over to the earl of Richmond, who was not without his inquietudes.

He had no sooner landed than he dispatched messengers to his friends in the different parts of the country, desiring them to join him on his march towards London, for which capital he intended to push with all haste. Accordingly, making but a short stay at Haverfordwest, he set out for Shrewsbury, where he intended to cross the Severn; while he was on the road, he was joined by sir Richard Griffith, sir Walter Herbert, and sir Rice ap Thomas, who had gotten together a strong body of troops, under pretence of opposing Henry of Richmond, thereby to blind the emissaries of Richard; and the whole country supplying him in his march with all necessaries, the earl arrived in a few days at Shrewsbury, where he was received without opposition. Here sir Gilbert Talbot, with

his ward the young earl of Shrewsbury, then a minor, joined him with two thousand men, tenants of that nobleman.

But Henry's chief dependence was upon Thomas, lord Stanley, who had a very great interest in Cheshire and Lancashire, as his son George Stanley, lord Strange, had in Shropshire, and his brother, sir William Stanley, chamberlain of North Wales, which was subject to his command. The lord Stanley enjoyed under Richard the great posts of steward of the household and constable of England; but having married Margaret, countess of Richmond, the young earl's mother, she had even won him over to her son's party; and when Richard went to Nottingham, lord Stanley had asked leave to visit his house and family, from which he had long been absent. As Richard had some jealousy of him, on his wife's account, he insisted that he should leave his son George at court, as hostage for his fidelity, and then gave him permission to go into Lancashire.

Stanley employed the time of his stay there in levying a body of five thousand men, on pretence of assisting Richard, and marched with them to Lichfield, as if to oppose the invaders; but, upon notice of Henry's arrival at Shrewsbury, he sent his brother William Stanley to him privately, to assure the earl that he would join him with all his forces, as soon as he could take such a step without too far risking the life of his son, the lord Strange, whom he had left in the usurper's hands. Accordingly Stanley, not to give the tyrant any umbrage, marched to Atherstone, while the earl went and took possession of Lichfield.

Richard, finding that the earl of Richmond was daily joined by many noblemen, and other persons of distinction, thought it was high time to set forward in person to oppose his progress: he accordingly sent orders to the duke of Norfolk, his son the earl of Surry, and sir Robert Brackenbury, to march immediately, with all their followers, and join him at Nottingham; and his whole army being assembled, to the number of twelve thousand men, he ordered them to march for Leicester, putting himself at their head, and doing all the duties of an able general. Richmond, on the king's approach, quitted Lichfield, and, agreeable to measures concerted with the lord Stanley and his brother sir William, directed his route to Leicester, where he resolved to hazard a general engagement. Arriving the next morning at Tamworth, he was joined by sir John Savage, sir Brian Sandford, sir Simon Digby, and many others; the same day he privately visited the lord Stanley, at Atherstone: and, on the morrow, being informed that Richard had marched from Leicester to give him battle, he resolved to meet him half way. On the twenty-second of August the two armies came in sight of each other at Bosworth, a place rendered famous in history by the battle which terminated the dispute between the houses of York and Lancaster.

Richard's army, as we have already observed, consisted of twelve thousand men, well accoutered and trained to martial discipline: the command of the van he conferred on the duke of Norfolk, and he himself took post in the centre, with a crown upon his head, either as a mark of distinction, or as a challenge to his adversary the earl of Richmond, who had not above five thousand men. He drew up his army likewise in two lines, of which
the

Lord Stanley puts y^e Crown of Rich.^d 3. on y^e Earl of Richmond.



*To his Grace
Duke of
This plate is most*



*George Spencer,
Marlborough,
humbly Inscribed.*

the earl of Oxford headed the first, and himself the second; sir Gilbert Talbot commanded the right wing, and sir John Savage the left: between the two armies was a morass, which the earl left on his right hand, to secure him on that side, and in so doing he had the sun at his back and in the face of the enemy.

Whilst the two armies were preparing for battle, the lord Stanley, who had till then continued at Atherstone, came and posted himself with four thousand men, on a piece of ground fronting the interval between the two armies; while his brother, sir William Stanley, with three thousand, stood facing him on the other side. Richard, suspecting Stanley's design, sent him orders to join his army: but the lord Stanley returning an equivocal answer, Richard, enraged at his treachery, would instantly have struck off the head of his son, the lord Strange, had he not been dissuaded from that resolution by some of his best officers, who represented to him, that such an act would be of no advantage to him, and might provoke Stanley and his brother to join the foe, though perhaps their intention might at present be to remain neuter, and declare for the victor. Richard gave way to this remonstrance, though, as his apologist, Buck, observes, he certainly committed a capital error in leaving the two brothers to act as they should think proper, his army being equal in number to that of Richmond and the two Stanleys put together; he ought to have posted two bodies opposite to the brothers, with orders to attack them if they should attempt to join the enemy, while he himself with the remainder of his forces might have given battle to Henry.

Every thing being now ready for the bloody conflict, both armies moved, and the battle began with a general discharge of arrows; after which they advanced to close combat. The duke of Norfolk, extending his lines, made a motion to enclose the left wing of the earl's army; to prevent which the earl of Oxford fell with great fury upon Norfolk's division, but in so doing was very near being hemmed in himself; which being perceived by the lord Stanley, who had till then continued neuter, he advanced, and falling in with the earl of Oxford's line, secured his flank, and stood ready to receive the front of the king's first line. This motion caused the duke of Norfolk to halt, in order to close his line, which occasioned some moments of cessation in the fight; but Norfolk soon advanced to the charge again with more fury than ever, and would have found a great deal of bloody work for his adversaries, had not sir William Stanley at that very instant, with three thousand men, flanked the right of the king's first line so critically, that they were driven back upon the main body; but the duke of Norfolk having strengthened the second ranks, a most terrible carnage ensued.

In the mean time Richard, finding himself thus deceived by the two Stanleys, collected all his force, and perceiving Henry at a small distance, advanced eagerly, at the head of a chosen body of men, to attack him, in hopes of deciding by his death the fate of the battle and of empire; and such were his spirits, activity, and address, that nothing could withstand his fury, and he quickly opened a way to his rival, after having with his own hands slain sir William Brandon, Henry's standard-bearer, and father to Charles Brandon, afterwards duke of

Suffolk, and unhorsed sir John Cheney, an officer distinguished for his strength and dexterity. Henry with all his resolution was appalled at the sight of Richard's superior prowess; he would gladly have declined encountering so formidable an adversary, but there was now no retreating; Richard called aloud to him to pay the forfeit of his treason, and rebellious invasion of his realm; he pressed on him with a fury that added double terror to his words: all Henry could do, all he sought to do, was to keep him at his sword's point, till some of his followers coming up, preserved him for a fairer fortune.

While Richard was thus nobly employed in the centre of the battle, the rest of his troops, dispirited at the conduct of the two Stanleys, and not knowing whom to trust, stood in a stupid inactivity, blind to the example, and unanimated by the presence, of their valiant leader. The earl of Northumberland's men, by their commander's orders, threw down their arms, and gave Richmond's soldiers leave to mow down whole ranks: in a word, the rout of Richard's army became general, while he, finding it in vain to attempt to rally his dispersed troops, seeing the duke of Norfolk killed, and his son the earl of Surry a prisoner, the lord Ferrers of Chartley, sir Richard Radcliffe, sir Robert Brackenbury, sir William Conyers, sir Richard Clendon, and many of his bravest officers dead upon the field, and either scorning to endure the disgrace of an overthrow, or dreading the thought of falling alive into the hands of his enemy, rushed into the midst of the battle, where he soon fell, overpowered with numbers, after having achieved exploits that would have done eternal honour to his memory, if exerted in any other cause.

The death of the king put an end to the battle, which had lasted only two hours, during which time Richard's van alone bore the whole brunt of the action, so that there were not slain on the spot above two thousand men on his side. The earl of Richmond's loss did not exceed one hundred. Richard's body was exposed to a thousand indignities as it lay on the field; it was stripped by the brutal and revengeful soldiers of Henry's army, then thrown, naked as it was, across an horse, and sent to Leicester, where it was buried, without any ceremony, in the Grey Friars church in that town. His crown, being found in the field, was brought to the lord Stanley, who placing it upon Richmond's brows, hailed him at the same time king, in presence of all the army, who rent the air with repeated acclamations of Long live Henry VII. king of England!

Of Richard's surviving adherents, the earl of Northumberland surrendered himself to the conqueror, who easily forgave him; the earl of Surry was sent prisoner to the Tower, from whence he was afterwards released. Catesby, the infamous tool of Richard's arts and ambition, being discovered in his hiding-place, was taken prisoner, and lost his head next day at Leicester. The lord viscount Lovel, with the two Staffords, Humphrey and Thomas, all of them hated because of their attachment to Richard, escaped from the battle; and the earl of Richmond, with right policy, received into pardon, or to favour, all who submitted.

What has been already exhibited of the character of Richard, in the history of this and the three preceding reigns, makes it almost impossible to

add to it without running into tautology : thus much, however, we may say of him as a king, that, abating his cruelties in the pursuit of the crown, and the unjust measures he used afterwards to keep it, he certainly shewed a disposition for government not inferior to that of the most virtuous princes antiquity can boast. Lord Verulam says of him, that he was in military virtue approved, jealous of the honour of the English nation, and an excellent lawgiver ; of this, indeed, many of his statutes afford irrefragable proofs ; they are, in general, full of equity and humanity, and though passed in all the confidence of power and pride of conquest, in a juncture too often employed by usurpers to trample on the liberties of a nation, to gratify their revenge or avarice, they are evidently calculated for the public good, and excellently adapted to preserve the ease, quiet, and rights of the subject. Upon the whole, we cannot use too much caution in giving our assent to what historians of the Lancastrian party have written against this prince, who, though undoubtedly bad, was not perhaps so detestable as has been represented ; nor should the calumnies with which his memory has been loaded (some of which we have attempted to disprove in the course of these sheets) by those whose interest it was, under his successors, to blacken his character to the utmost, efface the just praise due to Richard for his excellent laws, and his constant application to see justice impartially administered, and good order established in all parts of his kingdom.

His personal character, like his political one, has been industriously handed down to us by writers, who chose to court the favour of Henry and his posterity, in as odious colours as possible. The surname of Crookback has been given him on account of his supposed deformity ; and we are told that one of his arms was withered and useless ; that he was born with long hair, with teeth ; in a word, a spectre

of a man : and yet there want not historians of undoubted veracity, who had opportunities of seeing him, and ancient pictures drawn of him, that shew the contrary, and that the whole of his deformity amounted to no more than that he was low of stature, and thick-set, like his father, whom he much resembled in his face, which was comely, though stern and warlike.

Richard III. was the last of the Anjouin race, surnamed Plantagenet, which had possessed the crown of England for the space of three hundred and thirty years ; but he was not the last male of that family in England, for the earl of Warwick, son to his brother Clarence, was still alive, and the only remaining branch of the numerous posterity of the third Edward, which had been almost totally extinguished in the civil war ; a war which had raged for thirty years, and was finally determined by the battle of Bosworth, after having cost the lives of above one hundred thousand Englishmen, including a great number of the princes of the houses of York and Lancaster.

Richard left but one natural son, surnamed John of Gloucester, a minor, whom he had appointed governor of Calais, Guisnes, and all the Marches of Picardy belonging to the crown of England ; and a natural daughter, Catherine Plantagenet, who was contracted in marriage to William Herbert, earl of Huntingdon, but died before she was of age for consummation. Carte tells us, that there is preserved in the family of the earls of Winchelsea an account of a natural son of Richard's (most probably John of Gloucester above-mentioned), who lived at Eastwell, in Kent, a manor belonging to that family, in a private, austere, and devout manner, to a very great age, esteemed by all, though unknown till a little before his death, when he satisfied the curiosity of the ancestors of that noble family.

HENRY VII. First King of ENGLAND of the Name of TUDOR, and Uniter of the two Houses of YORK and LANCASTER. A. D. 1485.

BEFORE we can introduce the reader with advantage to the events which we are now to describe, it is necessary that we should collect the several parts of Henry of Richmond's genealogy, and his title in point of blood to the crown of England, in which we shall follow the most approved writers on this subject.

In the first place then it is to be observed, that the root of Henry's family was John of Ghent, duke of Lancaster, fourth son to Edward III. This prince was thrice married :

First to Blanche of Lancaster, by whom he had a daughter, Philippa, married to John I. king of Portugal ; a second daughter, named Elizabeth, married to John Holland, duke of Exeter ; and a son, named Henry, afterwards the fourth of that name king of England, whose male descendants became extinct in the person of Henry VI.

The second wife of John of Ghent was Constance, princess of Castile and Leon, who bore him Catherine, married to Henry III. king of Castile, who had a numerous issue, both male and female ;

and from this marriage it is supposed that Philip II. of Spain exhibited as being prior to the house of Somerset from John of Ghent, the author of the Lancaster family.

The last wife of John of Ghent was Catherine, widow of sir Otter Swinford : this lady had lived in adultery with John of Ghent, and while in that state bore him four children, John Beaufort, duke of Somerset ; Henry Beaufort, the cardinal ; Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter ; and Joan Beaufort, countess of Westmoreland. John Beaufort had issue John, duke of Somerset, who left a daughter Margaret, who was married to Edmund Tudor, of Hadham, earl of Richmond, whose eldest son was Henry, earl of Richmond, whom we have just seen defeat and kill the tyrant Richard.

Whoever looks on this genealogical deduction with the slightest attention, must perceive two very strong objections against any manner of right which Henry, earl of Richmond, could pretend, in point of blood, to the crown of England. The first was the allowed priority of right which was in the house

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HENRY VII.

J. Wale delin.

C. Grignon fecit.

of York, and had been declared by repeated acts of the legislature: the second was the illegitimacy of all the children born of John of Ghent's third marriage. The answers to those objections were as follow.

First, that though the right of blood next to Edward III. the common author of both families, was undoubtedly in the house of York, yet that the family of Lancaster having, as well as that of York, been recognized on the throne by repeated acts of the legislature, which deprived the house of York of all right, both before and after that house put in its claim, therefore the parliamentary right of the house of Lancaster was prior to, and stronger than, the house of York; especially as the last house had been attainted, and, when restored, was restored only to a capacity of succeeding to its hereditary estates, without mention of the crown. As to the second objection, that of illegitimacy, the favourers of the house of Lancaster urged, that the illegitimacy of the family of Lancaster, by dame Swinford, had been removed by letters patent from Richard II.

To those answers it was replied, that Henry IV. and his descendants, who had been kings, were no other than usurpers upon the rights of an unoffending family, as we have already seen in discussing the question of the rights of the two houses. It was likewise urged, that the parliamentary right was as strongly established for the house of York, both before and after the accession of Edward IV. as it ever had been for the house of Lancaster. The reply to the second answer, viz. on the point of illegitimacy, was, as is true, that an express exception was made in the charter of legitimation, which provided that the heirs of John of Ghent by dame Swinford might succeed to any estate or honours whatsoever, the regal dignity excepted.

This is the true state of the case of Henry VII's famous hereditary right to the crown of England, a right which he himself thought so weak, that, as he had thought fit before his enterprize, to strengthen his claim by a matrimonial union with the house of York, he now resolved to imitate the precedent set him by Edward IV. and Richard III. in accepting the military and popular recognitions, by which he had been, in the field of battle, declared king, and to act as such before any formal coronation. In the mean time he thought it necessary to take such precautions as might defeat or prevent any opposition to his measures.

With this view he ordered sir Robert Willoughby to convey Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, son and heir to George, duke of Clarence, an innocent young prince then only ten years of age, to the Tower, where he was kept a close prisoner, and excluded from all intercourse or correspondence with others. The princess Elizabeth, who had likewise been detained in a kind of honourable confinement by Richard, in the castle of Sheriff Hutton, in Yorkshire, was brought from thence to

London, and lodged with her mother. The young lady seems to have been entirely passive, and indifferent whether she was destined to the bed of Richard or Richmond.

Henry next, having given the necessary orders concerning the disposition and march of his army, set out for London, which he entered on the twenty-seventh of August, attended by the magistracy and the companies, who met him at Shoreditch: the citizens, however, were somewhat displeased at his passing through the streets in a close chariot, so that he could not be seen like their former kings, who always made their entrance on horseback. He repaired directly to St. Paul's church, where he offered up the standards he had taken, and ordered Te Deum to be sung; after which he retired to his lodging at the bishop's palace.

And now, to remove all umbrages, the very day after his arrival at London, he assembled the chief nobility at the bishop's palace, and solemnly swore to marry the princess Elizabeth. This step was the more necessary, as a report had been industriously spread, that he had entered into a contract of marriage with Anne, daughter and heiress of Francis duke of Brittany; but, as he had an unconquerable aversion to the house of York, he could not bear the thought of reigning in right of his wife, descended from that family, and therefore, though he firmly resolved to perform his engagement, yet his intention was to delay his marriage until after his coronation, that he might appear to reign by his own claim, and his marriage seem a measure taken to conciliate the affection of his subjects rather than a giving him any right to the crown.

But, lest the people should grow cool, and require the performance of this or some other obligations before his coronation, he hurried on that ceremony as fast as possible. It was, however, delayed for some days by an epidemical disorder, which broke out about the end of September, and was, from its symptoms, termed the sweating sickness. This disease, which was till then altogether unknown, threw the patients into a prodigious sweat, and carried them off in four-and-twenty hours; those that died not within that space, were almost sure of recovering: happily it lasted not above a month, but in that time it swept away an infinite number of persons, before the manner of cure and attendance was known*. Hall tells us, that two mayors and six aldermen of London died of it within a week.

Henry employed the intermediate time in rewarding the services of several of his faithful friends and adherents: John de Vere, earl of Oxford, was made constable of the Tower and keeper of the lions there; Jasper, earl of Pembroke, uncle to the king, and the tutor and guardian of his tender years, was created duke of Bedford; the lord Stanley, earl of Derby; sir Edward Courtney, earl of Devonshire; and the following gentlemen were made bannerets†, sir Gilbert Talbot, sir John

* The method of cure was to keep the patient neither too hot nor too cold, with temperate cordials, which, without too much increasing the heat, assisted nature in expelling the humours that caused this extraordinary sweating. *Bac. Comp. Hist.*

† This was an ancient order of knights, or feudal lords, who possessing several large fees, led their vassals to battle under their own flag, when summoned thereto by the king.

This order is certainly most honourable, as it never was conferred but upon some heroic action performed in the field. Anciently there being but two kinds of knights, great and little, the first were called bannerets, the second bachelors; the

first composed of the upper, and the second the middle nobility.

In France they are said to transmit their degree to their posterity: but in England it dies with them. We have had none of this order created in England since the time of king Charles I. so that this order is now become extinct among us.

The form of the banneret's creation was this; on a day of battle, the candidate presented his flag to the king, or general, who cutting off the train, or skirt thereof, and making it a square, returned it again; the proper banner of bannerets, who, from hence, are sometimes called knights of the square flag.

Cheney, sir William Stonar, sir William Troutback, sir John Mortimer, sir Richard Crosby, sir John Fortescue, sir Edward Bedingfield, sir Thomas Cooksey, sir James Baskerville, sir Humphrey Stanley, and sir Richard de la Bere. At the same time the office of high-steward, for the king's coronation, was put in commission, and the commissioners for executing it were, Jasper, duke of Bedford, the earls of Oxford, Derby, and Nottingham, the lord Fitz Walter, Thomas Mason, master of the rolls, sir Thomas Brian, chief-justice of the King's Bench, sir Humphrey Hartley, chief-baron of the Exchequer, and sir Richard Croft, treasurer of the household. Henry's next care was to issue a proclamation, importing that he had agreed to a truce for one year with the king of France, a circumstance that greatly contributed to his interests in England; which was the more inclined to submit to his government, as his title was owned by so powerful a court, even before it was acknowledged by the English parliament.

The late malady having ceased entirely towards the latter end of October, and the necessary preparations being made for the purpose, Henry was crowned, with great pomp and solemnity, on the thirtieth of October, by cardinal Bouchier, archbishop of Canterbury. The ceremony of his coronation was attended with the exhibition of a pomp till then unknown in England; I mean a body-guard, which Henry then instituted: it consisted of fifty archers, called yeomen, under the command of a captain, to be in continual attendance upon his person; thus covering with the pretence of grandeur, a prudent precaution which in all likelihood he thought indispensably necessary for his own safety: the utmost care, however, was taken that this institution should not be considered as personal to the king, but a compliment to his successors, whose state it was to enhance, and the unsuspecting, or rather unthinking, people swallowed every plausible pretext †.

Henry having thus seized not only the seat but the reins of government, now ventured upon a parliament, which met in his name (the highest act of authority which denominates a king of England) at Westminster, on the seventh of November, which entailed the crown upon him; not by way of recognition, or ordinance, but in the manner of settlement, enacting, "That the inheritance of the crown should rest, remain, and abide in him and the heirs of his body:" and this statute was afterwards confirmed by the pope's bull, in which at the same time the titles of descent and conquest were mentioned.

The act of settlement or succession being passed, another point came under consideration, which proved not a little embarrassing: some of the most considerable members of the present assembly had been attainted, as well as Henry himself, in the reigns of Edward IV. and Richard III. and a motion being made for annulling the sentences of attainder against Henry's adherents, it was alleged, that those persons could not, with any appearance of justice sit as judges in their own cause. This point was therefore submitted to the arbitration of the judges, who, supporting the authority of par-

liament and the legality of the acts of the house of York, gave it as their opinion, "That the knights and burgeses attainted by the course of law, should forbear to come to the house till a law was made for a reversal of their attainders*."

Another debate arose concerning the king himself, who had been denounced a traitor and rebel by an authentic act of parliament; this point being likewise referred to the same arbitration, the judges unanimously agreed, "That the crown takes away all defects and stops in blood, and that from the time the king did assume the crown, the fountain was cleared, and all attainders and corruption of blood discharged†." Thus Henry found himself strengthened on the one side by a title de facto, and on the other by a title de jure. This matter being settled, an act passed for reversing the attainder of one hundred and seven persons‡: this was followed by distinct bills in favour of particular persons, restoring them in blood, and to the enjoyment of their estates.

But it is not easy to conceive by what law, or with what pretence of reason, those who fought in Bosworth field on Richard's side, against the earl of Richmond, could be charged with high-treason; yet, besides Richard himself, John Howard, duke of Norfolk, his son the earl of Surry, the lords Lovel, Zouch, and Ferrers of Chartley, sir Walter and sir James Harrington, sir Humphrey Stafford, sir William Berkeley, and twenty other gentlemen were attainted, and all their lands declared forfeited. This proceeding seemed little calculated to promote that union between the two houses of York and Lancaster, which was the principal thing proposed in the marriage of Henry and Elizabeth: besides, how are we to reconcile the attainder of Richard with the decision of the judges in the case of Henry, that the actual possession of the crown took away all defaults, and discharged all attainders; unless we are to suppose such attainder meant the forfeitures and treasons by Richard committed before he was possessed of the crown?

Henry, having thus at once gratified his revenge and his avarice, for the money arising from the confiscations amounted to such an immense sum, that he had no occasion to ask a supply this session, thought proper to sweeten the late act of severity in the parliament, by an act of clemency in the prerogative, and published a general pardon in favour of all those who had borne arms against him, provided they would submit themselves within a limited time; and immediately a great number left their sanctuaries and took the oath of allegiance. Some other acts of royal favour passed likewise. About the same time the lord Chandos, a native of Brittany, and one of Henry's companions during his exile, was created earl of Bath; sir Giles d'Aubeney was made a baron, by the title of lord d'Aubeney; and sir Robert Willoughby was made lord Brooke; while Edward Stafford, son to the late duke of Buckingham, was restored to all his father's honours and estates, which had been confiscated by the usurper Richard.

On the tenth of December, the last day of the session, the house of commons thought fit to address the king as he sat upon the throne, that he

† This band has been kept up by all his successors, who have increased the number to one hundred, who are in daily waiting, besides seventy supernumeraries; and when any one of the hundred dies, his place is supplied from among the seventy.

* Year Book, 1 Hen. VII. Term. Mich.

† Ibid.

‡ Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. VII. n. 2.

would be pleased to marry the princess Elizabeth without delay, that he might have heirs of his body. This address was no sooner heard by the lords spiritual and temporal, than, all rising up from their seats, and making each a profound reverence before the throne, they made the same request. Henry promised to gratify them in consummating the marriage, and the two houses were prorogued to the twenty-third of January next following, having first repealed the act of Richard III. for settling the crown upon that prince, and ordered the copy of it on record to be taken off the roll of parliament and burnt, the two houses declaring by this method their utter detestation of that act, on account of its bastardizing the children of Edward IV.

As soon as the parliament was dissolved, Henry sent into France Oliver King, archdeacon of Oxford, with money to repay king Charles what he had lent him, and his charges in fitting out the fleet which brought him to England; whereupon the marquis of Dorset and sir John Bourchier, left as hostages at Paris*, had leave to return home. At the same time Henry impowered his envoy to prolong the truce with France, if he found Charles and his council inclined to such a measure.

In the beginning of the year 1486, Henry settled his privy-council, to which he called John Morton, bishop of Ely, lately returned from Flanders, and Richard Fox†, of whose abilities and attachment he had long experience, particularly the former, whom he soon after advanced to the metropolitanical dignity of Canterbury, and made him lord-chancellor of England; and the latter he made bishop of Exeter, from whence he afterwards translated him to the see of Winchester, the richest bishopric in England. These two prelates, with Urswick the king's chaplain, were generally employed in the most important commissions, embassies, and negociations.

On the eighteenth of January Henry performed his engagement to the nation and to the house of York, by solemnly espousing the princess Elizabeth, on which occasion the people expressed the greatest demonstrations of joy.

Henry's first political measure this year, was to perfect what had been in part begun by his predecessor, the abolishing all liveries and retainers: for this purpose he appointed sir Humphrey Starkey, sir William Norris, and others, his commissioners for calling before them any man under the degree of a baron, and administering to them the following oath, which I shall insert as it is to be found in the records, that the reader may form a suitable idea of the many abuses which had so long disturbed the inward peace of our country.

"Ye shall swear, that ye, from henceforth, shall not retain, aid, nor comfort any excommunicate person, murderer, or felon, or person outlawed for felony, by you known so to be; nor any such person lett [hinder] to be attached or taken therefore, by the order of the law; nor retain any man by indenture, or oath, or your livery, sign, or token, contrary to the law; nor any maintenance, umbrance, riots, or unlawful assemblers make, or cause to be made, or assent thereto.

"Nor shall ye lett, nor cause to be letted, the execution of any of the king's writs or precepts, directed to such lawful ministers and officers as ought to have the execution of the same; nor let [admit] any man to bail or mainprize, knowing and deeming him to be a felon, upon your honour and worship. So God help you and all saints."

This was the first mortal blow which the feudal system received, though it had been much abridged both of its strength and ornaments.

As the northern counties were most of them warmly attached to the house of York, Henry, to conciliate the affections of the inhabitants to his government, set out, about Easter this year, on a progress into those parts. During his stay at Lincoln he heard that the lord Lovel, the bosom-favourite of the deceased Richard, and his two brothers, Humphrey and Thomas Stafford, who had refused to accept of the general amnesty, had escaped out of Colchester abbey, where they had taken sanctuary ever since the battle of Bosworth; that the two latter had gathered together a force, with which they proposed to attack the city of Worcester; and that the lord Lovel, at the head of three or four thousand men, was advancing to surprize the city of York, in which place there was but too good reason to apprehend that he had correspondents. Henry, upon receiving a confirmation of this news, wisely judged that no time was to be lost to crush this insurrection in its infancy. Accordingly, having enlisted forces in the adjacent counties to the place of his residence, to the number of three thousand, he gave the command of this hastily raised and meanly armed corps to his uncle, the duke of Bedford, with a discretionary power to act as he should see occasion, either by proffers of mercy, or by force of arms: that nobleman executed his commission so well, that in a very short time the rebels under lord Lovel were reduced to obedience: their chief made his escape over sea to the court of the duchess dowager of Burgundy; and the two Staffords hearing of this event, abandoned the siege of Worcester, which they were warmly prosecuting, and, being forsaken by their followers, who accepted the offers of pardon made in the king's name for such as would lay down their arms, took sanctuary in the church of Coldnham, near Abingdon; but the court of King's Bench declaring that the privilege of this place did not extend to traitors, they were dragged from thence; the elder brother, Humphrey, suffered at Tyburn; but the younger, as being supposed under the influence of his senior, had his life given him by Henry's moderation.

Nor was this the only instance Henry had of the great attachment of the English people to Edward IV. and his family; for on his return to London, about Midsummer, he found that the people murmured greatly at his postponing the coronation of Elizabeth his queen, the evident coldness and indifference with which he treated her, and his embracing every opportunity of humbling the friends of the house of York; nay, they went so far as secretly to whisper about, that he had caused the earl of Warwick to be privately put to death in the Tower; and the emissaries of the house of York

* See p. 130, of this volume.

† The rest of his privy-council were John de Vere, earl of Oxford; Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby; sir William Stanley, lord chamberlain; Robert Willoughby, lord Brooke, steward of his household; Giles, lord Daubeney; John, lord Dynham; sir

Reginald Bray, sir John Cheney, sir Richard Guilford, sir Richard Tunstall, sir Richard Edgecombe, sir Thomas Lovell, sir Edward Poynnynges, sir John Risley, &c. Hall, fol. 3.

industriously propagated a report that Richard, second son to Edward IV. had made his escape from the cruelty of his uncle, and was still alive on the continent. The avidity with which these reports were swallowed by the populace, from the disgust they had taken to their new master, whose personal manners were far from being fitted to acquire the affections or gain the hearts of his subjects, encouraged Richard Simon, a priest of Oxford, to devise a scheme equally extravagant and enterprising. He had a pupil called Lambert Simnel †, a youth of uncommon vivacity and extraordinary personal accomplishments, and him he resolved to pass up on the world as Richard, duke of York, the second son of Edward IV. While he was employed in training up this impostor, it was rumoured that Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, had escaped from the ruffians sent to murder him in the Tower, and was concealed somewhere in England. Upon this report Simon immediately changed his plan, and determined that his pupil should personate this young nobleman; a scheme much more extravagant than the other, if we consider that the son of the duke of Clarence had been, after his father's death, honourably maintained in the court of his uncle Edward, until he was eight years of age, and that therefore his person was well known to a great number of people. Notwithstanding this obstacle, Simon continued to instruct his pupil in his new part; and this seems to have taken up the whole year, for we hear nothing of him before the beginning of 1487. We shall therefore leave him to his instructions, and now take a view of the situation of the neighbouring princes of Europe, with whom Henry had connections or concerns, this being absolutely necessary to give us a clear insight into the motives of Henry's conduct, who in his time owed the chief figure he made in Europe to his policy rather than to his arms. We shall begin with the affairs of Brittany.

It has been elsewhere observed, that Peter Landois, favourite of the duke of Brittany, entirely governed that prince, who was old and infirm, and very much impaired in his understanding: several lords of Brittany had made a league against that minister, and intended to seize him; but, having miscarried in their design, were exposed to the vengeance of the favourite, who had caused them all to be condemned to die. In the beginning of the year 1485*, Landois, in the name of the duke his master, levied an army to execute the sentence; and the lords, on their part, took up arms in their defence. While Brittany was thus divided, and the two parties ready to come to a battle, the condemned lords caused it to be represented to those who served Landois, that, in the present affair, the interest of the minister only was concerned, and not that of their common master, the duke; that it was unjust to shed the blood of their fellow-subjects in the quarrel of a man who had notoriously abused his master's confidence; that therefore, to appease at once the troubles of their country, the more natural and readier way than that of arms, would be to rid themselves of the minister, after which not a man would refuse to render due obedience to their sovereign. The lords of the duke's party deeming this expedient very reasonable, were of

opinion that it was for the interest of their country and the duke himself, that Landois, the sole cause of the troubles, should be sacrificed to the public good. Landois hearing that the lords of the two armies were contriving something against him, caused a declaration to be drawn, wherein the duke ordered that all persons of his army who held intelligence with the proscribed lords, should be deemed traitors and rebels. But this only served to hasten his ruin; the chancellor, who was in the confederacy against him, refused to seal the declaration, and informed the lords of it, who thereupon determined to carry their scheme into immediate execution: accordingly, without giving him time to take other measures, they went in a body to the palace, and seized Landois in the duke's own apartment, who was forced to deliver him up, on condition they would spare his life: but that was not their intention; on the contrary, they brought him to a speedy trial, and, convicting him of a thousand crimes, made him atone for them on the gallows, before the duke was informed of the sentence. How much soever the duke was troubled at the death of his favourite, he could not refuse granting the lords of the two armies letters of pardon. Thus Brittany would have been restored to her former tranquility, had not the duke imprudently concerned himself with the troubles of the French court, which brought on the ruin of himself and his dukedom. This is what must now be shewn, since it was the occasion of the war which broke out between Charles VIII. and the duke of Brittany, and in which Henry VII. was concerned.

Lewis XI. king of France, dying in the year 1482, left the government of the person of his son and successor, Charles VIII. to his daughter Anne, wife of Peter de Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu. Charles was fourteen years old, and consequently of age, according to the ordinance of Charles V. but as he had been ill educated, and was of a very infirm constitution, the king his father thought him incapable of governing. The moment Lewis XI. was in his grave, Lewis, duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, refused to acknowledge Anne of Beaujeu for the king's governess, affirming that a woman had no right to meddle with the affairs of the kingdom. The states being assembled at Tours, in January, 1484, ended the dispute by their authority; they confirmed the late king's will, and appointed the duke of Orleans to be president of the council in the king's absence.

Whilst the states of France were assembled, the lords of Brittany made their first attempt upon Landois before-mentioned, which proved unsuccessful. The sentence which was given against them creating a dread of the favourite's revenge, they applied to Anne of Beaujeu, to obtain the king her brother's protection. On the other hand, Landois, seeing his enemies had recourse to the lady Anne, thought he could not do better than rely upon the assistance of the duke of Orleans: to that end he entreated him to come to the court of Brittany, putting him in hopes the duke would give him in marriage Anne, his eldest daughter and presumptive heiress. The duke of Orleans had espoused, against his will, Joanna, daughter of Lewis XI. but had made against this forced marri-

† So called probably from his being the son of a baker of simnel-loaves, a kind of bread made of the finest flour. Guthrie.

* Mezerai, Rapin, Argentré.

age a secret protestation, which he meant to use in order to annul it at a more favourable juncture. So, pleased with the hopes Landois had inspired him with, he came to Brittany, where he was extremely caressed. But he could make no long stay there, being obliged to assist at the king's coronation, which was performed in June that year. Probably, whilst he was in Brittany, he concerted measures with the duke and his favourite to disturb the government of Anne of Beaujeu, who was become absolute mistress of the king her brother's person and affairs.

Shortly after, the duke of Orleans forming a league against the court, and retiring to Boisgency, demanded that the states of France might be assembled. He intended to annul the regulation with respect to the government of the king's person: but Anne of Beaujeu caused the king to march against him with such expedition, that he was forced to accept such terms as were prescribed him, because his friends were not yet ready to assist him. By the agreement, the count de Dunois and Longueville, who was considered as his chief adviser, was banished to Asti, in Piedmont, a town belonging to the duke of Orleans, with a command not to stir from thence without the king's express licence.

The duke of Orleans, being thus compelled to dismiss his troops, caused the greatest part to list in the duke of Brittany's army against the condemned lords. On the other hand, Anne of Beaujeu sent likewise to the barons part of the king's troops. The death of Landois, which happened soon after, was not capable of making the duke of Orleans desist from his projects. He stood in need of the duke of Brittany to support him against the court, and even hoped one day to marry his daughter. On the other side the duke of Brittany, having been greatly oppressed by Lewis XI. and knowing Anne of Beaujeu was of the same character, and followed the same maxims, believed he could not do better than rest upon the assistance of the duke of Orleans; therefore, after some negotiations, these two princes formed a league together, into which came John de Châlons, prince of Orange, nephew to the duke of Brittany, the duke of Bourbon, the count de Dunois, the duke of Lorraine, and several other princes and lords. Some time after, the count de Dunois returned into France without leave, and withdrew to his seat at Partenay, in Poictou. The king was yet ignorant of the duke of Orleans's designs; but the count de Dunois's return convincing him some plot was contriving in favour of that prince who was gone to Blois, he sent him a positive order to repair to court. The duke obeyed upon the second summons; but the next day, being informed some ill was intended him, feigned to go a hunting, and retired into Brittany, whither he was quickly followed by the prince of Orange and the count de Dunois. This was in the beginning of the year 1486. We must now see what passed in the Netherlands.

Since the death of Mary of Burgundy, Maximilian of Austria, her husband, had been involved in troubles on account of the guardianship of her son Philip, who became sovereign of the Low Countries upon the demise of the duchess his mother: Brabant, Holland, and Zealand had willingly received him for guardian; but Flanders and Hainault refused to obey him as such.

The obstinacy of the Flemings obliged Maximilian to make peace with Lewis upon the following terms: that the dauphin Charles, son of Lewis, should marry Margaret, daughter of Maximilian, as soon as they attained a certain age: that Margaret should have for dower Artois, Franche Comté, Maçon, and Auxerre, and be educated at the court of France. Pursuant to this treaty, Lewis kept those provinces which he had already seized, and took Margaret home, till the marriage should be consummated.

In 1483, Maximilian successfully made war upon the Liegeois. That same year Hainault owned him for guardian of his son Philip.

In the year 1484, the Flemings still persisting in their refusal to acknowledge Maximilian for guardian, appointed governors for Philip, of whom Adolphus de Cleves, lord of Ravenstein, was the chief. This obstinacy occasioned a war between them and Maximilian, in which Charles VIII. took part by assisting the Flemings.

This war ended in January, 1485, in a treaty, importing that the Flemings should acknowledge Maximilian for guardian of his son, upon the express condition that he should not remove him from Flanders till of age. The treaty being signed, Maximilian made his entry into Ghent; where, a few days after, a sedition was raised, but which was happily appeased. During the rest of the year the Low Countries enjoyed a tranquility which afforded Maximilian time to take a journey into Germany, to be elected king of the Romans.

I shall close this digression with the affairs of Scotland. James III. king of Scotland, had been extremely complaisant to Richard III. A truce had been agreed upon to last between the two kingdoms till the twenty-ninth of September, 1487; and a marriage, as we have already seen, was concluded between the duke of Rothesay, prince of Scotland, and the duke of Suffolk's daughter*, which project fell with Richard's death. Upon the revolution in favour of Henry, the Scots took the opportunity of the unsettled state of his affairs to besiege and take the castle of Dunbar, which had been put into the hands of the English by the duke of Albany†. Henry's situation, and the important affairs which engaged his attention in the beginning of his reign, not permitting him to resent this breach of the truce in a proper manner, by declaring war against the Scots, he thought proper to try the milder methods of negotiating, and appointed ambassadors to treat with the bishop of Aberdeen and other commissioners named by king James. As Henry was then under high obligations to the French court, the negotiation met with no difficulty, and, on the third of July this year (1486), a cessation of arms was agreed upon, to last between the two kingdoms till the third of July, 1489.

Henry, during all these incidents abroad, took no other concern than that of keeping well with every power, without declaring openly for any: but the king's favourite plan seems to have been to take advantage of the jarring interests which prevailed on the continent, for improving the trade and commerce of England, as will be more particularly shewn when we come to consider the state of Commerce under this reign.

The lord Bacon, in his Life of Henry VII. has fixed the time of the birth of Henry's son Arthur

* See p. 129, of this volume.

† See p. 119.

to the twentieth of September this year; which, if true, supposes him to be born in the eighth month. As Henry affected to be the fountain of British as well as English royal blood, he gave the name of Arthur to the young prince in memory of the renowned Arthur, the British hero.

Cardinal Bouchier, archbishop of Canterbury, dying about this time, Henry promoted his favourite and chief minister, Morton, bishop of Ely, to that see. In the course of this year also, Stanley, earl of Derby, was created lord high-constable of England, with a salary of one hundred pounds per annum; and the lord d'Aubeney was made governor of the town and castle of Guisnes and the Marches thereof: and pope Innocent VIII. who was a great friend to Henry, sent the cardinal Imola as his legate a latere into England, with a bull confirming the act of succession, and declaring "the throne of England to belong to him both by right of war, by succession, by the election of prelates, nobles, and people, by the decrees, statutes, and ordinances of parliament;" and also granting a dispensation for his marriage with the princess Elizabeth, to whom Henry was related in the fourth degree of consanguinity*, which, according to the rules of the canon law in those days, was an impediment not to be removed without a papal dispensation: "sentence of excommunication was also denounced against all rebels and disturbers of the king or his peace, or any who should presume to raise any disputes concerning the succession to the throne."

It should seem that Henry had solicited the interposition of the court of Rome in this case, a step which is not only inexcusable in him, on account of the meanness, but as it was a direct breach of the statute of *Præmunire*, of which the English were so jealous; though Henry, apprehensive of the resentment of the people, had taken care to have it said in the bull, that the pope granted it of his own pure motion, and without any previous request; a clause evidently false: but we shall soon see that this bull was not capable of preventing the king's being frequently molested. The English were no longer, as formerly, such bigots as to imagine the pope's authority could give Henry a title which he really had not, and which they considered as truly existing in the princess Elizabeth alone, and transmitted to him by his marriage with her.

In a word, all Henry's precautions could neither awe nor soothe the spirit of disaffection to his government. The year 1487 was ushered in with many commotions in different parts of the kingdom, which gave occasion to the erection of the court of Star-chamber, of whose authority and powers the reader will find a succinct account in the article of Laws, following this reign. But Henry's peace received a mortal wound by the tidings of the success which Simon and his pupil Lambert had met with in the prosecution of their imposture, which we shall now follow through its several steps. Simon, the instructor and preceptor of this young adventurer, knowing that Ireland had been long attached to the house of York through all its branches, determined (most probably too by the advice of the queen-mother, or those who were in the secret of Simnel's imposture) that he should make his first appearance in that island, as earl of Warwick. Accordingly he carried him over thi-

ther, in the spring of this year, where he found the people disposed to give him such a reception as he could wish, the memory of Clarence, who had been their lord-lieutenant, being still adored by them: the archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, and in short almost the whole body of the Irish nobility, owned Lambert for the earl of Warwick, and he was with unanimous consent brought to the castle of Dublin. We cannot pretend, at this distance, to account for the cause, but it is certain that Henry's title and person were so much disrelished in Ireland, that all this was effected without the smallest opposition, the city of Waterford excepted. Henry, indeed, had not taken sufficient precaution in the choice of his officers and administration in Ireland: he had appointed his uncle Jasper, duke of Bedford, lord-lieutenant; but that nobleman had been prevented by some accident from passing over to take possession of his charge, which was executed by Gerald Fitz Gerald, earl of Kildare, as his deputy, who, as well as his brother, the lord Thomas Fitz Gerald, then chancellor of Ireland, were avowed partizans of the house of York; and the earl not only suffered our young adventurer to be formally presented to him, but even affected to believe his whole story.

Nothing could give greater disgust to Henry than the news of this successful imposture: he sent to the earl of Kildare, requiring him to come to England; but the earl excused himself. This confirmed Henry in the suspicions he entertained of that nobleman: and, to add to his perplexity, he was assured from good authority, that Margaret, duchess dowager of Burgundy, sister to Edward IV. supplied the pretender both with money and instructions; that the queen dowager herself was deeply in the plot; and that John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, who had been declared presumptive heir to the crown by Richard III. was gone over to Flanders, where he had for some time kept a correspondence with the lord Lovel, then at the duchess of Burgundy's court; and in fine, that the confederacy was spreading every where in England, by means of these persons and their agents.

In this dilemma, Henry called a cabinet-council at Shene, to deliberate on the measures that were to be pursued. The result of this deliberation was the shutting up of the queen-mother in Bermondsey monastery, in Southwark, in order to hinder her from pursuing her intrigues; and the bringing the real earl of Warwick from the Tower, to expose him through all the principal streets of London, as well to invalidate the malicious reports of his having been murdered there, as to convince the many, who personally knew him, of the falshood of the pretender's assertions. This step, my lord Bacon observes, had the desired effect in England; but the Irish, infatuated with their idol, maintained that Henry had substituted a counterfeit, and that the true earl of Warwick was absolutely with them. Another resolution of Henry's council, and which, indeed, proved the most salutary of all, was to issue a general pardon to all offenders, even those guilty of treason not excepted. At the same time orders were given for strictly guarding the sea-coasts towards Flanders and Ireland.

In the mean time the abettors of Simnel's imposture were not idle: the earl of Lincoln and the du-

* They were both sprung from the same stock, namely Edward III.

chefs of Burgundy having concerted measures with the disaffected nobles of Ireland, it was resolved that Margaret should send over a body of two thousand Germans, all veteran troops, under the command of Martin Schwartz, a brave and experienced officer; and that the earl of Lincoln in person should assist in the expedition: they accordingly took shipping in the month of May, and, after a safe and quick passage, arrived at Dublin. The Irish now imagined themselves so sure of success, that the great officers of state came to a resolution of solemnly crowning Lambert: accordingly a crown was taken from a statue of the Virgin Mary, and placed with great ceremony on the head of the impostor, in the cathedral church of Dublin, who was then proclaimed king, by the name of Edward VI. and it was resolved immediately to carry the war into England, where they imagined they should be assisted by all the friends of the house of York, so as to be able to dethrone the usurper without the least difficulty.

As soon as Henry certainly knew the intention of the rebels, he assembled two armies, the command of which he gave to the duke of Bedford and the earl of Oxford, in order to secure both sides of the island against a descent; and during the winter he made a tour through the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, where he had most reason to fear an invasion, on account of their neighbourhood to the Low Countries. While he was making some stay at St. Edmundsbury, he heard that the marquis of Dorset was on his way to visit him, in order to clear himself of some aspersions that had been cast upon his character; but Henry, not chusing to have any personal interview with him, which was likely to produce only disagreeable reflections on his late conduct towards the queen-mother, sent the earl of Oxford to meet and convey him to the Tower, there to remain till the present danger was over.

Henry had no sooner returned from his northern progress, than he learned, that, notwithstanding all his precautions, the rebels, with their auxiliaries, had found means to land in Lancashire, and that they were commanded by the earls of Lincoln and Kildare, the lord Lovel, and Martin Schwartz. Upon this intelligence he ordered a general rendezvous of his forces at Coventry, which lies in the centre of the kingdom. Thither Henry repaired in person, accompanied by the duke of Bedford and the earl of Oxford, determined to be ready to encounter any attempts of the enemy. The rebels, on their part, with their mock prince, directed their march towards York, in hopes of being joined in their progress by all the enemies of the present government; but, notwithstanding their sanguine hopes, not an Englishman was added to their standard, except a few under sir Thomas Broughton: this was owing as well to the many wise precautions Henry had taken to strengthen himself against the impending storm, as to the people's conviction of Lambert's being an impostor, and their indignation at beholding their vassals the Irish presuming to place a king on the throne of England. The

earl of Lincoln, alarmed at this coldness, and apprehending that his army, amounting to eight thousand men, would rather diminish than increase, determined to venture a battle with the first opportunity.

The same reasons that determined the earl, determined Henry also; and, leaving Coventry, he proceeded as far as Nottingham, where being reinforced by six thousand men, under the command of the earl of Shrewsbury and the lord Strange, he advanced, on the sixteenth of June, to Stoke, a village near Newark, where the earl of Lincoln lay encamped on a rising ground, and offered the enemy battle. The earl, in his present situation, could not decline, and therefore readily accepted the challenge; and marching down the hill with great resolution, began a furious conflict, which was maintained with equal valour on both sides for three hours, though the ranks of the Irish were thinned continually by the shot of the English archers, against which they had no defence, being entirely unprovided with any armour of defence: the English under the earl of Lincoln and the lord Lovel, and the Germans under Schwartz, made so noble a resistance, that the greatest part of Henry's vanguard were cut in pieces; but at last the valour of Henry's troops bore down all before it. The Germans, with their brave leader Schwartz, were all slain fighting on the very spot they occupied; a frightful slaughter was made of the Irish, of whom four thousand, with their commander Fitz Gerald, a brother to the earl of Kildare, were killed; the earl of Kildare, with most of Broughton's English likewise fell in the field, as did the earl of Lincoln: the lord Lovel was never more heard of*; but sir Thomas Broughton escaped to his own estate of Witherlack, in Westmoreland, where he afterwards lived and died in obscurity.

Lambert Simnel and his tutor were taken prisoners; and the latter being committed close prisoner to the Tower, was never heard of more. The former, either as being too young to be arraigned and executed, or because Henry was willing to leave him a living testimony of an imposture, in case he might have occasion to deal with any future claimant of the crown, was employed in the servile office of scullion in the king's kitchen, carrying wood, and doing other menial duties; in which it seems he acquitted himself so well, that he was afterwards raised to be one of the king's falconers: an instance of Henry's deep policy, who by this means deprived his rival even of the smallest degree of consequence in the opinion of any thinking person.

Immediately after the battle, the king marched to Lincoln, from whence he proceeded to York; and in this progress severely punished all who had assisted the rebels, or were convicted of having in any wise favoured them. The delinquents were tried partly by commissioners and partly by martial law; but the punishment fell upon their estates only, the king being satisfied with filling his coffers by fines and confiscations. When he had, as he thought, sufficiently fleeced his enemies, he

* The lord Lovel is by some supposed to have been drowned, in attempting to ford the Trent, after the action; others allege that he lost his life in the battle; and a third set pretend that he passed the remainder of his days in a vault or cavern. This last opinion is strengthened by a discovery made, about sixty years ago, at this nobleman's seat at Minster Lovel, near

Witney, in Oxfordshire. The workmen, in repairing the house, found, in a subterraneous room, the figure of a venerable old man, sitting in a great chair, resting one of his elbows on a table, and leaning his head on the palm of his hand; but when touched, the body fell into dust. Carte, vol. ii. p. 829.

procured a bull from the pope, Innocent VIII. empowering the archbishop of Canterbury to absolve them of the excommunication they had incurred by violating the former bull of settlement; as if he had been tenderly solicitous about the salvation of even those who had sought his downfall.

While Henry resided at York, deputies arrived from Scotland, to terminate some differences concerning the fishery of the river Esk; and the king took this occasion to begin a negociation with James III. the Scottish monarch, to whose court he sent Fox, bishop of Exeter, and sir Richard Edgcombe, to treat of a tripple alliance. The treaty was projected and agreed to by the Scots, on the following terms:

"I. That the high and mighty prince, James Stuart, marquis of Ormond, earl of Ross, and lord Brechin, second son to king James, should marry the right noble lady Catherine, third daughter of Edward IV. late king of England, and sister to the princess Elizabeth, now queen of England.

"II. That the said James, king of Scotland, should marry Elizabeth, late wife to the said king Edward IV.

"III. That James, prince of Scotland, duke of Rothesay, earl of Carrick, &c. should marry another of the daughters of Edward IV.

"IV. That the king of England should cede, for ever, the town and castle of Berwick to the Scots.

"V. That, in order to settle the articles and conditions of the three marriages, a congress should be held at Edinburgh on the twenty-fourth of January ensuing, another in May, and an interview between the two kings some time in July.

"VI. and lastly, That the truce subsisting between the two crowns should be prolonged for thirteen months."

This indenture and convention was so ill relished by the Scottish nobility, that in the ensuing year they formed a conspiracy against their sovereign, and at last fought, defeated, and murdered him in the field.

The king, in his progress through the North, had frequent opportunities to find that his visible partiality against the house of York was the chief root of disaffection to his government, and that the strongest symptom of his partiality was held to be his refusing to admit the queen to be crowned; therefore he determined to remove this subject of complaint, and, on his return to London, caused all the necessary preparations to be made for that purpose: he constituted the duke of Bedford high-steward for the coronation of the queen, which was performed, with the usual solemnity, on the twenty-fifth of November, being then in the twenty-first year of her age, and about two years after her marriage. The marquis of Dorset was at the same time released, without examination or trial; and, towards the end of the year sent, on a solemn embassy to the pope, with advice of the king's marriage, the coronation of the queen, and offers of service and spiritual obedience. Thus Henry endeavoured to make a coalition of all parties, for supporting his government; and it was this conduct that chiefly contributed to give him the great figure he now made in the eyes of foreign princes, whose affairs it is proper we should once more review.

The war still continued in the Low Countries, where the troops of Charles VIII. surprized St.

Omer's and Terouenne; and the inhabitants of Ghent were incited by a nobleman, called Ruffingham, to revolt against Maximilian. By this time Francis II. duke of Brittany, now very old and infirm, having no sons, with the consent of his estates settled the succession upon his two daughters, Anne and Isabel, the last of which dying before her father, Anne became sole heiress of Brittany. Charles VIII. proposed to unite that duchy with France, by marrying this princess; but his scheme was traversed by Lewis, duke of Orleans, to whom, as we have already observed, the duke of Brittany had given an asylum at his court, together with the count de Dunois, and others of that party; and the lords of Brittany, on their sides, entered into a negociation with Charles, though their motives were very different from those by which the French king was actuated. When he concluded the alliance, he thought the treaty would furnish him with an opportunity to make a complete conquest of Brittany, while they hoped his protection would screen them from the resentment and arbitrary designs of their own sovereign. In pursuance of this treaty, Charles, about May, 1487, marched several numerous bodies of forces towards the frontiers of Brittany, and, after reducing Ploermel, Vannes, and Dinant, laid siege to Nantes; but, after the French had lain before it for the space of six weeks, they were compelled to abandon their enterprize by the count de Dunois, who found means to throw into the city a strong body of troops, which had been sent to the assistance of Francis by Maximilian, king of the Romans, who had views of espousing his daughter.

The gaining of the battle of Stoke had given Henry of England so considerable a figure, that the court of France sent a formal embassy to congratulate him on his success, and bespeak his friendship or at least neutrality between them and the court of Brittany. Henry for some time amused the French ambassadors with promises of mediating between them and the duke, alleging that, as he had been under strong obligations both to the king their master and to Francis, gratitude would not permit him openly to side with either against the other. In the mean time, however, he laid the affair before his parliament, who, on taking the matter into deliberation, and perceiving that the true aim of the French court was to annex the duchy of Brittany to their crown, which could not fail of being very injurious to the English interest on the continent, it was resolved that the duke of Brittany should be assisted, and a subsidy was voted for that purpose; but Henry, who had only asked his parliament's advice on that subject in order to get money from them, and having effected his design, never troubled himself about the affairs of Brittany any otherwise than by multiplying embassies, which he well knew would come to nothing.

However, in the spring of the ensuing year, 1488, at the earnest request of the lord Woodville, the queen's uncle, governor of the Isle of Wight, he gave him a tacit permission of transporting a body of four hundred men to the duke's assistance; and he had even the meanness to disavow his knowledge of this transaction, when Charles sent deputies to make complaint of it.

Lewis de la Tremouille, one of the French generals, had at that time invaded Brittany with an army of twelve thousand French, and taken Cha-

teau Briant and Ancennis; he afterwards reduced Fougères, one of the strongest fortresses on the frontiers of that country, and invested St. Aubin du Cormier. The Bretons advancing to the relief of that place, the two armies came to a general engagement, on the twenty-eighth of July, and the French gained the day by the advantage of their cavalry, in which they were much superior: Woodville, with all his English, and about five thousand Bretons, were killed on the spot; the duke of Orleans and the prince of Orange were taken prisoners. This victory was followed by the surrender of St. Aubin; Dinant submitted without resistance, and St. Malo's capitulated after a slight defence.

The duke, being now left without any army to oppose the enemy, was obliged to accept such terms as Charles thought fit to impose: these were, that he should dismiss all his foreign auxiliaries, and solemnly promise never to admit any into his country for the future; that the French should retain all the places they had in their possession; and that the duke should not dispose of his daughter in marriage without the consent of the French monarch. This treaty was concluded at Sablé, on the twenty-eighth of August, 1488; and about ten days afterwards the duke of Brittany himself died, leaving his daughter Anne heiress of his dominions. She had, it is true, an excellent council appointed her by her father; but being without troops or money, she was in no condition to resist the French; for Charles, to make good his pretensions, either by force or marriage, upon that duchy, immediately entered it with a stronger army than ever, and, towards the end of this year, made himself master of almost all the Lower Brittany.

As for Maximilian, instead of being in a condition to succour his future father-in-law, he was himself imprisoned at Bruges, and remained in confinement until his father, Frederic the emperor, marched into the Low Countries, at the head of a numerous army, to his relief. He was so intent upon fortifying himself against the mutinous spirit of the Flemings, that, forgetting all his engagements with the duke of Brittany, he sent an envoy to Spain, to demand of Ferdinand and his queen Isabella, their daughter Isabella for himself, and the younger infant, Jane, for his son Philip. Mean while Philip de Cleves, lord of Ravenstein, being chosen general of the inhabitants of Ghent, surprised the city of Brussels, and Maximilian retired to Germany, leaving Albert, duke of Saxony, to command for his son Philip in the Low Countries: and thus was the duke of Brittany totally abandoned by this ally, on whom he had placed so great confidence, and left to sue for peace in the humble manner we have already described. It is now time to attend the domestic affairs of our own country.

In the latter end of the year 1487, Henry summoned a parliament at Westminster, which continued sitting far into the year 1488, and several excellent regulations were enacted therein, all which will be found under their proper heads, and will give the reader an idea of the first steps taken towards establishing the present excellent form of government now existing, which we hope will be as permanent as is natural order or moral obligation. It was in this parliament that the king had a grant of a subsidy towards enabling him to assist the duke of Brittany effectually: it consisted of two fifteenths, besides a poll-tax upon aliens, and an act of re-

sumption; but the rigorous manner in which these aids were levied, occasioned great murmuring, particularly among the inhabitants of Yorkshire and the bishopric of Durham, who, as old partizans of the house of York, hated Henry, and refused to comply with the conditions of the tax, which, they said, was a grievous oppression, especially the tenth penny laid upon every man's lands and goods.

At length these discontents were blown into open rebellion, by the instigation of one John a Chambre, of Yorkshire, a fellow who delighted in sedition and turbulency, and who soon got together a number of dissolute people, ready for any enterprise into which their factious leader chose to carry them. The most immediate object of their rage was the earl of Northumberland, who was lord-lieutenant in those parts, and to whom they had ineffectually applied for a mitigation of the impost, and who had, indeed, made himself particularly odious to the Yorkists by his behaviour at the battle of Bosworth: in short, the insurgents got to such an height, that they broke into the earl's house at Cocksedge, near Thirsk, about eighteen miles from York, and, after rifling the dwelling, dragged the earl out into the open fields, where, after making him go through a thousand barbarous indignities, they completed their revenge by knocking out his brains. Then, putting one sir John Egremont, a factious knight, at their head, they formed a kind of an army, and openly declared that they would march to London, and give battle to Henry.

The king was no sooner informed of this disturbance, than he sent a body of troops against the rebels, under the command of the earl of Surry, whom he had lately released out of the Tower and taken into his favour. That nobleman attacking the insurgents, defeated them at the first onset, and took John a Chambre prisoner, but sir John Egremont made his escape, and fled for refuge to the court of the duchess dowager of Burgundy, the assured asylum to all who declared themselves enemies to Henry Tudor. As a reward for his services, Henry made the earl of Surry his lieutenant in those parts, in the room of the late earl of Northumberland, and sir Richard Tunstall to be first commissioner for collecting the subsidy, which was done without the abatement of one penny.

We will now pursue Henry's great concern on the continent. The guardians of the young duchess of Brittany dreading lest their sovereign and her dominions should fall a prey to the ambitious views of the French monarch, solicited without ceasing the court of England to interpose its succour. At length Henry began to perceive that he had continued his pacific plan too long. The uniting of the duchy of Brittany to the crown of France was an event which the English had great reason to dread; it would deprive them of an ancient and useful ally; it would increase the power of their most formidable enemy; it would raise the maritime power of France to such an height, as in the sequel might prove extremely dangerous; and it would add to the French dominions a country of large extent, abounding with brave soldiers and hardy seamen, and very conveniently situated either for distressing their trade, or keeping them in continual fear of an invasion.

Influenced by these and the like considerations, Henry determined in good earnest to oppose the designs of the French monarch, and support the

duchess of Brittany in the possession of her lawful rights. With this view he appointed sir Richard Edgcombe, comptroller of his household, and Dr. Ainsworth, secondary of the privy-seal, his ambassadors to the duchess of Brittany; and they were so assiduous in executing their commission, that, on the tenth of February, 1489, they concluded a treaty offensive and defensive between Henry and that princess, the principal articles of which were as follow.

I. If the king of England, or his successors, should attempt the recovery of Normandy, Guienne, or any other territory, parcel of the kingdom of France, that then the duchess was to assist him to the utmost of her power. This article was recited on the part of the duchess, in case that she, for the like reasons, should carry the war into France.

II. That Henry shall, at his own expence, send six thousand armed men to the defence of the duchess, of whom not more than five hundred were to be employed by him in garrisoning the cautionary towns to be yielded by this treaty, and those troops to serve till the first of November ensuing.

III. That the duchess shall find ships and victualling for transporting the said troops into England; and that she shall repay, in England, the money expended by Henry upon the said six thousand auxiliaries, which were to be embarked at Portsmouth towards the middle of February next ensuing.

IV. That, as soon as the said auxiliaries are landed, the said duchess shall deliver to Henry, or his deputies, two of the following places, and all their revenues, as cautionary for the repayment of the said sum, till it is repaid, viz. Toncloum near Hennebon, Auray, Vannes, Guerrande: in like manner it is provided, that whatever succours the said duchess should afford to Henry, in his prosecution of a war with France, they should be by him paid, or their expences deducted from those of the auxiliaries furnished by him to her. This condition is reciprocal.

V. That the duchess shall swear, and the marshal of Brittany with three others of the principal noblemen to be bound in the same oath, that she will not reclaim any of the said cautionary towns, before the repayment of her whole debt contracted to Henry, which is to be liquidated by commissioners appointed on both sides.

VI. That the duchess shall give to Henry sixteen hostages, to remain on board the English ships until such time two of the fore-mentioned places, well provided in victuals and artillery, are delivered, according to the king of England's option.

VII. That the duchess, the marshal of Brittany, and three or four of her principal noblemen, shall swear that she will contract no marriage with any person, without the consent and approbation of the said king of England, the said noblemen engaging themselves to make good this article.

VIII. That the said duchess shall not agree to any peace, or other alliance or intelligence, with any prince, the kings of the Romans and of Spain excepted, nor with them unless that he (Henry) is included in any treaty made with them by her; and likewise, that she shall agree upon no truce or armistice for more than two months, but as above; nor for that neither without comprehending the king

of England in the same. The latter part of this article is likewise reciprocal.

Such were the principal articles of the treaty of Rhedon, so called from the name of the place where it was concluded. It is easy to perceive, that in making this treaty Henry had three different views; first, to prevent Charles VIII. from becoming master of Brittany; secondly, to frighten that monarch into a compliance, by the sending over to Brittany a strong body of forces; his third and chief aim, was to secure the reimbursement of such sums as he might advance for the maintenance of six thousand men for eight months; in all which Henry, agreeable to his established maxim, made his own interest take place of every other consideration: at the same time, in order to strengthen himself more effectually, he concluded a treaty of alliance and commerce with young Philip, duke of Burgundy, son of Maximilian, king of the Romans; another for reviving the ancient alliances with Portugal, and for making that king (John II.) a knight of the Garter; a third, for removing all differences with the king of the Romans; and a fourth, for treating of a marriage between his son Arthur, prince of Wales, and Catherine of Arragon, daughter to Ferdinand, king of Castile, and for reviving the alliances with that court. To give the greater weight to these negotiations, an army was raised by the advice of the parliament, which met again in the beginning of this year, for the support of Brittany, and it was to be commanded by the lord Brooke and sir John Halwell.

The French regency, alarmed at these resolutions of the court of England, sent over the archbishop of Sens, to expostulate with Henry on the part he was about to act; but the latter, with his usual caution and policy, pretended that he was only an instrument in the hands of his parliament, in taking part with the duchess of Brittany, as it was far from being his own intention or desire to act against a court, to which he owed so many obligations as he did to that of France. The archbishop, however, was not to be so easily imposed upon; he saw into, and gave his court advice of, the true designs of Henry, which they found confirmed by the arrival of the English auxiliaries in March, who landed, to the number of eight thousand, at Guerande, under the command of the lord Willoughby, sir John Cheney, sir John Middleton, Halletown, Corbet, Lighton, Cornwall, and others: they were readily received into Guerande, but refused admittance into Hennebon.

The French, however, by their prudent caution, preserved all the footing they had gained in Brittany; distributed in garrisons through almost all the great towns, they over-ran the neighbourhood without opposition; the duchess had neither forces to check their excursions, nor money to levy and maintain an army, nor even interest enough to procure her new allies, the English, the possession of the places stipulated in the treaty of Rhedon; and these latter were too weak to undertake the siege of large and populous cities; the noblemen of Brittany were resolute in refusing them admittance into any of their castles. On the other hand, the French, fully sensible of what English courage was able to effect, if dared to exertion, prudently declined hazarding a general engagement, and kept themselves within their strong holds, waiting for every opportunity of making successful sallies,

fallies, and surprize the detached parties of the enemy.

In these slight and trivial skirmishes the summer was spent without any action of importance; and the English, seeing nothing but discord and dissension in the court of Brittany, returned to their own country, in the month of November, the term of their service being then fully expired. But, in order to have a clear view of Henry's situation at this juncture, we must take a closer view of the history of the Breton court, and that of France, since the death of the duke of Brittany*.

Francis had left the guardianship of his daughter to the marshal de Rieux and the counts de Comminges and Dunois, and committed the principal care of her person to Philip de Montauban, chancellor of the duchy, who, with the prince of Orange, cousin to the young duchess, composed the ruling part of the council, and engrossed the direction of public affairs. These noblemen were greatly divided in their sentiments about the disposal of their young ward in marriage.

The duke of Brittany had, in pursuance of the common practices of that time, amused several suitors with the hopes of marrying his daughter; he had even given a positive promise to Allain, lord d'Albret, who was upwards of forty years of age, while that of the princess was not above eleven. The marshal de Rieux was bent upon giving her to this nobleman: the chancellor Montauban and the count de Comminges observed a neutrality, contented with having the person of the princess in their hands: while the young duke of Orleans made warm pretensions to the lady, which was favoured by the solicitations of the count de Dunois, still at the Breton court.

Whilst cabals were carrying on at the court of Brittany, for the interests of these rivals, a treaty was made at Francfort, on the twenty-second of July, between Maximilian and the king of France, in which a stipulation was made for the latter's putting St. Malo's, and other places he possessed in that province, into the hands of the duke of Bourbon and the prince of Orange (as sequestrators, to preserve them in a neutrality till the right of the duchy was judicially determined), as soon as the English were sent out of Brittany. This treaty was ratified by both parties, and now Maximilian pushing his addresses with more vigour than ever, and having gained the chancellor Montauban and the count de Comminges over to his interest, he, towards the end of this year, was married to the young duchess, by the count de Nassau, his proxy, who, by way of consummation, put his naked leg under the espousal sheets, while the duchess was in bed, a ceremony first invented on this occasion.

The treaty between Charles and Maximilian was executed with great punctuality in such articles as particularly concerned themselves; but in those relating to Brittany, the French started difficulties, and refused to resign the places they possessed, on pretence that the province was not entirely cleared of English forces. In this situation were the affairs of the continent during the year 1489, while Henry was at home pursuing his great plan of abolishing the feudal law, and thereby making room for the safety of government, the exercise of industry, and the influx of commerce†.

The parliament of England, which had been prorogued last year from the twenty-third of February to the fourteenth of October, and, after having sat till the fourth of December, been again prorogued to Monday the twenty-fifth of January, 1490, met on this last-mentioned day, for the usual business of granting supplies, and for the more extraordinary one of attainting some persons on account of a conspiracy, about a month before, for delivering an innocent youth out of prison.

These persons were John, abbot of Abingdon, John Maine and Christopher Swanne, of the same place, Edward Frank and Thomas Rothwell, priest, of London; and they were charged, the three first with designing to go abroad the New Year's day 1487, to the earl of Lincoln, then in Flanders, and to have concerted a scheme for getting Edward, earl of Warwick, out of the king's ward, in order, as was surmised, to excite an insurrection. The four last had consulted once about it, at the house of one Henry Davy, in London, and another time at Abingdon; the abbot had been at neither of these meetings, nor spoken to any of the conspirators except Maine; but, approving the scheme, had furnished them with money to assist in the execution of it. The young earl was kept so close a prisoner, that no one knew for certain where he was, and the design miscarried from the conspirators mistaking the place of his concealment or imprisonment; and the affair being discovered, all their lands and goods were declared forfeited, except such as belonged to the monastery: but this sentence was not to bar the king's prerogative from inflicting such farther punishment on the abbot as he should see fit; however, Henry contented himself with having swept all the wealth of the parties into his own coffers; and, not caring to revive the murmurs of the people by too frequent exertions of revenge on the Yorkists, dropped any farther prosecution. The parliament having granted a considerable subsidy on the twenty-seventh of February, was then dissolved.

The dispute with the court of France and that of Brittany, about the evacuation of places agreeable to the late treaty of Francfort, occasioned a renewal of hostilities; and the lord d'Albret, chagrined at the marriage of the duchess with Maximilian, surprized Nantes, and delivered it into the hands of the French. In this dilemma, Anne, whose marriage with Maximilian had been kept a profound secret, as well from Charles of France as Henry of England, sent the chancellor Montauban, and other envoys, to demand succours of Henry, and even engaged never to marry without his knowledge and consent, and to deliver the town and castle of Morlaix, as a security into Henry's hands for the money he had lent her. The ambassadors arrived in the month of February, but it was September before Henry could be brought to take any definitive measures in her favour: about that time he gave orders to sir Thomas Lovel and Dr. Ainsworth, to meet with the ambassadors of Maximilian, and to enter into concert with them for making war upon the king of France, for the recovery of the towns "which the said king (to use the words of the record, Rymer, vol. xii. p. 397), against all equity of law, villainously usurped, and unjustly detained by force and fraud, from the said Maximilian, or his son Philip,

* Argentré, Mezerai.

† See the articles Laws and Commerce, at the end of this reign.

duke of Burgundy, or the duchess of Brittany." The emperor of Germany, the king and queen of Spain, the kings of Denmark and Portugal, were invited to accede to this treaty, together with the electors and princes of the empire. The king and queen of Spain immediately acceded to the same, and their accession was notified by public proclamation throughout all England. But besides this, Henry made a separate treaty with the court of Spain for attacking France, unless she would deliver up the county of Roussillon to the Spaniards, and likewise for renewing the treaty of marriage between prince Arthur and the princess Catherine of Spain; it was even agreed upon, that the marriage should be celebrated as soon as the prince attained the age of fourteen and the princess that of twelve; and that she should have for her portion two hundred thousand crowns, each crown to be valued at four shillings and two pence sterling. This treaty was concluded on the part of Henry by Dr. Savage and sir Richard Naufan.

Great effects might probably have arisen from this formidable alliance against France, could Henry have been persuaded to part with his money; but his fondness for that made him slight every other consideration, and, instead of acting vigorously, he agreed to open conferences, at the solicitation of Charles, who dreaded his junction with the duchess, and sent ambassadors to France, to endeavour to mediate between that court and the duchess and Maximilian. Charles, in the mean time, amused the English ambassadors with evasive professions, in order to gain time, that he might be able to terminate the war to his own advantage, without referring the dispute to Henry, whose arbitration he had no mind to adopt.

During these negotiations the duke of Saxony, who commanded in the Low Countries, in the name of Maximilian, published an edict touching the coin, to which the inhabitants of Bruges refused to submit, and those of Ghent joined in their revolt. The king of France, whose constant aim was to foment domestic troubles in the dominions of his neighbours, sent succours to the rebels, under the command of marshal Desguardes, governor of Picardy; and on the other hand Maximilian sent ambassadors to Henry, to crave his assistance. The king of England, piqued at the manner in which Charles had shuffled with his ambassadors, and unwilling to see the archduke oppressed by his own subjects, sent the lords d'Aubeney, Willoughby, and Morley to his assistance, with a body of three thousand men; these, joining with a body of Maximilian's German troops, threw themselves, unperceived by the enemy into Dixmude, which the Flemings, with the assistance of the French, had invested, after having taken Ypres and Sluys. D'Aubeney, who had the chief command of the English and Germans, sallying forth the next morning by day-break, came unawares upon the enemy, who were lying in full security in their camp, and falling upon them sword in hand, routed them entirely, no less than eight thousand French and Flemings being that day cut in pieces; and of the English, besides the lord Morley, who fell in the beginning of the action, not above one hundred. The small force d'Aubeney had with him not permitting the prosecution of even so considerable a victory, he con-

tented himself with burning to the ground the town of Ostend, which was then in possession of the French, and immediately after marched the English troops into Nieuport, with all the cannon they had taken from the enemy, and so rich a booty that most of the common soldiers were now possessed of fine horses and rich cloathing.

These advantages which Maximilian got on the side of Picardy, and the resolution Henry seemed now to have taken, of supporting his new allies, made Charles resolve to send an embassy into England, to learn what he had to hope or fear from the English monarch, and, if possible, to detach him from the interest of the duchess of Brittany. For this purpose he chose Francis de Luxembourg viscount of Martigues, Valeran de Sannes, and Robert de Gaguin, general of the order of the Trinity. Henry, by an unaccountable spirit of dallying and prolonging the evil hour of parting with his money, agreed to open the conferences, and appointed Fox, bishop of Winchester; the earl of Ormond; Gunthorpe, dean of Wells; the prior of Christ church, in Canterbury; sir John Bourne; sir Robert Tuberville, treasurer of Calais; and Robert Ross, purveyor of the same, to treat with the French concerning a final determination of all differences between the two crowns. Nothing material was transacted at these conferences, which passed chiefly in idle claims and useless altercations on both sides. Morton, Henry's chancellor, indeed affected to talk in a very lofty style, and even told the French ambassadors, that the king his master expected the continuance or renewal of the payment of the appointment or tribute stipulated to Edward IV. by the treaty of Amiens; and when the French ambassadors declared they had no instructions on that head, he peremptorily told them "that the king their master must not be surprized, if, in case of a refusal, king Henry should assert his right, not only to the duchies of Normandy, Guienne, and Anjou, but even to the crown of France itself, as his lawful inheritance *."

The French ambassadors were surprized at this declaration; they behaved, however, with great spirit, and replied, that they made no doubt but the king their sovereign's sword would be able to maintain his sceptre, adding, "that though they had no instructions upon the point started by the court of England; yet they could venture to say, that their master would never consent to dismember from his crown any part of its rights and possessions." This appearance of resolution made Henry fear he had gone too far; he ordered Morton to sound the ambassadors upon the following question, "Whether Charles would accept the disposal of the duchess of Brittany in marriage, with the exclusive condition that he should not marry her himself?" To this question the ambassadors replied, that their king was so far from entertaining any thought of espousing the duchess, that he had given them no instructions on the subject: soon after they took their leave. Henry, upon this occasion, spun his politics too fine; his intention was to intimidate Charles, and for that purpose he made use of a rhodomontade, which produced a contrary effect. The French king knew he was too wise to embark in such a chimerical project as the conquest of France; and therefore interpreted his menaces

into an artifice for deterring him from the conquest of Brittany, which he resolved to prosecute without farther hesitation: he was strengthened in this resolution when his ambassadors, on their return home, told him that Henry had notified to them, before their departure, that he was to send an embassy immediately to France, to treat of all differences.

In February, 1491, Henry sent ambassadors into France according to his promise*. Their commission was "to treat of all his differences with king Charles, and in particular of a certain sum due to him from that prince (doubtless meaning the tribute), as also of the affair between Charles and the duchess of Brittany†." These instructions alone, says a modern historian, are a clear evidence that Henry had no design to push his pretensions to the realm of France, or at least to Guienne and Normandy, with any vigour; for is it probable that he would have comprized under the general word Differences, his claim to all France, or to two of the richest provinces, and have specified a debt of one hundred and twenty-five thousand crowns, if the first had been his principal point in view? It is therefore manifest he still persisted in his desire to end the affair of Brittany without war, and to secure the sums he had advanced.

About the same time, viz. the beginning of the year 1491, he appointed commissioners to treat with the ambassadors lately arrived from Brittany. Then it was, probably that the duchess's marriage with Maximilian was imparted to him; or perhaps it was known to him before, though he pretended ignorance of it, as not having been notified to him in form. These ambassadors, who were the lord of Maupertuis and Peter Cajalu, had also in charge to solicit Henry to bestir himself more effectually in behalf of the duchess, who had received certain advice that the court of France was meditating an invasion against her dominions, which must fall into their hands, if not timely succoured. Henry gave them the strongest assurances that, if the present negotiations in which he was engaged with Charles, did not take the desired effect, he would immediately unsheathe the sword in behalf of their mistress, and protect her with all his power against the designs of her enemies. The ambassadors were obliged to put up with these promises, and we shall leave them at the court of England, to take a view of what passed on the continent.

No sooner was Charles informed of the marriage of the duchess Anne with Maximilian, and the promises made to the Breton ambassadors by Henry, than he at once perceived that he should never be able by force of arms to accomplish his designs upon the duchy of Brittany, and therefore determined to have recourse to the only expedient that could insure success, namely, espousing the duchess himself, by which means he should, by an easy and natural consequence, complete his design upon her dominions; and he found no small encouragement in the dispositions of the lord d'Albret and the marshal de Rieux, especially the former, who, by the contract of the duchess with Maximilian, had lost all hopes of becoming her husband: that party therefore closed with the proposition, privately communicated to them by the French ministry, who

made no secret of their master's intention to reannex the duchy of Brittany to his own crown, either by arms or marriage. And Charles, making his interest take the lead of every other consideration, and beginning to dislike the conduct of the duchess of Bourbon, went himself and took the duke of Orleans out of the tower of Bourges, where he had been confined ever since the battle of St. Aubin. This generous proceeding united the court and the kingdom of France; and the duke of Orleans so far lost his love in his politics, that he not only resigned all pretensions to the duchess, but had a principal share in contriving and conducting the whole negotiation of her marriage with the king of France.

This scheme, however, was attended with some difficulties, which to a prince of a less enterprising genius than Charles would have appeared altogether unsurmountable. He himself was under an engagement, by the treaty of Arras, A. D. 1482, to marry Margaret of Austria, daughter to Maximilian, who had been near seven years at the French court, considered as queen, and waiting only the proper age to be so declared upon her marriage. The duchess of Brittany had been bred with a high contempt of his person, which was mean and deformed; she thought herself already married to Maximilian, and she had for some time taken the title of queen of the Romans; she had just received fresh assurances from Henry of his readiness to march to her assistance; and she had declared herself resolved to make the most vigorous resistance: but all these impediments were too weak barriers to check the ambitious career of the French monarch. He gained over the count de Dunois and the prince of Orange, and they used all the art they were masters of to dispose the minds of the Bretons to peace: though at the same time they pretended to enter into all the measures of the duchess for calling in the English to her assistance; They soon found means to persuade the noblemen of Brittany to espouse the cause of Charles: the chancellor Montauban was won over by the marshal de Rieux and the lord d'Albret.

These all joined their efforts to bring the young duchess to consent to a match with Charles; but her affection for Maximilian, the frequent attempts which the former had made to deprive her of her inheritance, and the constant regard which the latter had expressed for her interest, the contract of the French monarch with Margaret of Austria, her hereditary hatred to the French nation, her treaties with the kings of England and Castile, and especially her marriage with Maximilian, all concurred to make her resolve not to hearken to any remonstrances on the subject; and she stood the attacks of her nobility, all won with French gold, with a steadiness which was wonderful in so young a princess: and the count de Dunois, finding her inflexible, sent word to the king of France, that if he meant to accomplish his purpose, he must enter Brittany immediately with a numerous army, and force the refractory princess to a compliance, before the arrival of the English succours.

Charles followed this advice, without losing a moment; and, while he was amusing Henry's ambassadors with negotiations, all on a sudden he

* These were Richard Fox, Thomas, earl of Ormond, and the prior of Christ-church. Rymer, vol. xii. p. 435.

† Ibid. p. 436, 437. Bacon.

marched a great army into Brittany, and encamped within a league of Rennes, where the duchess then resided. This sudden irruption, and the danger she was in seemed at first to have no effect on the duchess; she declared herself ready to fall beneath the ruins of her state, rather than give her hand to the base invader of them: but Charles at length laying siege to her capital, and having nobody about her but a council she could not trust, all her nobility being professedly in the interest of the French king, and no prospect of relief being at hand, she found herself at length constrained to yield to what the exigency of her circumstances and the importunities of her faithless ministers, taking advantage of that exigence, demanded of her: she waved her objections, and her compliance was signified to Charles; hostilities ceased, the contract of marriage was drawn up, and the princess, being carried to Lagny, in Touraine, was, on the sixteenth day of December, 1491, married to Charles, and soon after crowned at St. Denis.

As to the king of the Romans, this proceeding of Charles and the French court exasperated him beyond all measure; he breathed nothing but revenge when he heard that he was robbed of his wife in such a cruel and outrageous manner, and peremptorily insisted that his daughter Margaret, who had been affianced to Charles, and, as we have already observed, had resided so long in France, should be sent back to his own court: in a word, he filled all Europe with complaints and remonstrances, but without any hope of being either redressed or revenged. He had, moreover, the mortification of reflecting, that his own negligence had not a little contributed to the disgrace and disappointment with which he now smarted; for had he been so prudent to consummate his marriage with the duchess in person, instead of doing it by proxy only, it would have been impossible for Charles to have dissolved the sacred union; but as he had neglected to take this necessary precaution, the other politically availed himself of such an impolitic omission.

Nothing could be more unexpected or unacceptable to Henry, than was the marriage of the French king with the duchess of Brittany: he saw, not without confusion, that he had been the dupe of his own avaricious policy, of which he had now lost all the fruits, not only as Brittany was entirely gone, but as the reimbursement of the sums he had advanced for its defence was more precarious than ever. In the first emotions of his resentment and vexation, he publicly declared a resolution of heading his army in person against France; he issued out orders to levy forces, and prepare transports, and put on a determined air of acting with vigour.

His next step was to assemble a parliament, which met on Thursday the sixth of January, 1492, when, in a set speech, he acquainted the two houses with the king of France's seizing the duchy of Brittany, while he amused him with a sham treaty, and declared his resolution to recover the kingdom of France, as the inheritance of his ancestors; he reminded the members of the victories of Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt; mentioned the different powers that were ready to co-operate with his measures in attacking that kingdom; demanded a supply suitable to the greatness of the occasion, ex-

horting the commons to spare the purses of the poor, and let the burthen of the tax fall upon the wealthy. Though the commons had very little reason to grant a supply; considering how the last had been imbezzled: the conquest of France was such a temptation as they could not resist; they not only advised him to engage in the enterprize, which in truth he had no mind to undertake, but they supplied him with uncommon alacrity, and, according to his desire, empowered him to renew the unpopular Benevolences, which his predecessor Richard, bad as he was, no less prudently than justly abolished.

Henry now appeared extremely intent upon his French expedition; and judging it proper to be secure from any diversions the Scots might make in his absence, sent ambassadors to Coldstream, upon the river Tweed, to confer with others sent by James IV. who had succeeded to the throne of Scotland upon the murder of his father James III. by his own nobility, who had taken up arms against him. The conferences were not long, both kings being equally desirous of each other's friendship, so that a five years truce was concluded, viz. from the twenty-first of December, 1491, to the same day, 1496. By this treaty the town of Berwick, with its territory, was to be declared a neutral town; and the lordship of Lorn, in Scotland, and the little island of Lundy belonging to England, were excepted out of the truce. Henry ratified the treaty on the ninth of January, 1492; but the king of Scotland, whether bribed by France, or from some other motive, refused to confirm it; he agreed, however, to a much shorter truce, on the twentieth of February following, which was to last only eleven months.

His next step was to send ambassadors to summon Maximilian and Ferdinand of Spain to assist him in invading France, according to treaty; but, notwithstanding the high and lofty strain in which Henry affected to talk to his parliament, it is pretty evident he had no intention to push the war with vigour; for, at the very time we are now speaking of, viz. the months of February and March, when the flame of his resentment seemed to blaze highest, we find him opening a negociation with two agents from his cousin of France*.

On the third of May, however, the staff-officers and purveyors of the army were appointed; sir Reginald Bray, knight of the Garter, being made pay-master of the troops. On the ninth of the same month, Henry entered into an indenture with his principal officers for their quotas of men, which were to serve in the ensuing campaign, at the rate of eighteen pence for every man at arms, with a servant and page; and sixpence for every archer on foot or horseback†. As we have but imperfect accounts of the art of war in those days, it is not easy to say in what manner these troops were formed and disciplined; it is not unlikely that every contractor acted as colonel of the men whom he had indentured to raise; and that the whole, being divided into van-guard, centre, and rearward, flanked by the horse in two bodies, as wings, were commanded by the general officers, who, upon this occasion, were the king himself, the duke of Bedford, and the earl of Oxford. Mention is also made of the marquis of Dorset, the earls of Kent,

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xii. p. 470.

† Ibid. p. 477—489.

Devonshire, Surry, Arundel, Derby, Shrewsbury, Suffolk, Essex, and Ormond; the lords Latimer, Powis, Barnes, Grey, Scroope of Bolton, Scroope of Upsal, Audley, and Strange; the viscount Wells; sir Reginald Bray, sir Charles Somerset, sir Roger Cotton, sir Richard Holt, sir William Courtney, sir Richard Corbet, sir William Stanley, sir John St. John, sir Walter Hungerford, with several other gentlemen, all of them contractors for furnishing men and arms, and also a brave body of Welsh troops under the command of Richard Thomas*.

The rendezvous of the whole army was appointed to be held near London, and upon a review it appeared to amount to the number of twenty-five thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse, or men at arms, which, allowing two servants to each man at arms, make in the whole an army of about twenty-nine thousand eight hundred fighting men†. But before this army could be got together, and through Henry's affected delays, the season for fighting was over. It was the twentieth of September before Henry got to Canterbury, where he made sir Robert Nanfan judge-advocate of the navy, with a power of punishing capitally all offences committed in the same; and sir Robert Willoughby de Brooke (as he is called in his commission) marshal of the army, with the like powers‡.

On the second of October, Henry, being ready to embark at Dover, appointed his son Arthur, prince of Wales, guardian of the realm. On the sixth of the same month he embarked with his army, and next day landed at Calais.

Henry had scarcely landed on the continent when the ambassadors he had sent to the king of the Romans arrived, and told him that Maximilian was wholly unprepared to enter France, as he had promised; this news was immediately made known to the whole army. Some days after, he received from his ambassadors in Spain, letters, which were likewise made public, importing that Ferdinand had concluded a peace with the king of France, upon that monarch's promising to restore to the crown of Castile the province of Roussillon, without receiving the three hundred thousand crowns, which Lewis XI. had lent upon that county. We shall not venture to affirm with some historians, that Henry knew all this before, but had so ordered, that these advices might come together after his arrival in France, that he might appear forced to make a peace, which he had before privately concerted with the court of France, and that all his vigorous preparations were only made to save appearances with his subjects. Setting aside all bold and ill-grounded conjecture, we shall stick to facts, and leave our readers to judge for themselves.

It is, however, certain, that the public began to entertain some suspicions not greatly to his advantage, when Desguardes, who had just received from Charles VIII. a marshal's baton, appeared openly at the head of an embassy, and produced his powers for making up all differences between the two kings, and that Henry ordered the bishop of Bath and Wells and William, lord d'Aubeney, governor of Calais, to hold conferences with the marshal at Estaples, a few leagues distant from that garrison. Henry was no stranger to the murmurs of his soldiers on this occasion; and, to make a shew of do-

ing something, he, on the nineteenth of October, advanced to invest Boulogne, after demolishing the small towns of Ardres and Moulery: but the army were but too well acquainted that a peace was upon the carpet, which was no small mortification to the gentlemen who had sold or mortgaged their estates, that they might come with the greater number of followers to reconquer that kingdom which their ancestors had more than once subdued before.

But Henry VII. was a very different prince from either Henry V. or Edward III. glory was their passion, money was his: he had promised his parliament that he would make the war pay itself, and he took care it should. His commissioners and those of France seem to have understood one another so perfectly, that little remained to be discussed, and with such celerity were the negotiations carried on at Estaples, that on the thirtieth of October, Henry produced in public a paper, which had been drawn up by the plenipotentiaries on both sides, as preliminaries for a peace: the articles were as follow.

"That Henry should be reimbursed the expences he had been at in assisting the duchess of Brittany, which, according to the English ambassador's account, amounted to an hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds; and also twenty-five thousand pounds as arrears for the tribute due to the crown of England in consequence of the treaty of Pequigny between Edward IV. and Lewis XI. The said sums to be paid to Henry at the rate of fifty thousand franks a year, and Charles giving him for the said payments the like security as king Lewis had given king Edward upon the conclusion of the said treaty.

"II. The particulars of the said expences were, within a reasonable time, to be verified by the English before commissioners appointed for that purpose by the king of France: and the allies of both kings were to have four months after the conclusion of the treaty, for determining whether they should be included in the same.

"III. If, after Maximilian and his son Philip should declare themselves as included in the said treaty, the king of France should act hostilely against them, or their possessions, the king of England shall be at liberty in that and no other case to give them assistance. Proper hostages to be given for the performance of the whole ¶."

Such were the conditions of this scandalous treaty; such were Henry's exploits in an expedition, from which, out of a ridiculous vanity, or to flatter theirs, he had encouraged his subjects to expect no less than the conquest of France. Conscious of the discontent this bargain (as lord Bacon styles it) rather than treaty, would give the whole English nation, and foreseeing the storm to which he might be afterwards exposed from the resentment of a people whom he had plucked to feather himself, by trepanning the commons into a grant of exorbitant taxes on false pretences, he thought proper to get the marquis of Dorset and twenty-three others, either noblemen, privy-counsellors, or chief officers of his army, who were all of them his creatures, and entirely guided by him, to petition him to accept of the proposed preliminaries. Accordingly they presented him with a long memorial, under all their hands, setting forth their

* Bacon, p. 604.

† Speed, p. 736.

‡ Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 484.¶ Ibid. p. 490, 499.
reasons

reasons for desiring him to conclude a peace, the principal of which were,

“The late season of the year and the approach of winter, which would expose their king's and the soldiers lives to danger, and render the passage of provisions by sea from Calais uncertain: the strength of the fortifications and garrison of Boulogne: the security Calais would receive from Sluys being lately reduced by the duke of Saxony to Maximilian's obedience: the saving the English nation from the expence of a war: Henry's disappointment in not being reinforced by his allies: and the different situation in affairs now, from what there was in the time of Edward IV. who, having the duke of Burgundy and all Picardy on his side, might have safely advanced with his army into the very neighbourhood of Paris: but what they imagined rendered it a peace truly honourable, was that France was to pay a greater sum of money than she ever paid or granted before*.”

But the most remarkable part of this address is towards its conclusion, where the petitioners bound themselves to stand and fall by Henry's person and government, should any discontent or murmurs arise upon the said peace being accepted: they farther declare that they were willing to have it believed that the peace was concluded upon their request†.

Henry, feigning to be determined by these reasons to accept of a peace, the treaty was drawn up in form, and signed at Estaples on the third of November; Charles, who was then at Tours, ratified it on the eighth of the same month: after the ratification there was another article added, on the thirteenth of December, by which the contracting parties obliged themselves not to shew favour, nor give advice nor assistance to any of each other's rebellious subjects that should take refuge in their territories; and it was provided, that the whole treaty should, within three years, be ratified by the estates of both kingdoms. Henry then raised the siege of Boulogne, and retired to Calais, from whence he took shipping for England, and arrived at London on the seventeenth of December, undisturbed at the murmurs of an abused people, which he was enabled to disregard by the payment of seven hundred and forty-five thousand ducats for the expence of his armament, and the promise of twenty-five thousand crowns yearly, which were punctually remitted in the sequel, and was called a continuance of the tribute paid to England by his father Lewis XI.

Such were the transactions of this busy year, 1492; others of a more private nature we shall now throw together. On the twenty-second of June, Henry had a second son, afterwards the famous Henry VIII. born to him at Greenwich. Jufts and tournaments were particularly encouraged by Henry, as the most effectual means to introduce that degeneracy and luxury which he wanted to establish amongst his nobility: in one of these sir James Parker was killed by one Vaughan, a domestic belonging to the court. But what distinguished this year above all transactions was the attempt made by Christopher Columbus to discover a new world. This fortunate adventurer was the son of a mechanic in Genoa, a wool-comber it is said: he first offered his services to our Henry, but this monarch's frugal caution, and the multiplicity of affairs he had

at this time on his hands, prevented his entering into any engagements with Columbus, who, despairing of success in England, repaired to the court of Spain: but for a more particular account of this great man and his brother Bartholomew, with the several discoveries they made, we shall refer our readers to the article of Commerce, at the end of this reign.

We are now to enter upon an event of a most intricate nature, which has puzzled all our historians properly to account for, and which has been represented in as many different lights as passion, prejudice, or vague conjecture in the several writers led them to furnish; as to ourselves, we shall, without blindly adopting the sentiments partiality might inspire on either side, relate in a simple order the facts as history has furnished them to us.

Towards the beginning of the year 1492, a young man, whom all his enemies allow to have possessed a very elegant figure and a bewitching address, appeared in Ireland, a country devoted to the house of York, and wrote letters to the earls of Kildare and Desmond, requiring them to acknowledge him as the rightful heir to the crown of England, he being Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, the second surviving son of Edward IV. These two noblemen either not giving credit to his allegations, or still smarting from their unsuccessful attempt in favour of the impostor Simnel, disregarded his application, and he was forced to throw himself for protection upon John Waters, an eminent merchant, and then mayor of Corke, who warmly espoused his cause: and his appearance and claim being bruited about, the common people flocked to him from all parts, offering hearty but unavailing vows for his success. At this time the court of France was under expectation of a visit from Henry of England, and, according to its constant practice of taking pretenders to the crown of England by the hand as often as it has any difference with English kings, one Frion (who had been secretary to Henry VII. but had left his service for that of Charles) was sent into Ireland, to enquire about the matter, and, if there appeared any feasibility in his story, to invite the young claimant (whom we must hereafter call by the name of Perkin Warbeck, which all writers have fixed upon him) over to France. Frion, who, we are told, was a penetrating, sensible, and active man, either convinced, or pretending to be convinced, that this was the real duke of York, carried him over to Paris, where Charles acted as if he certainly believed the same, and continued so to do, even after a good understanding was restored between him and Henry.

No sooner was Perkin arrived at the court of France than sir George Neville, sir John Taylor, and several other persons of distinction, to the number of one hundred, came to see him, and, after several long conversations with him, declared themselves entirely convinced that he was Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, escaped, as he himself said, from the Tower, where he had been confined, and by every one thought to have been murdered by order of the usurper Richard. Charles, upon these testimonies in his favour, ordered him an appointment suitable to the character he assumed, with a guard to attend his person. In this manner he lived at Charles's court till the conclusion of the peace of Estaples, when that monarch and his mi-

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 490.

† Ibid. p. 494.

nistry could no longer with decency entertain him; which Perkin wisely perceived, and, without waiting to be told to retire, withdrew from Paris privately, and going into Burgundy about the beginning of the year 1493, applied to the duchess dowager of Burgundy, sister of Edward IV. and the declared enemy of the Lancaster family.

This princess, though she had seen him received by Charles of France, and owned by all the English at that court as the duke of York, not only received him as a mere stranger, but even affected to treat him as an impostor: she quoted the recent case of Lambert Simnel, as an instance how far easy credulity might be imposed upon, and even went so far as to threaten Perkin with imprisonment. To this rebuff he opposed only a graceful modesty, accompanied with that decent assurance which is usually seen to wait on truth. This first startled the duchess: she now put a thousand questions to him in public, to try whether he was the real duke of York or not; but all his answers were so apposite and ready, and his behaviour had in it so much dignity and sweetness, that he was generally believed, as well by the principal personages of the Burgundian court as those of inferior rank, to be the true duke Richard; the duchess herself at length seemed to be so convinced of his being no impostor, that she assigned him a guard of thirty halberdiers, and distinguished him by the name of the White Rose of England*; and all the court, Flemings, Dutch, and strangers, shewed him the same respect as to one of the blood royal.

The news flew like lightning into England, that the duke of York was certainly alive (the name of Perkin Warbeck not being yet come to light); that he had been entertained in Ireland, countenanced in France, and was now publicly avowed and greatly honoured in Flanders. It must be admitted, that, whether Perkin was a counterfeit or not, he appeared at a time when Henry's conduct had added many to the enemies he had before. Thus much was in favour of Perkin; but, at the same time, the minds of the people were still possessed with the impudent attempt and ridiculous fall of Lambert Simnel, and therefore most people were very cautious and backward in giving credit to the like tales or appearances. As to Henry, he affected to treat the whole affair as a scheme of that restless woman, the duchess of Burgundy; and, whatever he might really think, appeared wholly unconcerned, lest his fears should encourage his enemies; or, perhaps, because he thought it would make Perkin too considerable, should he take any public measures to destroy him.

In the beginning of March, Henry sent the order of the Garter to Alphonso duke of Calabria, eldest son of Ferdinand king of Naples. Alphonso had been extremely desirous of this honour, to insinuate to the princes of Italy, that he had in the king of England a protector who would not suffer him to be oppressed. He would have thereby induced them to league with the king his father, against Charles VIII. who was going to undertake the conquest of the kingdom of Naples.

A few days after, Henry concluded at London a treaty of perpetual peace and amity with Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Castile and Arragon. This alliance, which was a reciproc-

cal engagement of mutual assistance upon all occasions, was particular in that it extended not to all the kings of England and Spain without distinction, but only to all their successors descended from them. In the treaty, the marriage articles between prince Arthur and Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, were confirmed and renewed.

In the mean time, however, the people of England began to shew more and more their disgust against the king, who was now become extremely unpopular: they scrupled not to tax him with avarice and extortion, in fleecing his subjects for the support of a war undertaken merely with a view to fill his own coffers, and terminated by a dishonourable and disadvantageous peace; with behaving to his queen rather with the rigour of a tyrant, than the tenderness of a husband; and with embracing every opportunity of oppressing the friends and adherents to the house of York, to a princess of which he was alone indebted for his title to the crown he wore: and as a person of that house now appeared, who had a prior right to that of Henry's wife, they looked upon their relation and allegiance to him as virtually dissolved.

In this situation of sentiments, encouraged by the many concurrent circumstances in favour of the youth who assumed the character of duke of York, and increased by Henry's avaricious temper, which had alienated several of the firmest friends to his person and the house of Lancaster, it is no wonder that many in England began to reflect and reason within themselves, and next to debate and cabal with others. Sir William Stanley, to whom, and his brother, Henry owed his success at Bosworth, and consequently in part his crown; John Radcliffe, lord Fitz Walter; sir Robert Clifford, sir Thomas Thwaites, and others, entered into a secret confederacy to espouse the cause of the young adventurer, and deputed sir Robert Clifford, son of the lord Clifford, and William Borley, a gentleman of fortune of Aldeburgh, in Hertfordshire, to go to the court of the duchess of Burgundy, to enquire minutely into the merits of the youth's identity, and, on receiving satisfaction therein, to concert with that princess the means of restoring him to his lawful inheritance.

After sir Robert Clifford had been some time at Margaret's court, and after having several conversations with Perkin, he wrote over to the conspirators in England, that he knew the youth's person as well as that of his own son, and that he was sure he was no impostor, but the real duke of York. This report worked the conspirators almost into certainty; and Henry, who by this time was no stranger to the discontents of the people, and plainly foresaw the storm that was ready to fall upon his head, thought the matter too serious to be neglected any longer. He had already received a confused account of the conspiracy being hatching, and that emissaries were passing between the court of Burgundy and some of his own subjects; he therefore sent certain officers, with a band of soldiers, into every port, to keep the shores and sea coasts, that no one might come in or go out of the kingdom without being searched and examined. His next, and indeed principal business was to undeceive the people, by proving the murder of the two young princes.

* The badge by which, in the course of the civil wars, the house of York was distinguished; as the family of Lancaster was by that of the red.

This could only be done by discoveries made by the murderers, of whom two were still alive, sir James Tyrrel, ordered by Richard III. to put the princes to death, and John Dighton, one of those employed by Tyrrel to commit the fact; Miles Forrest, the third, being dead some time before. Sir James Tyrrel was then a man in very high reputation; he had been employed by Henry in most of his important transactions with the courts of France and Burgundy, and was then governor of Guisnes: we shall forbear to remark the infamy which attended Henry's countenancing such a person, or indeed suffering him to live, and proceed in our narrative.

Tyrrel and Dighton were apprehended by the king's order, and sent to prison, where they underwent a private examination; after which it was given out, that they agreed in their depositions; namely, "That Dighton and Forrest smothered the two princes in their bed, and shewed their dead bodies to Tyrrel, and that a priest afterwards buried them under a stair-case; that soon after king Richard ordered them to be removed elsewhere, by the same priest, who was since dead, without discovering where he had laid them." It is probable, however, that Tyrrel's deposition was not so favourable to Henry's purpose as Dighton's, since he was detained in prison, whereas Dighton was released, to spread abroad his own evidence; but we find no discovery that he made reduced into any form of a record; and, indeed, the whole of this transaction, relating to the evidence of the murder of the young princes, leaves a strong suspicion that the vulgar story of that fact must be false; though this may not perhaps be a sufficient proof of the truth of Perkin's pretensions.

Lord Bacon, who has dressed the whole story of Perkin in the best form it will admit, as writing his adventure under a government who was deeply concerned to represent him as an impostor, informs us that Henry was so extremely solicitous in coming at the bottom of this whole imposture, that he filled all the continent of Europe with his spies and emissaries, well furnished with money, to trace Perkin from his original. The effect of this was, that they published the following account, which we shall transcribe, in the very words of the noble author.

"That there was at Tournay one John (or, as some say, Peter) Osbecke, a converted Jew, who had borne an office in that town, and married Catherine de Faro, whose business drew him to live for a time, with his wife, at London, in king Edward IV's days, during which time he had a son by her; and being known at court, the king, either out of a religious nobleness because he was a convert, or upon some private acquaintance, did him the honour of being god-father to his child, and named him Peter; but afterwards, proving a dainty and effeminate youth, he was commonly called by the diminutive of his name, Peterkin or Perkin: as for the name of Warbeck, when it was given him they did but guess at, before examinations had been taken; but he had been so much talked of by that name, that it stuck by him after his true name of Osbecke was known. While he was a young child, his parents returned with him to Tournay: then he was placed in the house of a kinsman of his, called John Stenbeck, at Antwerp;

and so roved up and down between Antwerp and Tournay and other towns of Flanders, for a good time, living much in English company, and having the English tongue perfect: in which time being grown a comely youth, he was brought by some of Margaret's spies to her presence, who, viewing him well, and seeing he had a comely face and personage that would bear a noble fortune, and finding him otherwise of a fine spirit and winning behaviour, thought she had now found a curious piece of marble to carve out an image of a duke of York; she kept him with her a great while, but with extreme secrecy, instructing him the while by many cabinet conferences."

We must not forget to observe, from the above author, that Henry, in order to procure the better credit to his spies with the contrary side, used to have them excommunicated (as they passed one after another over to the continent) every Sunday at St. Paul's, in virtue of the bull of Innocent VIII. enforcing the act of succession.

Henry having now received what he called a perfect information of every thing relating to Perkin Warbeck, dispatched sir Edward Poynings and Dr. Warham, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, to the court of young Philip, archduke of Austria, son to Maximilian, and sovereign of the estates of the duchess of Burgundy, to remonstrate against the conduct of Margaret, who was the author of this imposture, and to insist that the archduke would deliver Perkin into his hands: "pirates and impostors of this sort (saith Dr. Warham, in the close of his speech) being fit to be accounted the enemies of mankind, and no way to be protected by the law of nations*."

The Flemish ministers, however, seem to have looked upon the affair in a very different light to that in which Henry's ambassadors represented it; for, after some deliberations on the king's demand, they returned for answer, in their master's name (the archduke being then a minor), "That, for the love of king Henry, the said archduke would in no sort aid or assist the pretended duke (of York), but in all things conserve the amity he had with the king: but for the duchess dowager, she was absolute in the lands of her dowry, and that he could not lett (prevent or refuse) her to dispose of her own, nor controul her conduct in what she should see fit to act towards any person†." This answer, being founded on an assertion false in fact, viz. that the duchess was absolute in the lands of her dowry, nettled Henry so much, that, to humble the Flemings, he published a proclamation, ordering all of that country to depart out of England, forbade all commerce with Flanders, recalled all the English merchants from thence, and removed the mart of cloth from Antwerp to Calais: the archduke's council in return ordered all the English to quit his dominions. We must now attend Henry's other transactions with respect to connections foreign and domestic.

The truce with Scotland had, it seems, been so ill observed, that there was a necessity for renewing it: accordingly, on the seventeenth of June this year, conferences were held at Edinburgh, between the commissioners of both kings, and, on the twenty-fifth of the same month, a truce was concluded, to hold till the last day of April, 1501,

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xii. p. 544.

† Bacon.

and Henry paid the king of Scotland a thousand marks by way of compensation for the injuries that nation had received from the other, before the conclusion of the truce†.

On the first of November, Henry wrote to the king of France, desiring to be included in the peace of Senlis, made between Philip, archduke of Austria, and Charles VIII. on the third of May this year, according to the tenor of the treaty. On the seventeenth of the same month, he notified to him the same thing from Ferdinand, king of Naples, and Alphonso, duke of Calabria, his son, who were expressly included in the treaty of Senlis, on the part of the emperor and the archduke; but nevertheless king Charles still persisted in his project of conquering Naples.

About the beginning of the year 1494, Henry's emissaries in Flanders made a great acquisition for their master's interest, by gaining over sir Robert Clifford, who was intrusted with all the secrets of Perkin and his protectress the duchess dowager of Burgundy, and who now discovered all he knew of Perkin's party, though nothing of his person. The first effect of these discoveries was the apprehending and seizing of John Radcliff, lord Fitz Walter, sir Simon Montfort, sir Thomas Thwaites, William d'Aubeney, Robert Radcliff, Thomas Cressener, and Thomas Ashwood, who were all taken on the same day, tried, convicted of holding treasonable correspondence with Perkin, and condemned to die the death of traitors. The lord Fitz Walter was conveyed to Calais, with hopes in time he might obtain his pardon; but his impatience of confinement prompting him to attempt an escape, on being discovered he lost his head. Montfort, Radcliff, and d'Aubeney suffered the rigour of the law; but all the rest were pardoned; and many others, of the clergy as well as of the laity, arrested on the same suspicion, were discharged without trial.

As Clifford had informed the king of the application which Perkin had made to the earls of Kildare and Desmond, and they not having discovered the same to him, Henry justly thought that they only waited for an opportunity to declare themselves enemies to his government; he therefore resolved to take care of that island, which had been hitherto much neglected. With this view he, on the eleventh of September this year, issued letters patent, creating his second son Henry, then but two years of age, lieutenant or governor of Ireland, appointing for his deputy sir Edward Poynings, a man well versed in affairs, and whom he had successfully employed in several important embassies. He gave him a very extensive power, as well over the military as the civil government, that he might be the better able to put the island upon a good footing: he associated with him Henry Deane, lately made bishop of Bangor, and now appointed chancellor of Ireland; and gave him a body of a thousand veteran troops to enforce his authority.

The first step Poynings took after his arrival in Ireland was to secure the persons of Maurice and Gerald Fitz Gerald, the former earl of Desmond, the other of Kildare: Desmond, however, found means to elude his vigilance and escape; but Kildare was seized, and sent prisoner to England;

from whence, Henry sent him back again, loaded with favours, on his promise to exert all his great interest to Henry's advantage.

Poynings next called a parliament, which rendered itself famous for the statutes it enacted to the advantage of the crown and of the English settled in that island. He had found, on his beginning to exercise his authority, great difficulty, without hazarding a general rebellion, to bring any of the rebels against the English government who resided in Ireland, to justice by the course of law. This was owing to the management of Richard, duke of York, father to Edward IV. who, when he was lord-lieutenant there, had rendered it a sanctuary to all rebels, by an act which he passed, "That Ireland should be a sanctuary for refugees; and that it should be treason to disturb any body there by any writ, privy-seal, or other matter from England." An act therefore was now made under Poynings, "annulling all prescriptions which traitors and rebels claimed in Ireland, and all receivers and maintainers of traitors were made guilty of treason; and obedience was commanded to be paid to the great-seal and privy-seal of England, and to letters missive under the king's signet‡." The famous statute called Poynings's Act was also now enacted, the substance of which was, "that the parliament of Ireland should not be assembled before the lord-lieutenant and council had acquainted the king with the reasons, and obtained the royal licence under the great-seal." It was also enacted, "that all the statutes of England concerning the public should be observed in Ireland." These two statutes are still in force to this day*.

While these things were transacting, in Ireland, sir Robert Clifford arrived in England, and repaired privately to Henry, who was then keeping his court in the Tower, and, according to secret instructions he had received, appeared before the council, and, falling on his knees, implored the king's mercy, which he said he would merit by discovering all he knew of the plot. Pardon being promised him on that condition, he made his great discovery, which was that sir William Stanley, who was lord-chamberlain, was one of the abettors of Perkin. Henry affected to be almost petrified with astonishment at this declaration; he sat for some time buried in a thoughtful silence; at length, in a severe tone of voice, he charged Clifford to be sure of what he advanced, vowing that if he failed in the least tittle of his charge, his life should pay the forfeit of the injury done to the character of the man he held foremost in the rank of his friends. Clifford, with a well acted resolution, staked his head upon the truth of his allegation, upon which the lord-chamberlain was ordered not to stir from his lodgings in the Tower; and shortly after he was arraigned of high-treason, when Clifford swearing that he had declared to him, in private conversation, "that if he thought the young man (Perkin) was really the son of Edward IV. he would never bear arms against him;" and Stanley confessing that he had spoken those words, or others to the like purport, the judges, who knew no will but Henry's, and whose venality was equal to their abilities, thought this a sufficient ground for his

† Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 547.

‡ Sir James Ware and judge Cox's *Hist. of Ireland*.

* My lord Bacon calls that Poynings's law whereby all

the statutes of England (to the tenth of Henry VII.) were made to be of force in Ireland; which before that time were not, nor are any since that time, but by a special clause.

condemnation,

condemnation, and he was accordingly beheaded on Tower-hill, the sixteenth of February, 1495.

Thus, by an infamous judgment, for no one overt-act appeared in the course of the trial that could convict him of treason, Stanley fell a victim to Henry's jealousy, ambition, and avarice. His post of chamberlain was bestowed on Giles, lord d'Aubeney, a nobleman of great valour and capacity. Besides an estate of three thousand pounds a year, which fell to Henry by the forfeiture of his estates, there were likewise found in Stanley's castle of Holt forty thousand marks in money and plate, together with jewels, furniture, and effects to an immense value; with these Henry consoled himself for the secret curses and imprecations of the people, who not only detested his avarice and ingratitude, but likewise trembled for their own safety, as the chamberlain had suffered for a crime from which very few Englishmen were free, namely, the preferring the title of the house of York to that of the family of Lancaster.

This execution, and several subsequent acts of infamous rapacity, in which Henry neither considered honour nor justice so he could fill his coffers, so much increased his unpopularity, as to give new life to Warbeck's faction, which was rather checked than suppressed. His party in the North began to be in motion; and it appears that in the beginning of this year 1495, some foreigner had landed there, and had endeavoured to stir up the Scottish borderers; for there is, in the Collection of Public Acts, a commission issued out to the earl of Surry, warden of the Scottish Marches, and bishop Fox, whom he had lately translated to the see of Durham, on the twenty-second of March, to array all within their jurisdiction capable of bearing arms, to oppose any invasion from the northward: at the same time the necessary measures were taken to guard the sea-coasts against a foreign invasion.

In the summer Henry, in order to convince the world that the proceedings against sir William Stanley had not at all diminished his regard for his brother, the earl of Derby, who had married his mother, the countess of Richmond, made an excursion to the earl's house at Latham, near Lancaster, where he staid three days, and seemed very well pleased with his entertainment. Much about the same time the king created his second son, Henry, duke of York †, and appointed him warden of the Scottish Marches, in the room of the earl of Surry, who, on account of some impolitic severities, was now entirely removed from that government: Henry also entered into a new negotiation with James IV. king of Scotland. On his return to London, he graced a call of serjeants, at Ely-house, with his presence and that of his queen; a distinction which he was ready to pay, because, as lord Bacon justly observes, "as he governed his subjects by his laws, so he governed his laws by his lawyers."

Hitherto Perkin Warbeck had not ventured to make any attempt in England, knowing that the king was informed of all his correspondence; but as the duchess of Burgundy could not think of re-

linquishing her hopes of gaining some advantage over Henry by means of this young adventurer, she resolved at length to send him into England, and in the beginning of July Perkin sailed from Flanders, and arrived off Sandwich, on the coast of Kent; which gives some reason to believe that it had been concerted between the party in the North and in the South to make an insurrection in both places at the same time: however that might be, the Kentishmen, who were to a man in Henry's interest, were so well prepared to receive the invaders, that it seemed as if Henry had made a progress into the North with no other view than to tempt his rival to land in a county which he had taken a particular care to secure by a stronger force than any other. Perkin, mistrusting something of this kind, landed a small party only, to sound the disposition of the Kentishmen, and prepare the way for his landing in person with the rest of his forces, which were indeed only a crew of undisciplined foreigners, and their chiefs either unknown, or of little consideration.

The Kentishmen gave this party, consisting of about one hundred and seventy persons, the most friendly reception, in hopes through their means to decoy the whole armament into their power; but finding that Perkin and his friends on board still hesitated, and were not to be inveigled ashore, they took all the party prisoners, and sent them up to London, chained two and two, by sir John Peachy, sheriff of Kent; and no less than one hundred and fifty of them were, by Henry's orders, executed at Tyburn, and their bodies hung upon gibbets along the sea-coasts of Kent, Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk. Perkin, upon this miscarriage of his attempt, sailed for Corke in Ireland, where he expected a different reception, but found affairs were altered in that country, by the prudent manner in which Poynings had settled the government there; but the most essential service he did, was the fixing Maurice Fitz Gerald, earl of Desmond, and Gerald Fitz Gerald, earl of Kildare, in Henry's interest, insomuch that Perkin, discouraged by the evident coolness he saw in the behaviour of his former friends, quitted Ireland and sailed for Scotland.

Henry, successful over this effort of his rival and of the duchess of Burgundy, the ever plotting enemy of his family, called a parliament on the thirteenth of October, who secured to him the forfeitures of such as had been put to death, or had taken refuge in sanctuaries and been outlawed upon non-appearance, all of which were now attainted, together with sir George Neville, and some other gentlemen of Perkin's party, taken by the Kentishmen. Henry found his revenues greatly increased by these forfeitures; but, ever thirsting after money, he now procured all the offices in Wales to be voided; he got the wardship of the estate of the lord viscount Beaumont, who was lately become a lunatic; and also made a resumption of the grants which had been made by Edward III. and Richard II. to Edmund of Langley, duke of York: he likewise got the parliament to countenance his illegal exaction of the late benevolence, by ordering

† On the first of November. The knights of the Bath made upon this occasion were these; the lords Harrington, Clifton, Dacre of the South, and the lord Waren; sir Thomas Stanley, sir John Arundel, sir Walter Griffith, sir Gervase Clifton, sir Robert Harcourt, sir Edward Traford, sir Henry

Marney, sir Robert Newbrough, sir Ralph Ryder, sir John Sparke, sir Humphrey Fulford, sir Robert Litton, sir Price Edgecombe, sir Robert Clere, sir Thomas Fairfax, sir Richard Knightley, sir John Cheke. Stowe, p. 554.

the arrears of what people had compounded for, to be levied, which brought immense sums into the king's coffers, as great part of the tax remained unpaid, on account of the short duration of the French war. This session, however, passed several laws, which tended greatly to the ease and advantage of the subject †.

In the course of this year pope Alexander VI. sent into Ireland a bull, empowering all the archbishops and bishops of that kingdom, whom the king should require, and none other, to absolve all rebels in Ireland; a prudent precaution of Henry, to prevent his rival being joined by persons out of despair of living under the present government, on account of their past offences.

On the thirty-first of May this year died, in a very advanced age, Cicely, relict of Richard, duke of York, and daughter of Ralph, earl of Westmoreland, at the castle of Berkhamstead, in Hertfordshire, and was buried at Fotheringham castle, in Northamptonshire. By her husband she was mother of Edward IV. and Richard III. through the long course of her life she had seen her husband murdered in the field, three princes of her body crowned, and four murdered.

This year likewise is famous for the conquest of Naples by Charles VIII. king of France. As this transaction has a connection with the history of the reign we have now under consideration, it will be necessary to give a brief account of its rise and principal events.

The posterity of Charles of Anjou, first king of Sicily of the house of France, were divided into two branches, whereof one reigned in Naples, and the other in Hungary. After sundry revolutions, the crown of Naples fell at length to Joan, the first of that name; but, in 1380, Charles de Durazzo, of the branch of Hungary, pretending to the same crown, and repairing into Italy, attacked queen Joan, who finding herself pressed, adopted Lewis I. duke of Anjou, uncle to Charles VI. king of France. From that time there was a continual war between the two houses of Anjou. At last, Charles de Durazzo remained in possession of Naples, and was succeeded by Ladislaus his son, who dying in 1414, left the crown of Naples to Joan II. his sister. Mean time Lewis I. duke of Anjou, and Lewis II. his son, always styled themselves kings of Sicily, and preserved their pretensions to Sicily on this side the Pharo, or the kingdom of Naples. Lewis II. who died in 1417, left three sons, namely, Lewis III. Renè, and Charles.

The latter dying in 1481, left Lewis XI. king of France his sole heir. By virtue of which will Charles VIII. son of Lewis XI. pretended the kingdom of Naples was fallen to him.

In pursuance of this claim, in which he was supported by the papal chair, Charles had, with an unprecedented career of success, entered into Italy the year before; but growing so formidable, even the pope himself, who was Alexander VI. and the family of Medicis declared against him. Notwithstanding all those discouragements, he surmounted infinite difficulties; he entered the state of Florence, and obliged Peter de Medicis, its

duke, to submit, and the state of Sienna to receive a garrison. Afterwards he approached and entered Rome with his army, while the pope shut himself up in the castle of St. Angelo. At last Charles invested the kingdom of Naples, of which, with its capital, he made himself master; while Alphonso of Arragon, putting the crown of Naples upon the head of his son, the duke of Calabria, went on board his galleys, and took refuge in Sicily. But Charles had entered upon this expedition like a young man: he had no money to pay his troops, but that which he took up at extravagant interest; the continual success of his arms rendered his soldiers and generals excessively haughty and odious to the Italians; he had not men to spare for garrisoning and keeping the places that had submitted; he could not trust the natives; and, when master of his ambition, he neither knew how to retain or how to dispose of his conquests: to crown his misconduct, he fell at variance with Ludovic Sforza, duke of Milan, who had brought him into Italy to support himself against the league formed by the pope, the king of Naples, and Peter de Medicis, to keep him out of his duchy of Milan.

At last Charles, after taking the usual oaths as king of Naples, thought of returning to France, and that too without using any precautions for maintaining his conquests, farther than the oaths and assurances the natives afforded. In the mean while all the states and princes of Italy were alarmed at his progress, and a league was forming at Venice to strip him of his conquests, and cut off his retreat to France. The parties in this league were the pope, the emperor Maximilian, who had already succeeded his father Ferdinand in the empire, the kings of Spain and Naples, the archduke of Austria, Maximilian's son, the duke of Milan, and the republic of Venice. This formidable league, according to our English historians, Henry had no small hand in forming (though in what respect does not appear, nor is it probable he had any hand it), from which he rather escaped than retreated; but before he returned to France, he fought the battle of Fornova, and won it against the forces of the allies, which were treble the number of his army, through the treachery chiefly of the Italian generals*.

The emperor Maximilian now resigned the government of the Low Countries to his son Philip, archduke of Austria, though he was still a minor; and soon after this young prince dispatched an embassy to Henry, in order to renew the treaty of commerce between his dominions and England. Henry was too wise a politician ever to retain a resentment, where it was his interest to forget an affront, and therefore seeming to have forgot the rebuff his ambassadors had met with at the prince's court, he readily embraced a proposal that promised no less advantage to the English than the Flemings, and, on the twenty-fourth of February, 1496 (as I always suppose the year to commence on the first of January), a treaty of peace and perpetual amity was concluded between the two sovereigns, and the laws of commerce were settled to the entire satisfaction of both nations ‡. The archduke also

† See our account of Laws, at the end of this reign.

* It appears from cardinal Bembo, and other Italian authors, that the king of France retired, after this battle, in the utmost hurry; and that Ludovico Sforza, and Francisco Gonzaga, the Italian generals, favoured his escape. As their forces

were much superior to those of the French king, they might easily have cut off his retreat, if they had not acted treacherously, as it is undeniably plain they did. See card. Bembo. Hist. Venet. p. 65. edit. 1718. and Paul Jovius, &c.

‡ See the article Commerce, at the end of this reign.

by one of the articles of the treaty, engaged to hinder the duchess dowager of Burgundy from harbouring or assisting the enemies of the king, and "that if she does, he shall strip her of all the places which she holds by dowry, or otherwise."

We have already observed, that the claimant Perkin, on meeting with a very cold reception in Ireland, had gone over to the court of James IV. king of Scotland. That monarch treated him with great kindness and hospitality, owned him as the son of Edward IV. and appeared so perfectly convinced of his being the true duke of York, that he rejected the proffered alliance of Henry, who this very year sent the bishop of Carlisle, the earl of Surry, the lords Neville and Dacres, and sir William Tyler, to settle the fortune which James was to have with the princess Margaret, Henry's eldest daughter, and also gave the young adventurer in marriage his own kinswoman, the lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntly, one of the most beautiful and accomplished young ladies of the age, and publicly declared that he would assist him with all his might in recovering the inheritance of his ancestors; and it was agreed by the Scottish council to put this resolution of their monarch into immediate execution. A numerous army being assembled, James, about the middle of this summer, led it in person into Northumberland, attended by the young adventurer, who there published a manifesto, in which he inveighed against Henry as an usurper, tyrant, and murderer, and promised great honours and rewards to those who should join him, their lawful prince, and help to destroy the robber who had usurped his throne*.

This proclamation, though drawn up with great spirit and precision, produced little or no effect; the truth is, that this claimant of the crown could not come in worse company than he did; the Scots were odious to the English nation; the animosity against them ran higher in the North, the usual scene of their depredations, than in any other part of England: James therefore, seeing no prospect of receiving any assistance from the English in that part of the country, and not chusing that his soldiers should lose their labour, ravaged the whole county of Northumberland in a miserable manner: Richard in vain complained in a moving manner of so ruinous a method of making war, protesting he would rather renounce the crown, than purchase it by the desolation of his country; the Scots were too fond of plunder to refrain: but hearing that Henry was sending a superior force against them, they retreated to their own kingdom. We must now attend to the other transactions of this year.

Henry, it seems, had some intimation that the court of France underhand assisted Perkin; for we find that, on the twenty-third of September, he approved and ratified the Venetian league, but excused himself from furnishing any quota of men, because of the great distance between England and Italy†.

On the fifth of March this year, we find in our records‡, that the king granted a patent to John Cabot, a Venetian, and his three sons, for discovering new lands under the English flag, on condition

that, after all the expences should be deducted, he should receive one fifth of the profit.

The Scottish invasion furnished Henry with an opportunity to make money out of the misfortunes of his people ||, that he resolved not to let slip; accordingly, having convoked a parliament on the sixteenth of January, 1497, he opened it by a severe speech against the perfidy of the Scots, whose barbarities, he said, went even beyond their most barbarous proceedings in former times; and concluded with telling them, his honour and the protection he owed his people, would not suffer him to let these wrongs pass unrevenged. The parliament, who perfectly well understood his meaning, granted him a supply of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, besides two fifteenths; and as soon as he had obtained this supply, he dissolved the assembly. As he did not like delays where money was to come in, he set his assessors and collectors to work immediately, who proceeded in their business with such inhuman rigour, that he was obliged to recal the lord d'Aubeney, then on his march towards Scotland, to suppress an insurrection of a very serious nature at home.

Of all the inhabitants of England, the Cornishmen were at this time the most sturdy in their inclinations, and the stoutest in their persons: their manner of living and their language were different from those of the rest of England; and in short the crown itself treated them, both at this time and some time after, as an independent people. They had particular reasons for being disaffected at this juncture; for Brittany being now annexed to the crown of France, they were abridged of their commerce and intercourse with that coast and people, who used the same language with themselves.

It was no wonder if so many circumstances concurring, and backed by the demand of a heavy taxation, exasperated the Cornishmen to a high degree: they complained loudly, that what they earned by the sweat of their brows and hard labour in the tin mines, should be exacted from them by exorbitant taxes. These murmurs were encouraged by one Michael Joseph, a popular and factious blacksmith, of Bodmyn, and Thomas Flammock, a lawyer of like turbulent disposition. These two incendiaries, who seem to have been underhand encouraged by persons of greater consequence, friends to young Perkin and his claim, bestirred themselves so effectually among the ignorant populace, that they worked them up to a belief that all subsidies of any kind were illegal and oppressive, and that the nation never could be happy till archbishop Morton and sir Reginald Bray, whom they accused of being the principal advisers of the late heavy imposts, were removed from the king's councils; and the flame of discontent was soon blown to such an height, that, each taking the arms that fury administered, they formed a considerable body, headed by the two demagogues, and marched, to the number of sixteen thousand, from Cornwall, through Devonshire, to Taunton, in Somersetshire, where they killed one of the king's collectors of the subsidy; from whence they proceeded to Wells, where James Touchet, lord Audley, who

* This manifesto, which was afterwards found in the Cottonian Library, is inserted at length by Mr. Guthrie in his History of England; but it is too long for a place in ours.

† Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 639.

‡ Ibid. p. 595.

|| Lord Bacon observes, that his wars were to him always a mine of treasure of a strange ore; iron at the top, and gold and silver at the bottom.

had a principal share in setting Flammock and the blacksmith to work, put himself at their head.

This nobleman, by his authority, kept the malecontents from committing the least violences or disorders during their march, which they now prosecuted till they came to Winchester, in Hampshire, when, instead of marching directly to London, as common prudence would have directed, and agreeable to their original design declared in their progress, they took it into their heads to turn short and march into Kent, from a ridiculous prepossession, that the people of that county, who had on all occasions shewn themselves zealous for the liberties of the subject, would join them in great numbers; but so far were they from finding their expectation answered, that their numbers, instead of increasing, daily diminished, scarcely one Kentishman declaring in their favour. Proceeding however in their march, they advanced as far as Blackheath, where they encamped between Greenwich and Eltham, to the no small terror of the citizens of London, who dreaded that their wealth might tempt the insurgents to plunder the city.

Fortunately, however, for them and for Henry, the army, which he had provided and sent against the Scots, returned by his orders on the first news of this insurrection, and were now ready to act: Henry accordingly ordered it to the field, and divided it into three bodies, one commanded by the earl of Oxford, another by himself, and the third by the lord d'Aubeney, a general in whom the troops had great confidence.

The earl of Oxford, who had with him Henry Bouchier, earl of Essex, Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, sir Rice ap Thomas, and sir Humphrey Stanley †, was ordered to take post with the left wing of his division near Lewisham, and to extend his right south-east towards Foot's Cray, so as to secure all the defiles and roads by which the rebels could escape that way.

The lord d'Aubeney was ordered to front the rebels, so that his right wing should form as it were an angle with the earl of Oxford's left.

Henry himself encamped in St. George's Fields, with a strong body in the nature of a reserve.

By this excellent disposition it was impossible for any of the rebels to escape; as they had no shipping, the river Thames hemmed them in towards the north; the earl of Oxford's division cut off their retreat either by the south or the east; and in their front, towards the west, they had two armies.

Henry, by giving out that he intended to attack them on the Monday following, whereas he really intended to give them battle on the Saturday, which of all days in the week he fancied to be most fortunate to him, drew the rebels into a capital mistake; for while their main body lay encamped almost within the heath on Woolwich Common, between Woolwich and Shooter's Hill, their advanced guard lay at Deptford Bridge, without any intermediate line upon the brow of the hill between them and the main body.

On the afternoon of Saturday the twenty-second of June, the lord d'Aubeney made a sudden motion, and attacked the rebels advanced body at

Deptford Bridge, whom, after a stout resistance, he drove from their post, and followed them up the hill in close pursuit. The alarm by this time had reached the main body of the rebels, and they were preparing to put themselves in order, when the lord d'Aubeney and all his division appeared upon the top of the hill, from whence advancing to the middle of the heath, they fell upon the Cornishmen with great fury, who received the attack with as great intrepidity: the lord d'Aubeney, charging at the head of his men, was taken prisoner, and the fate of the day might have been favourable to the Cornishmen, had they not been attacked at the same time in the rear by the earl of Oxford with his division; but being charged on all sides, ill-armed, ill-conducted, without either horse or artillery, and much inferior in number, they were soon broken by the king's cavalry, and fifteen hundred or two thousand of them cut in pieces, most of the rest being taken prisoners, with their leaders. As to the royal army, it lost about three hundred men, most of them shot dead with arrows of the length of a taylor's yard, proofs of the amazing strength of the old Cornish! but we read of no person of note killed.

Among the prisoners were the lord Audley, with the two incendiaries Flammock and Joseph; the former was beheaded on Tower-hill*, and the two latter executed at Tyburn†; the rest, being ordinary labourers, were disarmed and sent home, Henry hoping to obliterate the remembrance of former severities by this instance of unusual lenity.

The king of Scotland took advantage of this commotion in England, to make a second inroad upon the northern counties, where he laid siege to Norham castle. The earl of Surry had been ordered by Henry to take the command of the few forces in those counties; and, after the suppression of the Cornish rebellion, the king sent the best of his troops to join that nobleman in Yorkshire, who, being thus reinforced, advanced against the Scots, and obliged them to raise the siege; but they retired with such precipitation, that the earl could not overtake them: he however continued his pursuit, and took the strong castle of Ayton, situated between Berwick and Edinburgh. And thus the campaign was finished with very little loss or gain on either side.

Henry however, willing at all events to keep this troublesome neighbour quiet, and, if possible, draw off James from his connection with his competitor, proposed a fresh negotiation with the Scots, by means of Peter d'Ayala, the Spanish ambassador at Henry's court, who, upon founding James, found him so well inclined towards a pacification, that in a short time it was agreed that both kings should send plenipotentiaries to Ayton, to treat of a peace, d'Ayala performing the office of mediator by the joint consent of both parties, who obliged themselves to stand by his award. A truce was proposed to be made for seven years, the allies of both crowns were included in the same, and it was to be prolonged during the life-time of both kings, and a full year after the decease of the longest liver‡. The greatest difficulty in the negotiation was concerning Perkin Warbeck, the English ambassadors

† Hollingshed, p. 782. Guthrie, vol. ii. p. 823, 824.

* He was led from Newgate to Tower-hill in a paper-coat torn and painted with his own arms reversed, where he was beheaded, June 28. Hall, fol. 43.

† The blacksmith is said to have pleased himself with the notion that "He should be famous in after ages." Ibid.

‡ Rymer, vol. xii. p. 668—673.

insisting warmly that the person of that pretender should be delivered into their master's hands; but James was firm in his refusal, and all that either d'Ayala or the English ministers could obtain of him, was to send Perkin, in an honourable manner, out of Scotland. Accordingly James, furnishing him with every thing that befitted royal rank, and, putting him and his family and retinue on board three ships, he arrived at Corke in Ireland, on the twenty-first of July; and no farther obstacles remaining, the truce was signed on all sides, at Ayton, on the thirtieth of September.

Before we conclude the transactions of this year, it will not be impertinent to take a cursory view of Henry's situation with regard to the princes of Europe, among whom he had connections.

Philip, archduke of Austria, governor of the Low Countries, not only confirmed the treaty of commerce made with England, but desisted from his demand of one florin for every-piece of broad-cloth sold within his dominions by English merchants.

After the treaty of Estaples, there was neither war nor difference between France and England during the rest of Henry VII's reign. Charles and Henry stood in awe of each other. Charles, who at first had formed vast projects, perceived the king of England was the only prince that could lay obstacles in his way. Afterwards, when he had desisted from the war of Italy, and indulged his pleasures, he always feared that a war with Henry would disturb his tranquility. Henry on his part dreaded all foreign wars, and particularly with France, by reason of his domestic enemies. Thus the two monarchs having the same interest, lived in peace till Charles's death, on the sixth of April 1498. The duke of Orleans, who succeeded him by the name of Lewis XII. was no less careful to preserve a good understanding with England. As he turned his thoughts to Italy, it highly concerned him to keep fair with Henry, who would have it in his power to overthrow all his projects by a diversion in Picardy. As soon as Lewis was on the throne, he caused his marriage with Jane, daughter of Lewis XI. to be annulled, in order to espouse Anne of Brittany, his predecessor's widow. Otherwise he would have run the risk of seeing that duchy once more severed from France, and in the hands of a foreign house.

As to the king and queen of Spain, who now made a great figure in Europe, they continued to cultivate a strict friendship with Henry, which was greatly cemented by the contract of marriage between the princess Catherine and the prince of Wales.

Maximilian, emperor of Germany, continued in the same jealousy of France, and had now the same good disposition with regard to England as before: while the northern crowns had all concluded treaties with Henry. And, towards the close of this year,

Pope Alexander VI. sent him a present of an hallowed sword and a cap of maintenance, which were delivered to him by his holiness's nuncio, with great solemnity, in St. Paul's cathedral.

But though Henry was thus happy in his situation abroad, he still found great uneasinesses in the untoward disposition of his own subjects; for the Cornish rebels, rather hardened than gained over by Henry's late clemency to them, boasted, on their return home, that he had pardoned them only because he was afraid that their deaths or pu-

nishment would have roused the whole nation, who were in general of the same way of thinking, to take up arms against the government. These discourses making their friends and neighbours believe the whole kingdom was ready to rise, they began to flock together, and shew they were not discouraged by the battle of Blackheath: at length, some of the most fiery of them hearing that Perkin was in Ireland, proposed to send for him, and set him at their head.

Perkin had found a very cool reception in Ireland, and in a short time saw himself destitute of friends, money, and support; the principal of his abettors now remaining about his person was one Hern a broken mercer, Skelton a taylor, and Astley a scrivener; for Henry had found means to take Frion off. When the proposal of the Cornishmen therefore came to be laid before Perkin and his council, they readily and joyfully embraced it; and, picking up as many followers as he could, amounting, according to lord Bacon, to about one hundred and twenty, embarked on board four small vessels, and landed, on the seventh of September this year 1498, in Whitland Bay, on the coast of Cornwall. As soon as he had landed his little troop, he repaired to Bodmyn, the blacksmith's town who was hanged after the battle of Blackheath. There he quickly got together three thousand men, and issued out a proclamation, in which he assumed the title of king of England, by the name of Richard IV.

Elated with the hopes of victory, where there was no force to oppose them, the hot-headed undisciplined rabble that composed the young claimant's army, resolved to march and lay siege to the city of Exeter, of which they promised themselves an easy conquest. This wild project they put in execution; but being destitute of artillery, and almost every other requisite to form a regular siege, and the inhabitants of Exeter acting like men of spirit, the assailants were, after a vain attempt to scale the walls, repulsed on all sides. In the meantime, several lords and gentlemen of Devonshire and the neighbouring parts, associated in defence of Henry's government, and, drawing forces together, put themselves under arms. The king also, on receiving the news of Perkin's invasion and the steps he was taking, dispatched the lord d'Aubeney, with four thousand men, to the relief of Exeter, spreading a report that he himself was following with a more numerous army.

All this being made known for certain to Perkin, he raised the siege, and drew his men off to Taunton. His army, when at the strongest, was about seven thousand men; but many of those having joined him through hopes of plunder, left him upon breaking up the siege: and here Perkin seems for the first time to have given the lye to his pretensions; the blood of York had never ran in the veins of a coward, which, if we are to credit our historians, Perkin proved himself to be on this occasion; for, after he had rendezvoused his army, and made all the necessary dispositions to fight, when the lord d'Aubeney advanced to attack him, he fled, with threescore horse to the monastery of Beaulieu, in the New Forest, where he and his retinue registered themselves as persons entitled to the benefit of sanctuary.

The lord d'Aubeney hearing of his retreat, detached a party of three hundred horse in pursuit of him;

him; but finding him already in the sanctuary, they surrounded the house until they should receive farther instructions. Mean while the rebels, finding themselves deserted by their chief, laid down their arms, and submitted to the mercy of the king, who, with a politic moderation, pardoned them all, except a very few of the most irreclaimable and desperate, whom he capitally punished in terror to others.

The king, who, before Perkin's flight, was lying between Taunton and Exeter with a body of reserve, in case of a battle, now entered Exeter in triumph, and presented the sword which he wore by his side, to the mayor, to whom and his successors he gave the liberty to have it carried before them on all public occasions: he likewise gave them a right to use a cap of maintenance, and bestowed the greatest commendations on the citizens for their courage and loyalty.

But Henry could not think himself in safety till he was master of the pretender's person; he thought if he could once compass this point, that he might be able to satisfy the world, by the methods he should then be in a condition of taking, about an imposture of which it was impossible to convince them otherwise. With this view promises of life and pardon, with other fair means, were used to persuade Perkin to quit his sanctuary, and being destitute of all hopes, knowing no country where he could be received, and apprehending that force would be employed if he did not yield with a good grace, he came out, and was sent under a strong guard to London, whither Henry had gone some days before, and where the unhappy youth was exposed to the insults of an hireling mob as he was carried through the streets to the Tower. Henry, who saw Lambert Simnel every day, could not, it seems, bear the presence of Perkin; but, to gratify his curiosity, it was contrived that he should see him out of a window.

Though Perkin had obtained a pardon, he was still retained in custody, till, weary of confinement and desirous of liberty, he broke loose from his guard, and escaping to the monastery of Shene, which had the privilege of a sanctuary, he implored the prior's intercession for Henry's pardon. The good prior undertook the office, and Henry was prevailed upon to promise the pretender his life; but, in order to render him truly contemptible, he obliged him to sit whole days before Westminster Hall gate, and the most public parts of the city, in the stocks, and to read a paper which he owned to be his confession, and was as follows †.

“ It is first to be known, that I was born in the town of Tournay, in Flanders, and my father's name is John Osbeck; which said John Osbeck was comptroller of the said town of Tournay; and my mother's name is Catherine de Farro; and one of my grand-fires, upon my father's side, was named Dorich Osbeck, who died; after whose death my grand-mother was married unto Peter Flamin, who was receiver of the fore-named town of Tournay and dean of the boatmen that row upon the water or river named le Scheld: and my grand-fire on my mother's side was Peter de Farro, who had in his keeping the keys of the gate of St. John's, within the same town of Tournay: also I had an uncle, called John Stalin, dwelling in the parish of St. Pias, within the same town, who had married my father's

sister, whose name was Joan, or Jeane, with whom I lived a certain season; and after was led by my mother to Antwerp, to learn Flemish in the house of a cousin of mine, an officer of the said town, called John Steinbeck, with whom I was the space of half a year. After I returned again to Tournay, by reason of the wars that were in Flanders, and within a year following, I was sent, with a merchant of the said town of Tournay, named Barlow, to the mart of Antwerp, where I fell sick, which sickness continued upon me five months: and the said Barlow set me to board in a skinner's house, that dwelt beside the house of the English nation; and by him I was from thence carried to Barrow market, and I lodged at the sign of the Old Man, where I abode for the space of two months. After this, the said Barlow set me with a merchant of Middleburgh to service, to learn the language, whose name was John Strow, with whom I dwelt from Christmas to Easter; and then I went into Portugal, in company with sir Edward Brampton's wife, in a ship which was called the Queen's Ship. And when I was come thither, then was I put in service to a knight that dwelt in Lisbon, who was called Peter Vaiz de Cogna, with whom I dwelt a whole year; which said knight had but one eye. And because I had a mind to see other countries, I took licence of him, and then put myself in service of a Breton, Pregent Meno, who brought me with him into Ireland. Now when we were arrived in the town of Corke, they of the town (because I was arrayed with some cloaths of silk of my said master's) came unto me, and threatened upon me, that I should be the duke of Clarence's son, that was before time at Dublin.

“ But inasmuch as I denied, there were brought unto me the holy Evangelists and the cross, by the mayor of the town, who was called John Llewellyn, and there, in the presence of him and others, I took mine oath (as the truth was), that I was not the aforesaid duke's son, nor none of his blood. After this came unto me an Englishman, whose name was Stephen Poiton, and one John Water, and laid to me, in swearing great oaths, that they knew I was king Richard's bastard son; to whom I answered, with like oaths, I was not. They then advised me not to be afraid, but that I should take it upon me boldly; and if I would so do, they would aid and assist me with all their power against the king of England; and not only they, but they were well assured that the earls of Desmond and Kildare would do the same; for they cared not what part they took, so that they might be revenged upon the king of England: and so, against my will, made me learn English, and taught me what I should do and say; and after this they called me duke of York, second son to king Edward IV. because king Richard's bastard son was in the hands of the king of England. Upon this the said Water, Stephen Poiton, John Tyler, Hubert Burgh, with many others, did assemble themselves, and the French king sent an ambassador to Ireland, whose name was Loit Lucas, and Mr. Stephen Frion, to advertise me to come into France; thence I went into France, thence into Flanders, from Flanders into Ireland, and from Ireland into Scotland, and so into England.”

Lord Bacon observes of this confession (which some writers will have to be extorted from the young man by the rack *), “ That the king, in

† Hall, p. 124. Hollingshed, p. 786.

* Buck, p. 555.

what he did now, did himself no right*; for (proceeds this noble author) as there was a laboured tale of particulars of Perkin's father and mother, grand-father and grand-mother, uncles and cousins, by names and surnames, and from what places he travelled up and down, so there was little or nothing to purpose of any thing concerning his designs, or any practices that had been held with him, nor was the duchess of Burgundy herself (whom all the world knew to be the person that had put life and being into the whole business) so much as named or pointed at; so that men missing what they looked for, looked for they knew not what, and were in more doubt than before." Some, however, believed the king was thus silent out of complaisance to the king of France, the emperor, the archduke, his aunt the duchess of Burgundy, and the king of Scotland, all of whom had abetted the imposture, if it was one; and that there were even some English lords engaged in the plot, against whom, on account of their great credit and popularity, Henry did not think proper to proceed. But now, leaving Perkin to his sufferings, and Henry to his triumph, we will notice the other principal transactions of this year.

I have already observed, that in the years 1495 and 1496, Henry empowered his ambassadors to treat of a marriage between Margaret, his daughter, and the king of Scotland: this affair was again brought on the carpet this year, in an interview which James had with Fox, bishop of Durham, at Melrose, to settle some dispute which had arisen between the two nations, on account of mutual depredations committed by the borderers on both sides; and here it was that the articles were proposed of that marriage, which afterwards effected the union of both kingdoms under one head. This affair, however, was not finished till January, 1502, owing to a strong opposition in Henry's council at this time, who would by no means hearken to an alliance, which, in case of the extinction of Henry's male issue, might bring the kingdom of England under the government of a king of Scotland.

Great part of this year was spent in negotiations between Henry and Lewis XII of France, which latter not only renewed all the family and national treaties between them, but also engaged to continue the payment of the yearly sum of fifty thousand livres. Henry likewise concluded a new marine treaty, for preventing all piracies and depredations between the subjects of the two kingdoms by sea; and a separate article passed between the two kings, that the one should give no shelter or support to the rebels of the other†.

The year 1498 ended with an accident which gave the king no small concern. Whilst he was at his palace of Shene, in Surry, a fire broke out, on the twenty-ninth of December, with that violence that in a few hours the building was entirely consumed, with all the rich furniture. As Henry was very fond of that palace, he caused it to be rebuilt from the ground in a more magnificent manner, and gave it the name of Richmond, from his title whilst earl, which name it retains to this day.

In the beginning of the year 1499, one Patrick, an Augustine friar, finding a disciple, the son of a

shoe-maker, by name Edward Wilford, fit for his purpose, tutored him into an earl of Warwick, who, he gave out, had escaped from the Tower. The friar had the impudence to preach publicly, about the county of Kent, that this was the true earl of Warwick, and to exhort the people to take up arms in his favour. Notwithstanding the impudence of this imposture, the actors would not have been without their followers, had not the government used great diligence in apprehending both the pupil and the preceptor, the former of whom was hanged, and the other condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

This attempt served as a sufficient excuse for Henry to free himself at once from all his uneasinesses occasioned by Perkin and the earl of Warwick; he was also furnished with a still more plausible pretext by the inconsiderate behaviour of Perkin himself, whose intriguing spirit led him into a plot which deprived him of his life. He had tampered so effectually with four servants belonging to sir John Digby, lieutenant of the Tower, that they had actually engaged to assist him in making his escape; and, by their contrivance, he entered into a close correspondence with the earl of Warwick, who was confined in the same prison of the Tower. That unhappy prince, who, from his earliest youth had been cut off from all social intercourse‡, had fallen into a simplicity that rendered him susceptible of any impression, and he agreed with Perkin to take the first opportunity of escaping, which they perceived could not be done without killing sir John Digby. Perkin, however, undertook to conduct the whole enterprize.

This conspiracy could not long escape the quick and penetrating eye of Henry; it has even been affirmed by some historians, that the scheme was contrived by himself, in order to draw Perkin and Warwick into the snare: however this might be, Henry ordered both the earl and Perkin to take their trials for their lives. Perkin, on the sixteenth of November, was brought up to Westminster Hall, before a commission of Oyer and Terminer, and tried as a foreigner, condemned, and sentenced to be hanged, which sentence he suffered at Tyburn, on the twenty-third of the same month, together with Waters, the mayor of Corke, who had been his constant companion in all his adventures. Such was the end of Perkin Warbeck, who had been acknowledged for lawful king, in Ireland, France, Flanders, England, and Scotland, and been the moth that for a long time had preyed on Henry's quiet. Perhaps he might have succeeded in his designs, had he been to deal with a less political prince: however, it is certain the public was never thoroughly satisfied of Perkin's being an impostor. As to his confession which, if we may believe our historians, he read, declaring it to be true, it is upon the whole a loose, unconnected, improbable narrative; whereas one might have expected, had he been sincere, a very instructive and particular detail of a deep-laid and well-conducted conspiracy. On the other hand, may we not, without sinning against probability, suppose him to have been influenced by hopes given him of pardon even to the last moments of his life?

* Compl. Hist. p. 623.

† Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xii. p. 681—696.

‡ Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, was four-and-twenty

years old, and had been a prisoner fifteen years, and kept so from the company of men and beasts, that he is said not to have known a goose from a capon.

As to that unhappy prince the earl of Warwick, he was brought down to take his trial before the earl of Oxford, created lord high-steward of England for that purpose. He was accused, not of attempting his escape (for as he was not committed for any crime, an attempt of that nature was not arraignable), but of forming a design to disturb the government, and raise an insurrection in favour of Perkin, and to destroy the king. The poor earl, void of all knowledge of man's deceit, was persuaded to confess his indictment, and thereupon received sentence, which the unrelenting Henry suffered to be executed on him, on Tower Hill, on the twenty-eighth of November, 1499, and in him perished the last heir male of the house of York. The shedding of this innocent blood cried aloud for vengeance; in vain did Henry endeavour to lessen the odium of the crime, by dividing it with his ally Ferdinand, king of Spain, who, he said, refused to give his daughter in marriage to Arthur, while one prince of the family of York remained alive; the people held the Spanish cruelty and inflexibility as no excuse: the prince of Wales and the princess Catherine had been actually married the May before by proxy †, Dr. de Puebla, a Spanish lawyer, representing the princess.

Lewis XII. had solemnly ratified and sworn to the peace of Estaples a little after his accession to the crown; but being desirous to shew Henry he really intended to keep it, he caused it to be approved and ratified by the states general, assembled at Nantes in the beginning of the year: then he sent ambassadors to the pope, to pray him to confirm it by his authority. The pope, seeing no farther obstacle from France, issued out a bull of excommunication against whoever of the two kings should not observe the treaty.

Having thus secured the friendship of Henry, Lewis put himself at the head of his army, entered Italy, and, after taking several places, forced the duke of Milan, Ludovico Sforza, to fly to Inspruck, after losing all his duchy except the castle of Milan.

The year 1500 was ushered in with a dreadful plague, which swept off upwards of thirty thousand people within the city of London only, among whom was cardinal Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, a prelate of great experience in business, a supple tool to Henry's will, and a man of whom we find not the least vestige upon record that he possessed any one virtue of humanity; accordingly his death furnished a subject of the highest exultation to all the kingdom, especially the poor and middling families, whose faces he had long ground by his diabolical knack at inventing the most oppressive taxes, and enforcing the payment of them by the most cruel methods. He was succeeded in the see of Canterbury by Henry Deane, bishop of Salisbury.

As this year was the beginning of a new century, the see of Rome, ever watchful of opportunities to fleece or to delude the people, now published a jubilee; those who lived at a great distance from Rome were allowed to purchase, for a certain sum, the privileges of the jubilee without being obliged to repair to Rome, according to the received custom. In order to levy the money aris-

ing from this indulgence, Alexander dispatched commissioners into all the states of Christendom, and appointed a Spaniard, by name Gaspar Pons, as his agent in England, who collected large sums for the use of the papal see: but when he applied to Henry, in his holiness's name, to make one in a crusade which had been planned against the Turks, and in which each prince of Europe had his particular department allotted him, Henry, who, from the known character of pope Alexander, concluded that his only aim was to amass money by contributions for this enterprize, and having several things depending at the pope's court at this time, did not think fit to disoblige his holiness, returned an answer very vague, but very respectful; he excused himself from attending on the expedition in person, but offered to contribute a large sum of money; but then this promise was made on condition that some good towns on the coast of Italy might be put into his hands, as a security for the sums he might advance.

Though it is evident from the whole of this answer (which is to be found in lord Bacon's Life of Henry VII.) that Henry at that time both declined and despised the proposal, yet his pompous professions of zeal for the interest of religion wrought so much in his favour abroad, that the knights of Rhodes chose him protector of their order. Alexander having pretty well stored his coffers, the affair of the crusade vanished into air.

The plague continuing to rage in England, Henry, about the middle of May this year, thought fit to remove with his court to Calais, in the neighbourhood of which place he had a conference with Philip, archduke of Austria, in which they discussed the means of improving the good understanding between their two people. It is said they had likewise some conversation about a closer alliance, by the intermarriage of the king of England's second son, Henry, with the archduke's sister; and between the princess Mary, Henry's second daughter, and the archduke's son Charles; but the parties being all too young, the matter went no farther than a proposal, and the marriage never took effect*.

Soon after the king's return to London, two bulls arrived from the pope, the one subjecting the person of Lewis XII. of France to an excommunication, and his kingdom to an interdict, if he should ever fail in paying Henry the fifty thousand crowns agreed upon by the treaty of Estaples; and another of dispensation for the marriage between James IV. king of Scotland, and Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry, which had, by several negotiations in the course of this and the preceding year, been brought pretty nearly to a conclusion; the young lady, who was but ten years and six months old, was within the fourth degree of consanguinity to king James.

Henry's thoughts, however, were not so taken up by these alliances as to make him forget any means of filling his coffers: he was already possessed of more personal riches than any sovereign in Europe; but his avarice seemed to increase in proportion as it was gratified. He now issued out commissions for imposing fines and redemptions upon all persons in the counties of Wilts, Dorset, Somer-

† It is reported that Catherine, upon Henry VIII's divorcing her, should say, "That she had not offended; but it was a judgment of God, for that her former marriage was

made in blood;" meaning the earl of Warwick's. Bacon, p. 616.

* Heifs's History of the Empire.

set, and Devon, that should be found to have favoured in any respect the Cornishmen, when they rose, three years before, under Perkin Warbeck or the lord Audley. With the like view of fleecing the subject, he, about the same time, issued orders to all the sheriffs throughout England to summon all gentlemen having forty pounds a year in land, to come before the next Candlemas, and receive knighthood. Never was king of England more hated by his subjects, though this hatred was mingled with fear, produced by his uninterrupted success, and the opinion of his great abilities, both as a monarch and politician. All the powers upon the continent courted his alliance, and all the malecontents of England, were over-awed into a peaceful acquiescence.

Notwithstanding this felicity, the busy, restless, furious passion of jealousy still encroached upon his repose. Henry was of a disposition never to be easy under the smallest ground of apprehension, and an accident happened towards the close of this year, which not a little disturbed him. Edmund de la Pole, second son of John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and Elizabeth, eldest sister of Edward IV. was, on the death of his elder brother, John earl of Lincoln, who was slain in the battle of Stokefield, deemed the next lineal heir to the crown, whenever the lines of Edward or of George, duke of Clarence, should become extinct: the prospect was remote, but Henry's hatred and fears of the house of York made him look with a jealous eye even upon the remotest branches of that family. Upon the death of John, duke of Suffolk, in 1491, Edmund claimed inheritance of his title and estates; but Henry had obliged him to compromise, by giving up the title of duke, a dignity he, by his extravagance, was in no condition to support, and, in consideration of this cession, he was allowed to retain the lands of the earldom, with the dignity of earl of Suffolk.

The earl was a nobleman of tried courage, but immoderately passionate: he had, about this time, the misfortune to kill a man in one of his furious sallies; and, though he was a branch of the house of York, the king did consent to indulge him with a pardon, but, in order to leave a stigma upon his character, he obliged him to appear at the bar of the King's Bench court, and plead the royal pardon like a common felon. This touched the earl's pride so sensibly, that he fled over to Flanders, and resided at the duchess dowager of Burgundy's court. Henry was not a little alarmed at his retreat; he thought he saw a new pretender ready to dispute with him his throne; and, in order to anticipate any designs he might hatch to his prejudice, he sent over emissaries, who, by dint of promises and professions, persuaded him to return and be reconciled to the government. The earl accepted of the invitation, and came back to England, where he plunged into all his former excesses, to the ruin of his character and fortune. Before we close this year, it will be necessary briefly to mention what passed in Italy.

After Lewis XII. was become master of the duchy of Milan, he turned his thoughts to the conquest of Naples. Though probably he might alone have conquered that kingdom, he made however

an alliance with the king of Arragon, whereby they agreed to join their forces, and share the conquest between them: Ferdinand was to have Apulia and Calabria; and Lewis the city of Naples, Abruzzo, and Terra di Lavarò. The treaty being signed, Ferdinand sent an army into Italy, under the command of the famous Gonzalvo, commonly called the Great Captain. Lewis gave the conduct of his army to d'Aubigni, the earl of Gallazzo, and Cæsar Borgia, the pope's bastard, who, having quitted the cardinalate, was become duke of Valentinois. The French fleet was commanded by Philip of Cleves, lord of Ravenstein. In a very short space, each of the two kings became master of the portion assigned him by the treaty; and the unfortunate Frederick, king of Naples, was forced to cast himself upon the mercy of Lewis XII. who sent him to live in France, with a pension of thirty thousand crowns.

The year 1501 produces nothing remarkable for history to transmit, save the marriage of Arthur, prince of Wales, with the princess Catherine of Spain. According to Stowe, that princess arrived at Plymouth on the second day of October, and the nuptials were celebrated at London, with great pomp and solemnity on the fourteenth of November, the prince being then turned of fifteen, and the lady about the age of eighteen. Her dower amounted to two hundred thousand ducats, in money, jewels, and plate; and the third part of the principality of Wales, dukedom of Cornwall, and earldom of Chester, was assigned to her as a jointure, provided her husband should die before his accession to the throne†.

This year we find the first mention upon our records of the famous Thomas, afterwards cardinal Woolsey, who was then rector of the parish-church of Limington, in Hampshire, and master of arts, and had now a bull from the pope for enjoying of two livings*.

The marriage of prince Arthur was succeeded by the contract of another match between the king of Scotland and Henry's daughter Margaret, her father having over-ruled all opposition of his council, by convincing them that even if the crown of England should devolve to the king of Scotland, in default of his (Henry's) male issue, that in such case Scotland would become an accession to England, as the smaller would always be swallowed up in the greater dominion; a political prediction which we have found fully verified.

All matters being adjusted between the plenipotentiaries on both sides on the twelfth of February, 1502, the marriage articles between the king of Scotland and the princess Margaret were engrossed. As this was, perhaps, in its consequences, the most remarkable transaction of Henry's reign, we shall here give an abstract of the articles, which will shew the depth of Henry's policy, and the soundness of his judgment.

"I. That James, king of Scotland, shall, at Candlemas next, in person or by his proxy, marry the princess Margaret (who, on the last day of November by-past, had attained the full age of twelve years), and that no exceptions shall be made against their consanguinity or affinity, both having been beforehand dispensed with by the sovereign pontiff.

† The magnificence of Henry's court, and the profuseness of this marriage ceremony, must be surprising even to a modern reader, who will have some idea of the manners and

improved luxury of this age, by Stowe's account of this ceremony, p. 482, 483. of his Annals.

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 783.

"II. That

"II. That the said princess shall be conveyed, at the charges of the said king her father, and delivered to her said husband, or to any impowered by him to receive her, at Lamberton Kirk, about the beginning of September, 1503, and not till then.

"III. That, before the first day of July, 1503, the said princess be legally infeoffed and seised in all the lands, castles, &c. which the queen's dowager of Scotland usually enjoy; and if all these lands, &c. be not found to yield the yearly revenue of two thousand pounds English, or, which was then the same, six thousand pounds Scots money, that her said husband shall assign her as many other lands as will make up the deficiency.

"IV. That the said princess shall be allowed always by her at least twenty-four servants of the English nation, men or women, as she shall incline, over and above her Scottish domestics; and that all these shall be maintained at the charges of the king her husband, who shall give her every year the sum of one thousand pounds Scots, or five hundred marks sterling, by equal proportions, at the feasts of Easter and Michaelmas, to be disposed of at her pleasure.

"V. That, in case of the death of the said king her husband, she shall be allowed to reside within or without the kingdom of Scotland, as she shall think fit; and although she should think fit to reside without the kingdom, yet her whole jointure, amounting to the aforesaid sum of two thousand pounds sterling, or six thousand pounds Scots, shall be faithfully paid.

"VI. That the king her father shall pay for her portion, to the said king James her husband, thirty thousand pieces of gold called angel-nobles, or the equivalent in the current coin of England; whereof ten thousand to be paid at Edinburgh, eight days after the consummation of the marriage; other ten thousand on the same day of the ensuing year, 1504, at Coldingham; and the last ten thousand towards the end of the year 1505.

"VII. That in case the said princess shall chance to die without issue before the complete payment of her portion, the remainder unpaid shall be no more due; but if she should chance to leave issue behind, then the whole shall be faithfully paid, as if she was alive*."

At the same time a peace was concluded between both kingdoms, upon the following terms:

"I. That, in all times to come, there shall be a sincere, complete, and inviolable peace, friendship, and league between the most illustrious and excellent princes, James, king of Scotland, and Henry, king of England, their heirs and lawful hereditary successors, their kingdoms, and subjects, whether ecclesiastic or laic, &c.

"II. That neither of the said kings shall favour the rebellious subjects of the other, directly or indirectly, but shall, on the contrary, commit them to prison as soon as they are known to be such.

"III. That all safe-conducts granted, or promises made, to any of the English rebels by king James, shall be recalled, and never renewed; and vice versa.

"IV. If either of the said kings shall be attacked by another emperor, king, prince, &c. that the king who is not attacked shall assist him who is, and with as many forces as shall be required,

provided that these forces be maintained at the charges of that king to whose assistance they shall be sent.

"V. That the king of Scotland shall not molest or besiege the town or castle of Berwick; nor shall the inhabitants thereof give any disturbance to the subjects of the said king of Scotland.

"VI. That the fish garth of Esk shall be equally free to the subjects of both kingdoms, so that either the Scots or English may break or repair without being quarrelled by either of the kings.

"V. That the allies of both kings shall be comprehended in the treaty, namely, the king of the Romans; Lewis, king of the French; the kings of Spain, Portugal, and Denmark; the archduke of Austria; the dukes of Venice, Ferrara, and Savoy; and the Hanse Towns of Germany, on the part of king Henry: and on that of king James; Lewis, king of France; John, king of Denmark; the king of Spain, the king of the Romans, the archduke of Austria, the dukes of Gueldres, Alsace, and Cleves, and the marquis of Brandenburg: that all these shall be informed of the treaty, and be invited to come into it, within eight months; and if they do not accept of the offer, they are in that case to be considered as unconcerned: as also, that if the king of England shall chance to make war with any of the said allies of the king of Scotland, the said king of Scotland may assist his said ally with auxiliary forces, to be sent to his assistance and defence; but shall not offer to make a diversion on his behalf by attempting any thing against England itself; & vice versa: so that the peace between the two kingdoms shall remain inviolable, as before.

"VIII. In case, which God forbid, that the said king James, or princess Margaret, should die before the consummation of their marriage, the peace shall nevertheless continue, unless either of the kings, their heirs or successors, do make known to the other, within two months after the decease of the said king or princess, that he will not adhere to the treaty. And,

"IX. In that case, that is to say although the peace should not take effect, by reason of the death of either of the parties, or non-delivery of the princess at the time appointed, yet the truce formerly concluded shall continue during the life of both the said kings, and one year longer.

"X. That both kings shall obtain a ratification of the present treaty from the pope, before the first day of July, 1503; and that the party breaking shall submit himself to the sentence of excommunication, and be actually excommunicated†.

Henry had carried a great point in this treaty, by re-annexing Berwick for ever to the crown of England; but, not contented with that, he used every method of flattery and entreaty that he could devise, in order to detach James from any of his engagements with the court of France: James went so far in his complaisance to his future father-in-law, as to promise him all that he desired. Henry, on his part, shewed so great an earnestness to preserve a good understanding with his right dear and entirely beloved son, as he calls him, that he gave the bishop of Murray, the Scottish ambassador at his court, a list of the names of those who were to attend his daughter to Scotland; but the consum-

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 776, 787, 789.

† Ibid. p. 793, 794.

mation of the marriage was, on account of the tender years of the princess, deferred till the ensuing year.

But the joy occasioned by this union was too quickly damped by the death of Arthur, prince of Wales, who expired at Ludlow castle, where he resided, on the second day of April, about five months after his nuptials. His fate was deeply lamented by the people of England, who flattered themselves with the prospect of a happy reign under a prince of his accomplishments; and in about six months after his decease, his brother Henry was, in the twelfth year of his age, created prince of Wales and earl Chester.

About this period the king received an embassy from the emperor Maximilian, proposing a league against the Turks, and desiring the loan of ten thousand pounds sterling, to be employed in reducing the rebels; which Henry granted, and at the same time concluded a treaty of commerce, friendship, and alliance with him, to remain in force for one year after the death of the longest liver: he also sent sir Thomas Brandon and Dr. West as his commissioners to invest Maximilian with the order of the Garter.

And now the spirit of faction being entirely quelled among the English, and Henry's throne and family established by every success and precaution that can give duration to empire, he had it in his power to have rendered himself the most amiable, as he was the most fortunate, of monarchs; but his avarice, which was insatiable, increased with his years, and was continually prompting him to try new methods to amass riches, which he seems to have coveted merely for the sake of possessing them and not to use them, since few persons were ever better economists than himself. Morton was dead, and he now chose for the agents of his rapaciousness sir Richard Empson and Edward Dudley. Empson was the son of a sieve-maker, and by the boldness of his measures endeavoured to conceal the meanness of his birth. Dudley was a man of fortune and family, as well as of great abilities, all which render his memory, if possible, more execrable than that of his fellow-labourer in iniquity. Empson served as the saw (says a modern historian), Dudley as the razor of oppression in the hands of Henry: such was the insolence of these two infamous ministers, that they did not even observe the common forms of justice, but proceeded with the most arbitrary licentiousness to fleece the subject; and such who would not tamely yield up their property were imprisoned, fined, and some even executed in consequence of private trial, without fair examination or verdict of jury. Henry, who shared the fruits of this oppression, covered the authors with the ægis of his authority: informers, promoters, quest-mongers, and the like vermin, swarmed over the face of the land; while Henry was deaf and insensible to the groans of the oppressed and the reproaches of his people. The two following anecdotes, as handed down to us by the lord Bacon, will serve to shew us, that as Henry let slip no opportunity for amassing money, however base or ungrateful it might be, he was also meanly mechanical in the pursuit of oppression, and even affected to observe a conscientiousness in the methods of injustice.

To the family of Vere the house of Lancaster owed more than it did to any in the kingdom: the earl of Oxford, the head of that family, and one who had been the most strenuous in the cause of Henry, having one day magnificently entertained his sovereign at his castle of Henningham, upon the king's taking his leave the earl's servants, wearing their master's livery and badges, were ordered to form a long row on each side of the hall through which Henry passed, who, perceiving a greater number of domestics in livery than the law against retainers allowed the earl to maintain, said to him, "My lord, I have heard much of your hospitality, but it exceeds all report: are all these gentlemen and yeomen your menial servants?" Oxford answering, that he had retained them only on that occasion, to do his highness the more honour, Henry was mean enough to make him this reply, "By my faith, my lord, I thank you for my good cheer; but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight; my attorney must speak to you." The earl was afterwards put to so much trouble for this unseasonable magnificence, that he was obliged to compound for his offence, by paying a fine of fifteen thousand marks.

The noble author just quoted informs us likewise, that he had seen a book of accòmpts of Empson's, that had the king's hand subscribed in almost every leaf: among other articles he found the following, "Item, received of (such a one) five marks for a pardon, which if it do not pass, the money to be repaid, or the party otherwise satisfied:" opposite to this memorandum was another, in the king's own hand, in these words, "Otherwise satisfied."

Nothing extraordinary passed in England the rest of this year, except the following events, which we shall cursorily note.

James and Henry were employed in confirming and ratifying their late treaties, and swearing to observe them. We find in the Collection of Public Acts*, that James observing that the title of king of France, given to Henry, had slipped into his oath, he ordered a public instrument to be drawn up, to disclaim giving Henry that title, and to have the same erased; but James at the same time expressed his readiness of renewing his oath as often as Henry should think proper.

On the fifth of August, this year, died sir Reginald Bray, knight of the Garter, often mentioned in these pages, of whom Hall† gives the following character, "He was the very father of his country, a sage and grave person, and a fervent lover of justice, who would often admonish the king, when he did any thing contrary to justice or equity." About the same time likewise died Henry Deane, who had succeeded Morton as archbishop of Canterbury, and was himself succeeded by Dr. Warham, bishop of Lincoln, a very great politician and an able negociator, who was often employed by Henry in treaties of the greatest consequence.

On the ninth of December, this year, Henry gave a patent to James Elliot and Thomas Ashurst, merchants of Bristol, to John Gonzalez and Francis Fernandez, natives of Portugal, to go with English colours in quest of unknown countries, upon certain terms expressed in the patent, which

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xiii. p. 43.

† Fol. 36.

is to be found at large in the Collection of Public Acts *.

About this time (according to Stowe the annalist†) were brought to court three men, taken in the new-found islands by Sebastian Cabot, the Venetian. They were cloathed in the skins of beasts, and spoke a language unknown. Two of them were seen two years after at the king's court at Westminster, dressed like Englishmen, neither could they be distinguished from such.

In the beginning of the year 1503‡, Henry, to complete the measure of his happiness, lost his wife Elizabeth, whom he had endured for the sake of decency to remain the partner of his bed and state: she died in child-bed, within the Tower, and the child died soon after. Henry's hatred to the house of York was extended to this princess, nor could all her virtues, her beauty, or her merit, ever conquer that innate aversion to her family: the concern he gave her by confining the queen her mother in a convent, and confiscating all her estate, is said by some to have hastened her death.

The conduct of the king and his ministers had by this time rendered them extremely odious to the people, who murmured incessantly against the government, and so loudly that it came to Henry's ears, who was not a little alarmed thereat, and his apprehensions were farther increased by the following event.

The vast profusion of money in dress and equipage on account of the wedding of the late prince Arthur and the princess Catherine of Spain, had run several noblemen in debt, and among the rest Edmund, earl of Suffolk, of whom we have already spoken. He had borrowed large sums for that purpose, and, either pressed by his debts, or having reason to apprehend his life in danger from Henry, who had, ever since his return from Flanders, set spies about his person, and whose jealousy he knew to be equally fatal and incurable, the earl fled again, in February, or the beginning of March, this year, over into Flanders, with his brother Richard, whose fine accomplishments and great merit had recommended him to the post of first gentleman of the bed-chamber to prince Arthur.

The king, alarmed at the earl's going off, and suspecting that he was engaged in practices against his crown and state before his departure, and had his accomplices, was eager to know his scheme, and the names of those who had favoured his flight or corresponded with him during his retreat; and, to satisfy himself in these points, repeated the expedient he had so successfully used in the case of Perkin Warbeck, and privately employed a spy, one sir Robert Curson, governor of the castle of Hammes, near Calais, who, being properly instructed, abandoned his charge on pretence of disaffection to the government, and retired to Flanders, where he offered his service to the earl of Suffolk, then at the court of the old duchess dowager of Burgundy.

The earl, not suspecting his design, admitted him into his intimacy, and, without reserve, disclosed to him the names of several persons of distinction, who were his correspondents, and who, in their letters, which he shewed to this treacherous confidant, had spoken pretty freely of their dislike to the king's measures; all which the knight

punctually communicated to Henry. The result of this was, that all the earl's correspondents were immediately seized; and, among others, the lord Courtney, son and heir to the earl of Devonshire, and husband to the lady Catherine, daughter to Edward IV. sir James Tyrrel, sir John Wyndham, the lord Abergavenny, and sir Thomas Green; but the two latter were discharged. Of the others, sir John Wyndham and sir James Tyrrel only were beheaded, while the rest were hanged. As to sir James Tyrrel, there is the strongest reason for believing that he died without giving any account that was satisfactory to the government, concerning the death of Edward IV's two sons, because if he had, it would undoubtedly have been published.

Henry was not yet satisfied; he was desirous to get at the bottom of that plot he suspected was hatching against him: he therefore ordered Curson to continue his correspondence, and fell upon the following extraordinary method to give that informer a high degree of credit with the earl of Suffolk; he caused Innocent VIII's bull of excommunication to be published at St. Paul's Cross against all persons that should disturb him in possession of the throne, and ordered the names of the earl of Suffolk and sir Robert Curson to be particularly mentioned therein: but as soon as the latter had, by the help of this trick, wormed every thing out of Suffolk that he thought necessary for the service of his employer, he was ordered over to England, where Henry received him into particular favour. The earl, finding by this that he was betrayed, and receiving but small encouragement from the duchess of Burgundy, who was probably tired of being the continual screen to the disaffected English, without any hopes of prejudicing the possessor of that throne, he led for some time a vagrant life in Germany, and at length threw himself upon the protection of Philip, archduke of Austria, who received him, notwithstanding his treaties with Henry, who, knowing that the earl had not a party in England to support him, shewed no farther uneasiness about him for the present.

On the sixteenth of June, this year, all the necessary preparations, which were extremely magnificent, being accomplished, the princess Margaret was sent to Scotland; the king her father conducting her from Richmond, in Surry, as far as Yorkshire, where he took leave of her, after ordering the earls of Northumberland and Surry, with a very pompous retinue of noble personages, to attend her to Edinburgh, where the marriage was celebrated with extraordinary magnificence on the eighth of August.

Henry, prince of Wales, was now about thirteen years of age, of pregnant parts, and of a robust constitution. His father had designed him for the church, and therefore he had received a more liberal education than had been given to his elder brother. By the death of this latter, however, he was now become apparent heir to the crown; and the king saw, with infinite regret, that he should be obliged to refund the fortune which he had received for his late son with the princess Catherine, unless he could fall on some means to elude the treaty on that head. As nothing carried with it the appearance of dishonesty that tended to the getting or saving of money, in the eye of this ava-

* Vol. xiii. p. 37.

† P. 483.

‡ On the eleventh day of February. She was buried at Westminster.

ricious monarch, he bethought himself of the expedient of bringing about a marriage between young Henry and the widow of his late brother, on pretence that the former marriage had never been consummated by the parties; and accordingly he caused the proposal to be made to the king and queen of Spain. Ferdinand and Isabella, having as little delicacy in matters of interest as Henry himself, lent a ready ear to the overture, and quickly agreed to the match, provided the pope's dispensation could be obtained. This agreement we find in the Collection of Public Acts, dated June 23, 1503*.

Alexander VI. dying in the summer of this year, was succeeded by Pius III. who himself not outliving the eighteenth of October, Julius II. was elected, on the first of November, into the papal chair, and it was to him that the two courts applied for the dispensation. This pontiff, who was a mortal enemy to the French king, was very fond of an opportunity to oblige Henry, and thereby bring him into his interest. Accordingly, on the twenty-sixth of December, he granted a bull for dispensing with the marriage of Henry, prince of Wales with Catherine, the widow of his deceased brother. This bull, as we find it quoted in bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation†, was to the following effect:

"That he (the pope), in the fullness of his authority, having received a petition from prince Henry and the princess Catherine, bearing, that whereas the princess was lawfully married to prince Arthur, who was dead without issue, though the said marriage was perhaps consummated by carnal copulation, but they being desirous to marry, for preserving the peace between the crowns of England and Spain, did petition his holiness for his dispensation; therefore the pope, out of his care to maintain peace among all catholic kings, did absolve them from all censures under which they might lie, and dispensed with the impediment of their affinity, notwithstanding any apostolical constitutions or ordinances to the contrary, and gave them leave to marry; or, if they were already married, he, confirming it, required their confessor to enjoin them some healthful penance for their having married before the dispensation was obtained."

It was necessary to give so much of this bull, on account of the important consequences this affair produced in the following reign.

Towards the close of this year, Henry bestowed the office of lord high-steward of England on the earl of Surry, for trying the lord Dudley, who had been indicted for a felony committed in Staffordshire.

As to foreign affairs, we have to observe, that Philip, archduke of Austria, having been on a visit to the king and queen of Spain, returned this year into Flanders. As he passed through France, he endeavoured to adjust a difference between king Ferdinand, his father-in-law, and Lewis XII. concerning the kingdom of Naples; he even took upon him to conclude, in Ferdinand's name, a treaty which was afterwards disclaimed. Had he been concerned with a prince of less goodness and equity than Lewis XII. that disclaiming might have thrown him into great trouble; but Lewis was too generous to take the advantage. The occasion,

in short, of the rupture between the two monarchs was this:

They had, as hath been observed divided the kingdom of Naples, after conquering it. It was hardly possible that these two princes should long possess the portion fallen to each, without some occasion of quarrel; accordingly a dispute arose concerning the province of Capitanata, which each would have to be in his division: whereupon the French and Spaniards came to blows. At first the French had the advantage, but afterwards lost two battles, one near St. Severina, in Calabria, on the twenty-first of April, the other on the twenty-eighth of the same month, at Cerignoles, where the duke de Nemours, their general, was slain. After these two victories, Gonzalvo, who commanded Ferdinand's troops, became master of the whole kingdom of Naples. Lewis, desirous to repair his losses, sent a powerful army into Italy, which was, by sundry unforeseen accidents, rendered unserviceable.

Henry was not fond of parliaments, yet he held them when he found any tolerable prospect of getting a supply; with this view he assembled the two houses on Thursday, January 25, 1504, in order to obtain an equivalent for two ancient aids due to the crown, on account of the knighthood of the king's eldest son and the marriage of his eldest daughter. Nothing can afford a stronger proof of the almost absolute power of the king, than his getting the commons to chuse Edward Dudley (one of his infamous ministers, and the most odious man in the kingdom) their speaker. Besides the many emoluments that accrued to Henry from this session (which, together with the several laws enacted therein, will be found under their proper heads), he got a considerable sum by the confiscation of the estates of a number of persons, going as far back as the beginning of his reign to search for such as had offended, who were accordingly, upon his complaint, attainted of high-treason: yet, not content with this acquisition of riches, he issued out commissions for a general benevolence, though he had no war upon his hands, nor any appearance of one. Among other instances of rapaciousness and oppression, he obliged the city of London to give him five thousand marks for a confirmation of their liberties; and a vast sum was also paid into the royal coffers by the nation upon a recoinage.

In order to make some sort of atonement for these extortions, and do something that might recommend him to the friends of the house of Lancaster, he ordered the body of Henry VI. to be removed from Windsor to Westminster, where it was interred with great pomp; and he applied to the pope for a bull to canonize that monarch; but the miracles attributed to the deceased after his death were so ill asserted, that his holiness would not admit him to a place among the saints, without such a pecuniary consideration as Henry did not think proper to advance, and therefore the design was laid aside. A foreign event now fell out, which gave Henry no little uneasiness.

On the twenty-sixth of November, this year, Ferdinand, king of Spain, notified the death of his queen Isabella, by a letter to Henry, and that she had left him administrator of the kingdoms of Castile, Leon, and Grenada, for their daughter

Juanna, wife of Philip, archduke of Austria, who immediately assumed the title of king of Spain; but being then engaged in a war with the duke of Guelderland, he was not at leisure to go and take possession of his new inheritance, and therefore was obliged for the present to leave the administration in the hands of his father-in-law, but determined to deprive him of it the first favourable opportunity.

Ferdinand, however, claimed a right to the government during his life, on pretence that no particular time was fixed by Isabella's last will. It was of the utmost consequence for Henry to support Ferdinand in this matter against the archduke; he was sensible that the greater part of his subjects considered his late consort, the princess Elizabeth, as the rightful queen of England, and that her right had now of course descended to the prince of Wales, her heir and lawful successor, who might one day be encouraged to supplant him in the throne; he therefore regarded the issue of the dispute between Ferdinand and Philip as a precedent either for or against his own title, and he actually took part with such of the Spaniards who advised Ferdinand to break through his wife's entail, and declare himself king of Castile, Leon, and Grenada in his own right. But Ferdinand, though far from wanting ambition, declined this point, as too difficult to attempt, and contented himself with fixing Henry in his interest by putting the finishing hand to the marriage between his daughter Catherine, princess dowager of Wales, and Henry, prince of Wales, which was celebrated in the spring of the ensuing year, 1505.

In the beginning of this same year Henry entered upon a treaty of marriage for himself: he had cast his eyes upon the queen dowager of Naples for a wife, in order to enjoy the large dower assigned her in that kingdom. Perhaps he had also another view in this match, namely, the becoming umpire of the differences between Lewis XII. and Ferdinand, concerning the kingdom of Naples. However, Henry's ardour was quickly damped on receiving information that the queen's great jointure in land had, ever since Ferdinand came into possession of that kingdom, been converted into an annuity for life.

His advices from Spain were likewise of a disagreeable nature; his agents there having informed him, that Ferdinand still continued in the post of administrator, which he hoped to preserve for life, partly by his interest with the archduke Philip's counsellors, some of whom he had engaged in his interest; and partly by threatening, that in case the archduke should attempt to deprive him of the government, he would marry again and beget an heir to the kingdom of Arragon: but, at the same time, that the nobles and people of Spain were more strongly attached to Philip, in right of his wife, than to Ferdinand, who had oppressed them with intolerable taxes. These agents likewise wrote over, that there was actually a treaty of marriage on foot between Ferdinand and madame Germaine de Foix, niece to Lewis XII. which would certainly take effect, should Philip presume to dispossess his father-in-law of the administration. They farther informed him, that Lewis XII. had determined to give his daughter, madame Claude, in marriage to the count d'Angoulême, his own pre-

sumptive heir as king of France. At the same time they gave Henry to understand, that if Philip and his queen should continue to reside quietly in the Low Countries during Ferdinand's administration, that prince would endeavour to effect a match between the young prince of Austria and Mary, second daughter of the king of England.

In the mean time, however, Philip and Juanna were proclaimed king and queen of Castile at Brussels, which shewed they did not intend to resign the administration of that kingdom to Ferdinand for life, as he had flattered himself; though they were hindered from going to take possession themselves by the war of Guelderland, and the pregnancy of the queen, who was in a little time brought to bed of a daughter, named Mary, afterwards queen of Hungary: and some days after, Margaret of Austria, Philip's sister (the same who had been contracted to Charles VIII. of France), lost her husband, the duke of Savoy, who died on the tenth of September.

This year was very barren of remarkable events with regard to England. Besides what has been related, we find only a treaty of alliance between Henry and George, duke of Saxony, hereditary governor of Frieland, which was concluded on the thirtieth of December.

Philip of Austria, having received repeated invitations from the nobility of Castile to come over and supersede the administration of Ferdinand, and having happily finished the war of Guelderland, and his queen being in a condition to travel, set sail from Middleburgh, in Zealand, about the middle of January, 1506, with a fleet of fourscore ships; but a furious storm arising from the south west, which continued for a week together, prevented him from clearing the Channel, and dispersed his numerous fleet in such a manner, that there were only two small barks with him when he was driven, in his own battered vessel, into Falmouth. Spent with a long course of fatigues, and the severity of a continued sea-sickness, he resolved to go ashore to get a little rest and refreshment for himself and his consort, contrary to the advice of his council.

Henry being apprized of their landing, sent the earl of Arundel to compliment them in his name; to assure them he would, with all possible dispatch, have the pleasure of embracing them; and that, in the mean time, they might command in his dominions. Philip would have excused himself from waiting for an interview by the pressing call there was for his presence in Spain; but he soon found that he was not at liberty to deny, and therefore accepted the invitation made him with a good grace; and, in order to save time, set out immediately for the court, which was then at Windsor, where he and his consort were received with all the marks of the most cordial friendship by Henry. But this interested prince, who never did a favour without views of advantage to himself therein, proposed to Philip, during his stay, that as he had changed his condition, in being become king of Castile, the treaty of commerce between England and the Low Countries should be renewed. That prince, comprehending perfectly well the delicate nature of his present situation, did not think proper to make any objections to this proposal, and the treaty was renewed, with some alterations in favour of the English: among other things they suppressed that ar-

ticle of the former treaty, by which Philip's subjects were permitted to fish on the coast of England. Philip was, no doubt, sensible of the infinite difference which this made to his subjects, but found it necessary to temporize: on this account the Dutch and Flemings termed this treaty *Intercursus Malus*, or the Bad Treaty, to distinguish it from that made in 1496, which, on account of the advantages it brought them, they had named *Intercursus Magnus*, or the Noble Treaty.

The next business of importance proposed by Henry to Philip, was a marriage between himself and Philip's sister Margaret, widow of the duke of Savoy. The famous Thomas Wolsey, being then the king's chaplain, was employed in managing this affair, which was ended greatly to the advantage of Philip, as by this alliance he made a friend of Henry, and prevented him from traversing his designs of depriving his father-in-law of the administration of Castile: accordingly the proposal was readily accepted, and the king of Castile engaged to pay the sum of three hundred thousand French crowns, each crown worth four shillings sterling (an exorbitant sum!) together with an annuity of thirty thousand eight hundred and fifty French crowns, as Margaret's fortune, during their wedlock. This treaty was signed by both parties, at Windsor, on the twentieth day of March. Henry however, who judged of mankind by himself, could not forbear expressing his uneasiness lest Philip should go from his bargain, when out of his power; but Dr. Wolsey, who had already begun to display those able talents for negotiating, for which he afterwards became so famous, fell upon an expedient for preventing all difficulties and quieting Henry's suspicions; for, after the king of Castile had agreed to the matter, he had an article inserted in the treaty, which obliged twelve of the principal lords in the Low Countries to swear they would use their utmost endeavours to procure the accomplishment of the marriage.

Henry having thus settled his foreign concerns with the king of Castile, proceeded to a matter of great consequence to his own quiet. It was Henry's peculiar misfortune to realize the phantoms of troubles, and find to himself matter of uneasiness where there were no grounds of apprehension. We have also remarked, that he understood no delicacy when interest was in question; and on the following occasion he broke through all the rules of decorum and hospitality, to compass a matter on which his future quiet depended.

The earl of Suffolk, who, as we have before related, had taken refuge in Philip's territories, was a perpetual object of Henry's outrageous jealousy, nor could he be easy while that nobleman was at liberty, who had the unpardonable demerit of being of the blood of York. One day, therefore, he took the opportunity, when the king of Castile and himself were alone, to press him in a manner that shewed he would not be denied, to deliver up the earl. Philip was greatly startled at the meanness and injustice of this request; but seeing what hands he was fallen into, and impatient to depart for Spain, did not chuse to affront Henry by a flat denial, but excused himself by saying, "Sir, this I cannot do, consistent with my honour, and much less with your's, for you will be thought to have used me like a prisoner." But Henry presently replied,

"Then I will take all the dishonour upon me." This answer convinced Philip that Henry was determined to make the most of that advantage which fortune had put in his power, and, after some hesitation agreed, but on condition that Henry should swear that he would not take the earl's life. Henry submitted to this restriction, and even condescended to send a letter under his own hand, assuring the unfortunate exile of good usage; who, being over-persuaded by these assurances, backed with others from Philip, surrendered himself to the king of England's officers at Calais, who sent him over hither; but no sooner was he landed in his native country, than he was sent under a guard to the Tower of London, where we shall see him, in the next reign, inhumanly sacrificed to the prevailing jealousies of the state.

The earl being thus secured, and Henry's apprehensions lulled to sleep, he permitted the king of Castile to resume his voyage, after having detained him by a thousand pretexts for upwards of three months, during which time he had created him knight of the Garter; and Philip, in return, a little before his departure, made Henry knight of the Golden Fleece: at last, on the twenty-third of April, Philip and his consort set out for Spain, and, after a short and pleasant passage, landed safely at Corunna (now called the Groyne), in Galicia, before Ferdinand knew of their arrival. They were received with such marks of universal love and affection, that Ferdinand did not think proper to insist upon his right of administration, but withdrew to his own kingdom of Arragon. Within a few months, however, Philip was carried off by a surfeit, which he contracted by drinking plentifully of cold water when in a sweat, and died on the twenty-fifth of September following. His queen was so afflicted with his loss, that she fell into a deep melancholy, which at length turned to a phrenzy; and Ferdinand, having yet a powerful party in the council of Castile, was declared administrator of that kingdom during the non-age of Charles of Luxembourg, their orphan son, who afterwards proved the scourge and terror of France and all Europe, by the name of Charles V.

By a treaty made at Blois, two years before, between Lewis XII. and the emperor Maximilian and his son Philip, archduke of Austria, it had been agreed that this young prince Charles should espouse madame Claude, the king of France's only daughter by Anne of Brittany, on certain conditions therein specified, which were to the last degree detrimental to the realm of France; but this year the general estates of that kingdom, held at Tours, remonstrated against this fatal treaty, by which the king's council, with one stroke of a pen, had mutilated and destroyed the French monarchy. Lewis, either repenting what he had done, or overcome by the remonstrances of the nation, agreed to annul that treaty: in fine, the heiress of France and of Anne of Brittany was taken from the heir of Austria and Spain, as her mother had been from Maximilian; and, before the assembly broke up, was married to the count d'Angoulême, afterwards Francis I. and Brittany, which had been twice annexed to the crown of France, and was twice very near slipping through its hands, was now incorporated with it, and Burgundy likewise was still preserved*.

* Voltaire's Essay on General History, chap. xci.

In the mean time the Flemings, who were left in a manner without a head, by the death of their archduke Philip, king of Spain, and the minority of his son, sent to invite the emperor Maximilian to come into their country, and assume the administration of public affairs during the minority of his grandson Charles. The emperor promised to accept the invitation; and, till he could pass over himself, sent his daughter Margaret, widow of the duke of Savoy, in the beginning of the summer of 1507, with the character of governante of the Low Countries: and that princess had no sooner arrived at Brussels, than she concluded with Henry a provisional treaty of commerce, until some differences between the subjects of the two princes could be amicably adjusted. As to the marriage which was to have taken place between the princess and Henry, the death of her brother Philip gave it a contrary turn: besides, Henry, about this time, began to feel his constitution impaired by a phthical disorder, which gave him frequent intimations of his approaching dissolution.

But no distemper, however violent, could call off Henry's attention to his two favourite objects, that of aggrandizing his family and heaping up riches; and he sent orders to his ambassadors*, who had just concluded the treaty with the governante of the Netherlands, and were now assembled at Calais, to set on foot a negociation for a marriage between the infant Charles, archduke of Austria, sovereign of the Low Countries and king of Castile, and his third daughter the princess Mary. After much time spent in this project, the finishing hand was put to the treaty, at Calais, on the twenty-first of December, 1507, and ratified by Maximilian the emperor, and by the dukes of Savoy. By the articles of this contract it was stipulated, that the marriage should be consummated as soon as Charles should have attained his fourteenth year, and that Mary's dower should be two hundred and fifty thousand crowns of gold; in consideration of which she was to be entitled to the same jointure which was settled upon the dukes dowager of Burgundy, sister to Edward IV†. At the same time Henry concluded an alliance with Maximilian, as tutor and guardian to the king of Spain, in which all the former treaties were confirmed.

All this while Henry went on in heaping up money; and Empson and Dudley's oppressions were now more raging than ever. Sir William Cappel, who had been lord-mayor of London, was prosecuted upon a frivolous charge of not punishing a person who had paid him false money in the time of his mayoralty, in the year 1503, and fined two thousand pounds: upon his refusal to pay so exorbitant a fine, he was clapped up in the Tower, where he remained all the rest of this reign. Sir Laurence Aylmer, mayor of London, and his two sheriffs, were in like manner prosecuted upon frivolous charges, and fined each one thousand pounds: upon refusing to pay, they were committed to the King's Bench prison. Sir Thomas Knefworth, who had been mayor in 1505, and both his sheriffs, were committed to prison on pretence of some irregularities which had happened during their magistracies, and obliged to pay fourteen hundred pounds for their release‡. While such measures

prevailed, we are not to be surprized that Henry amassed the prodigious sum of one million eight hundred thousand pounds. This year the sweating-sickness raged again in England, though not so violently as it did before; among others it carried off, was Giles, lord d'Aubeney, one of the greatest statesmen and generals that England had seen for many years.

The year 1508 affords us no one event worthy historical record, except the marriage of the princess Mary with the archduke Charles, king of Castile, to secure the accomplishment of which Henry employed all his attention. At length, on the seventeenth of December, the young couple were affianced in a chamber of Henry's palace of Richmond, in "*verba de præsenti*," or words of the present tense; Charles by his proxy, John, marquis of Berghes, or Bergen op Zoom, and Mary in person, before the archbishop of Canterbury and a considerable number of the English nobility; the ceremony concluded with Charles's proxy kissing the young princess, in his name, as a token of the espousal, and putting a gold ring on her middle finger. Henry was so delighted with this alliance, that he could not forbear boasting, "that he had now built a wall of brass round his kingdom," meaning the marriage of his daughters with the king of Scotland, and the prince of Spain, by which he had provided the best security that human prudence could devise for establishing his family on the throne of England; but he did not live to see this last marriage completed, and it was at last broken off entirely.

About the time of performing this ceremony the marquis of Berghes borrowed from Henry, for the use of the archduke, the sum of fifty thousand pounds, for which he pawned a jewel belonging to that prince, called the rich Fleur de Lis, which weighed above two hundred and eleven ounces in gold and precious stones, and the emperor, as guardian and grand-father to Charles, approved the mortgage for the money, which he converted to his own use.

Though crowned with success in all his undertakings, triumphant over all his enemies, his alliance courted by every foreign crown, and his power dreaded at home, yet Henry now found that neither riches, power, nor success could secure him against the attacks of the thousand ills incident to human nature: he had for some time laboured under a disorder of the lungs, which had baffled all the art of medicine in behalf of a life that he was at once the most unwilling, and the least prepared, of any man to part with. His disorder at length became so violent, that he found his latter end could not be far off: we are told, that in this humiliating situation he entered somewhat into himself, and when he found that he could no longer continue in the practice of rapaciousness and oppression, and that the treasures he had thus hatefully accumulated, were insufficient to satisfy the demands of that stern creditor, death, he expressed some contrition for what he had made his subjects suffer, and determined to do something that might recommend him to the mercy of Heaven and the forgiveness of men; he distributed large sums in charity, and released, at his own expence, all pri-

* Fox, bishop of Winchester; the earl of Surry; Docwra, prior of St. John's; Gilbert Talbot, lieutenant of Calais; and Dr. Nicholas West.

† Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xiii. p. 171—230.

‡ Stowe, Bacon.

soners that were confined for debt under forty shillings. He then made his will, in which he strictly enjoined his heir and successor to make restitution of all that those infamous agents of his oppressive avarice had unjustly taken from the people; and on the twenty-second of April, 1509, expired, at his favourite palace of Richmond, after reigning twenty-three years and eight months, and in the fifty-third year of his age, leaving his son Henry the crown of England, together with one million eight hundred thousand pounds sterling in ready money, jewels, and plate, deposited in the vaults of his palace.

If we consider Henry either as a man or a king, we shall find him in many respects inferior to many of his predecessors, and even contemporaries, in several important respects; but at the same time it must be confessed that few of them possessed so many excellencies as he did upon the whole. His reign was more advantageous to his people than honourable to himself. He put an end to the civil wars with which the kingdom had been so long distracted. He maintained order and regularity in the state; he depressed the exorbitant power of the nobility; and, together with the friendship and alliance of some foreign princes, he acquired the esteem and regard of all.

As he had known how to conquer, so he knew how to govern, and his reign somewhat humanized the manners of the English nation. His parliaments, with whom he always kept fair, enacted wise laws: justice, under him, resumed her functions; and trade, which had begun first to flourish under the third Edward, and which had been almost annihilated during the civil wars, was again revived. Henry was, through inclination more than necessity, avaricious; had he been only saving, he would have shewn his prudence; but the fardness of his disposition and his rapacious exactions have tarnished the glory of his reign; indeed he seems to have hated his subjects, and to have made it his business to keep them low, by loading them with taxes, and seizing all opportunities of ruining them by excessive fines. He was cool, close, cunning, dark, distrustful, and designing: he possessed in a peculiar manner the art of turning all his domestic troubles, and all his foreign disputes, to his own advantage: and it is not a little remarkable, that one so fond of peace, should be so fortunate in war; for his arms, whether employed within his own kingdom, or abroad, were always crowned with success; and he hardly knew what ill fortune meant, but as he saw it in others. In his private disposition he was rather inclined to be merciful, whenever the shewing of tenderness was compatible with his own interest, the regard for which was the standard of all his actions: in a word, his soul seems to have been engrossed by two ruling passions, the fear of losing his crown, and the desire of amassing riches; passions which, however base and fard in themselves, were nevertheless productive of considerable advantages to the nation. He inherited a fund of good sense, which was greatly improved by study and experience; and so high an opinion had the world conceived of his sagacity and penetration, that he was commonly distinguished by the name of the English Solomon; though many indifferent actions, which were the effect of pure chance, were generally ascribed to his consummate policy: as an instance of this we need only mention

the marriage of his daughter Margaret with James IV. king of Scotland, which proved the means of uniting that realm to the crown of England, and in bringing about of which Henry's sagacity and foresight have been so greatly extolled by writers, who have been warped by interest or prepossession; whereas nothing is more apparent, than that these nations owe that benefit to Perkin Warbeck, since it was to draw off James from giving him protection and assistance that this match was agreed upon and settled by d'Ayala, the Spanish mediator; and lord Bacon justly observes, that Henry was more dexterous in removing, than in foreseeing or preventing dangers.

Henry was in stature somewhat above the middle size; his person was straight and handsome, and his limbs elegant and well proportioned, though extremely delicate and tender; his countenance was grave and melancholy; his temper sour and saturnine. He was difficult of access, but affable when once engaged in conversation, and irresistibly eloquent and persuasive when he had any favourite point to gain. We shall here take our leave of this great prince's character, and relate the honours paid by his successor to his remains.

His body was brought into the great chamber, where resting three days, a solemn mass and dirge were sung by a mitred bishop: whence being removed into the hall, the same service was performed there, the like space of time; as also in the chapel three days longer: and in every place a hearse, adorned with banners, escutcheons, and pennons, with mourners attending. From thence, on Wednesday the ninth of May, it was put into a chariot, covered with cloth, black and gold, drawn by five great coursers, covered with black velvet, ornamented with escutcheons of fine gold; with his effigies, apparelled in rich robes, the crown on his head, and sceptre and ball in the hands, laid on a cushion of gold, and environed with banners of arms of all his dominions, titles, and genealogies; a great number of prelates praying, with his servants and others in black, before the body; and nine mourners, with about six hundred torches, following. In this order it was attended to St. George's Fields, near Southwark, and there met by the religious of the several orders in or about the city, with the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, in black; it was thence brought through London to St. Paul's, and placed in the choir, in a stately hearse of wax; whence, after a solemn mass, and a sermon preached by the bishop of Rochester, it was the next day, with the same state, conveyed to Westminster, sir Edward Hayward, with the king's coat of arms, bearing his banner, on a courser, trapped with the arms of the defunct; and there, by six lords, taken out of the chariot, and set under a most curious hearse, full of lights, the effigies lying on the coffin, on a pall of gold; about which the mourners being sat within the first rail, knights bearing banners within the second, and officers of arms without the same, Garter, king of arms, cried aloud for the soul of the noble prince Henry VII. king of this realm; when the choir beginning with "Placebo," and ending with "Dirige," closed the solemnities of that day. The next day three masses were solemnly sung by bishops, at the last of which were offered the banner, courser, coat of arms, sword, target, and helmet, the nobility likewise offering their rich palls of cloth of gold and bodkins.

Then

Then when the choir had sung "Libera me," the corpse was interred, the treasurer and comptroller breaking their staves into the grave: when, Garter having cried with a loud voice, "Vive le roy Henrie le huitieme, roy d'Angleterre & de France, syere d'Ireland," the mourners, with them of the household, departed to the palace, where they had a sumptuous feast; and thus the funeral ended.

By his queen Elizabeth Henry had issue as follow:

1. Arthur Tudor, born at Winchester, on the twentieth of September, 1486; was married, on the fourteenth of November, 1501, to the princess Catherine of Spain; and died soon after, at Ludlow, in Shropshire, on the second of April, 1502, and was buried in the cathedral of Worcester.

2. Henry Tudor, his second son, born at Greenwich, on the twenty-eighth of June, 1491, and succeeded by the name of Henry VIII.

3. Edmund Tudor, third and youngest son, born at Greenwich, on the twenty-first of February, 1498, who, dying soon after, was buried within the abbey of Westminster.

1. Margaret Tudor, queen of Scotland, his eldest daughter, was born on the twenty-ninth of November, 1489. She was first married to James IV. king of Scotland, anno 1503; and next to Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, in the year 1514, and had children by both.

2. Elizabeth, second daughter, born the second of July, 1492. She died at Eltham, on the fourteenth of September, 1495, and was buried at Westminster.

3. Mary, born A. D. 1498; affianced to Charles, prince of Castile, afterwards emperor; married first to Lewis XII. king of France; and, after his decease, to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES.

In the second year of Henry VII. John Percival, the lord-mayor's carver was chosen one of the sheriffs of London in this manner: sir Henry Collet, the lord-mayor, took a cup of wine, and drank to John Percival, who then waited at his table, standing bare-headed; the lord mayor drinking to him, and styling him sheriff of London for the ensuing year, so far made use of his privilege of election that way, as to cause Percival to put on his hat and sit down at table; accordingly the carver sat down, took on him the office of sheriff, and was afterwards lord-mayor himself, and knighted.

In his seventh year, Robert Fabian was an alderman and sheriff of London: he wrote a History of England and France, from the creation of the world to the third year of the reign of Henry VIII.

In his ninth year, on the twenty-eighth of April, Joan Boughton, a widow, was burnt in Smithfield, for heresy and professing Wickliff's opinions. This year wheat was sold in London for four shillings a quarter; and Bourdeaux wine, or claret, for thirty shillings a hogshead.

In the tenth year of his reign the body of one Alice Hackney, which had been buried one hundred and seventy-five years, ever since the beginning of the reign of Edward II. was accidentally dug up in the church of St. Mary Hill, London; the skin of the corpse was whole, and the joints of the arms pliable.

In the seventeenth year of his reign, sir John Shaw, then lord-mayor, first caused his brethren the aldermen to ride to the water-side, when he went to the Exchequer-bar to be sworn: he was also the first that held the mayor's feast in Guildhall, which was before done at Mercers-hall, or Merchant-taylors-hall.

In the following year, on the eighteenth of January, the first stone of the chapel known by the name of Henry VII's Chapel, was laid, within the monastery of Westminster, by John Illip, the abbot; sir Reginald Bray, knight of the Garter; Dr. Barnes, master of the Rolls; sir Edward Stanhope and others assisting at the ceremony. The charge of this building amounted to no more than fourteen thousand pounds, if we may believe the lord Bacon.

In the same year the king gave the title of Merchant Taylors to the company of Taylors, of which he himself was a member, as several of his predecessors had been before him.

The colleges founded in this reign were, Christ's college and St. John's, in Cambridge, by Margaret, countess of Richmond, the king's mother; Jesus college, in the same university, by John Alcock, bishop of Ely: Corpus Christi, in Oxford, by Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester; and Brazen Nose college, by William Smith, bishop of Lincoln.

It was likewise in the course of this reign that St. Paul's school was founded by John Collet, dean of that cathedral.

* Rymer, Stowe, Bacon, &c.

Of the State of Religion, Learning, Laws, Arts and Sciences, Commerce, Public Revenues, &c. in ENGLAND, from the Death of HENRY IV. to the Accession of HENRY VIII. Including a Period of Ninety-six Years, viz. from A. D. 1413 to A. D. 1509.

Of RELIGION, and of the CHURCH.

WE have already given some account of the severities exercised against the Lollards, in the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV*. The general persecution raised against them had kept them, for some time, quiet; but in the beginning of the reign of Henry V. they began to appear with more assurance. The king had been remarkably attached to several of the sect, when prince of Wales, and they now thought that they should find in him a patron and protector; but they soon found themselves miserably deceived. Henry had already formed the great scheme of conquering France, and was sensible he could never effect this favourite project without a perfect good understanding between the crown and the church; he therefore resolved not to interrupt the clergy in any matters pertaining to their jurisdiction: accordingly, in the very beginning of his reign, he delivered up sir John Oldcastle to ecclesiastical censure. The severities exercised against him have been already related; but it may not be amiss here to mention some of the professed tenets of that great man, and for which he suffered by the spiritual power.

Upon his examination before a convocation held by archbishop Arundel, at Black-friars, on the twenty-seventh of September, 1413, assisted by the bishops of London, Winchester, and Bangor, when he was questioned concerning the eucharist, he professed his belief, "that, after consecration, Christ's very body was present in form of bread, the same individual body that was born of the Virgin Mary." But being asked by one of the divines present, to declare, without reserve, "whether he did not hold the bread, after consecration, to be material?" turning to the archbishop, he said, "I believe it is Christ's body, in form of bread. Sir, believe you not this?" "Yea, marry, do I," replied the archbishop. "But (redemanded the doctors) think ye that any part of the bread remains after consecration?" He replied, "It is both Christ's body and bread: for what saith St. Paul, 2 Cor. x. "The bread which we take, is it not the partaking of the body of Christ?" Now (added the knight) is it not plain that the substance is called bread?" As these answers were directly repugnant to the established opinion of those days, which held the bread, after consecration, to be no longer material, but absolutely changed into the very body of Christ, sir John's enemies, who formed the great majority of the assembly, cried out that he had confessed heresy; and Dr. Walden, a noted theologian of those times, undertook to confute Oldcastle by argument; but both their reasonings are

miserably lame and scurrilous. The behaviour of the latter on this occasion was quite indefensible; for, being warmed in his own defence, he compared the members of the court to Annas and Caiaphas, who sat in judgment upon Christ, and afterwards upon his apostles; launched forth into the most bitter and indecent reflections on the church of Rome, and those of the English clergy who supported her cause; concluding his harangue thus: "Rome is the very nest of Antichrist, from whence came all his disciples; prelates, priests, and monks are the body; and the shaven friars the tail, which covers the most filthy parts." Such obloquy could not fail to exasperate the assembly, which being unanimous in finding him guilty, the archbishop pronounced sentence of condemnation against him; and, though he made his escape from the Tower, he was afterwards apprehended, and suffered death both as a traitor and heretic, by being hanged and burned at Tyburn†.

But we are now to give an account of the famous council of Constance, in which the English made so great a figure. There were at this time no fewer than three popes; Peter of Candia, who took the name of Alexander V. Peter de Luna, who took the name of Benedict XIII. and Angeli Corrario, who called himself Gregory XII. The emperor Sigismund had been indefatigable in endeavouring to bring their several pretensions under some compromise: in the mean time Alexander V. dying, his tiara was given to Balthazar Corra, who took the name of John XXIII. His holiness was at this time highly distressed by Ladislaus (Charles Durazzo), king of Naples and Sicily, whose victorious troops had shut him up in Bologna; in this extremity he had recourse to the emperor Sigismund, who was come into Italy to conclude a treaty with the Venetians.

Sigismund, as emperor, had an opportunity of exalting his own power, by the humiliation of the pope; but, on the other hand he was the mortal enemy of Ladislaus, the tyrant of Italy. John proposed to him to form a league, and assemble a council; the one to expel the common enemy, and the other to confirm his own right to the pontificate.

A council was in fact necessary, that of Pisa‡ having ordered one to be called at the end of three years: accordingly Sigismund and John issued their joint proclamation for the holding this council in the little city of Constance, seated on the western bank of the lake of that name; but Ladislaus opposed his victorious army to these negotiations, and nothing but an extraordinary turn of affairs could de-

* See the State of Religion at the latter end of vol. i. of this History.

† Hall. Walsingham. Elmham.

‡ See vol. i. p. 696. of this History.

liver the emperor and the pope from their critical situation; this happened by the death of Ladislaus in 1414, brought about, as was suspected, by poison, a custom in those times but too prevalent.

John XXIII. thus delivered from his most implacable enemy, and having now only the emperor and the council to fear, wanted to put off the meeting of this high assembly, which may not improperly be styled the senate of Europe, as having the power of judging over the supreme pontiffs themselves; but, notwithstanding all John's arts, the meeting was proclaimed, the emperor pressed for its sitting, and those who had a right to assist at it were hastening from all parts to take possession of the august title of arbitrators of Christendom: John therefore was obliged to go to the council; but he made a secret convention with the duke of Austria, to protect his person against all attempts, and to assure him an open and safe retreat from Constance when he pleased: in short, he omitted nothing that could secure his person and authority.

On the sixteenth of November, 1414, the council met, and never had there been a more numerous convocation. Besides the crowd of prelates and doctors who assisted at this council, there were twenty-eight great vassals of the empire present, and the emperor himself constantly attended, as did the electors of Metz, Saxony, the Palatine, and Brandenburg, with the dukes of Austria and Bavaria, and twenty-seven ambassadors from the several courts of Europe*. The bull for calling this council being read, it was declared to be convoked, not only to abolish the schism which still continued in the church, but also to root out the heresy of Wickliff, which had by this time made great progress abroad, and manifestly tended to the dissolution of the papal dignity, which served for the basis and foundation to most of the privileges claimed by the clergy, and indeed to the hierarchy itself. The council next chose its officers and servants, which were equally elected out of the four nations of which it was composed, viz. the English, Italians, French, and Germans: but a question of a very interesting nature for the English now happened; it was started by Peter de Chiacco, cardinal de Camera, who was put upon it by the French. It was, "Whether the English should sit as a distinct nation in the council, or be considered as comprehended in that of Germany?" After much altercation on both sides, the matter was at last decided in favour of the English, and it was agreed that the fathers of the council should be ranged under five nations, viz. Italy, France, Germany, England, and Spain; and that the plurality of voices should determine all matters proposed.

On the twenty-third day of December the emperor appeared in council, which proceeded to business; and, after much debate, it was found absolutely necessary towards the re-establishment of peace and union in the church, that not only the antipopes, Gregory and Benedict, should be divested of all authority, but even John XXIII. who was the only lawful pope (as having been elected and acknowledged by the cardinals of the council of Pisa, and succeeded to the pope chosen by the same council) should abdicate his papal dignity. This last, conscious of many enormities in his own conduct, for which he dreaded prosecution, seemingly agreed to the proposal; but this consent was the effect of dissimulation, for he knew that Sigismund had made himself master of the council, by placing soldiers round the city of Constance, under the specious pretext of providing for the safety of the fathers; so that the pontiff now found himself a prisoner in the midst of the very council where he sat as president.

He had now no resource left but to make his escape. The emperor caused him to be narrowly watched; the duke of Austria, who was desirous to favour the pope's flight, could not think of any better way than by giving the council the diversion of a tournament; in the midst of the hurry and confusion usual on these occasions, the pope made his escape in the disguise of a postilion, and the duke of Austria set out immediately after him: they both retired into a part of Switzerland which still belonged to the house of Austria. The duke of Burgundy was likewise ready to protect the pope: this duke was very powerful, both on account of his great possessions and the authority he had in France. Thus a new schism was on the point of being kindled; the heads of religious orders who were in the pope's interest, were already retiring from Constance, and the council by this turn of affairs might have become an assembly of rebels. Sigismund, who had been unfortunate on so many occasions, proved successful in this: he had, as we have already observed, a body of troops at hand, with these he made himself master of all the duke of Austria's territories in Alsace, Tyrol, and Switzerland. This brought the duke back to the council, where he asked pardon on his knees of the emperor, and promised in the most solemn manner never for the future to undertake any thing contrary to his will, and resigned all his dominions to him, to be disposed of as he should think proper, in case of infidelity. The emperor upon this gave the duke his hand, and pardoned him, upon condition that he would deliver up the person of the pope.

The fugitive pontiff was accordingly seized at Fribourg, and conveyed to a neighbouring castle.

* The deputies sent to this council from England were, first, the bishops of Salisbury, Bath, and Hereford, the abbot of Westminster, and the prior of Worcester; but, upon the death of the bishops of Salisbury and Hereford, the English prelates understanding that other churches were represented by a more numerous delegation, sent Clifford, bishop of London, the chancellors of both universities, with twelve doctors, to this council. Walsingham, p. 387. The deputies mentioned in Rymer's *Fœdera*, are these: Nicholas, bishop of Bath and Wells; Robert, bishop of Salisbury; John, bishop of St. David's; William, abbot of Westminster; John, prior of Worcester; Thomas Spofford, abbot of St. Mary's at York; Richard, earl of Warwick; Henry Fitz Hugh, lord-chamberlain; sir Walter Hungerford, sir Ralph Rocheford, John Honyngham, doctor of laws. Vol. ix. p. 162, 167, 169.

Every one of the members of this council (says Mr. de Vol-

taire, in his *Essay on General History*, vol. ii. chap. 60. from whence we have chiefly extracted the above account) vied with the other in luxury and magnificence; they brought in their train five hundred players on instruments, called in those days minstrels; seven hundred and eighteen courtizans, who were openly protected by the magistracy of Constance. They were obliged to build a great number of wooden huts, to lodge all the ministers to luxury and incontinence which these lords, rather than fathers, of the council brought with them. No one was ashamed of these practices, which were then as publicly authorised in every state, as they had been formerly in most of the heathen nations. On this occasion the church of France allowed every archbishop it sent to the council ten franks a day (which is equal to fifty livres [about two guineas English] of our present currency), eight to a bishop, five to an abbot, and three to a doctor.

In the mean time the council proceeded to his trial: he was charged with having sold benefices and reliques, with poisoning the pope his predecessor, with having murdered a number of innocent persons, in short he was accused of the most impious licentiousness, and of the highest excess of debauchery, even of sodomy and blasphemy; they however suppressed fifty-five articles of the verbal process, which they thought too great an infamy on the pontifical character. At length, on the twenty-ninth of May, the sentence of his deposition was read, in the presence of the emperor. This sentence imported, that the council reserved to itself the power of punishing the pope for his crimes, according to justice or mercy.

John XXIII. who had formerly given proofs of the greatest courage, was all resignation, when they came to read his sentence to him in prison. The emperor kept him prisoner three years at Manheim, where he treated him with such severity, that the public began to compassionate him more for his sufferings than it had even hated him for his crimes. Thus far I have thought necessary to carry the transactions of this council, in relation to the settling the schism in the church; it now remains to give an account of the fires which were afterwards lighted up by the mistaken religious zeal of this same assembly.

The fathers of this council did not originally meet about deposing a pope, their principal view seemed to be the reformation of the church. The doctrines of Wickliff had been condemned by the university of Oxford, and by the bishops and clergy, but this did not hinder its spreading; his books, though obscure and ill written, were every where circulated by mere dint of curiosity, which the subject of dispute and the boldness of the author had raised in all degrees of people, and which received no little weight from his unspotted manners and purity of life. His works made their way into Bohemia, a country newly risen out of barbarism, and which, from the grossest ignorance, had arrived at another species of it, at that time called erudition.

The emperor Charles IV. the lawgiver of Germany and Bohemia, had founded the university of Prague, on the same model as that at Paris. In this university, which, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, contained no less than twenty thousand students, the Germans had three voices in all deliberations, and the Bohemians only one: John Hus, a native of Bohemia, who had attained to the degree of a bachelor in that academy, and was confessor to the queen, Sophia of Bavaria, wife of Wenceslaus, obtained of that princess, that, for the future, his countrymen should have three votes, and the Germans only one. These latter incensed at this change, withdrew from the university, and became so many irreconcilable enemies to John Hus. At the same time some of Wickliff's works had fallen into his hands; and, though he totally rejected the speculative doctrine contained in them, he adopted the author's passionate invectives against the lives of the popes and bishops; against the excommunications, thundered out with equal levity and fury; and, in fine, against all ecclesiastical power; in which neither he nor Wickliff had properly distinguished between the rights and usurpations. This step made him many more enemies, but at the same time it procured him a number of

protectors, especially the queen, whose spiritual director he was. He was accused before John XXIII. and summoned to appear in the year 1411, which summons he did not obey. In the mean time the council of Constance assembled, which was to pronounce judgment upon the popes and the opinions of men: hither he was also summoned, the emperor himself writing to the court of Bohemia to desire he might be sent to give an account of his doctrine.

John Hus, full of confidence, repaired to the council, when both he and the pope ought to have kept away. He arrived there, accompanied by several Bohemian gentlemen and many of his disciples; and, what is most remarkable, he came with the emperor's safe-conduct, dated the eighteenth of October, 1414, and drawn up in the fullest and most favourable terms; but no sooner was he arrived, than he was committed to close confinement, and the council proceeded to try him, at the same time with the pope. He, like the pope, made his escape; and, like him, was brought back again, and they were both confined for some time in the same prison.

At length he appeared before the council, loaded with chains, and was examined concerning several passages in his writings. It is certain any man may be ruined by wresting the meaning of his words: what teacher, what writer is sure of life, if we condemn to the flames a person who says, "there is but one catholic church, which contains all the predestined in its bosom; that a reprobate is not a member of this church; that the temporal lords ought to oblige the priests to observe the law; and that a wicked pope is not a vicar of Jesus Christ?" And yet these, and no others, were the propositions maintained by John Hus, and which he explained in such a manner as might have acquitted him, had not the council put such a sense upon them as was found necessary to condemn him.

The fathers of the council were determined that Hus should retract his opinion; and Hus, on his side, persuaded he was in the right, would not acknowledge himself in an error. The emperor, moved with compassion, said to him, "What harm is there in abjuring errors, falsely attributed to you? I am ready this moment to abjure all kind of errors, does it follow from thence that I have held them?" Hus, however, remained inflexible: he demonstrated the difference between a general demonstration of errors, and retracting an opinion as an error, and chose rather to be burnt than acknowledge that he had been in the wrong.

The council were as obstinate as himself; but his obstinacy in rushing to certain death was something heroic, whereas that of condemning him to the flames was an act of great cruelty. The emperor, notwithstanding the safe-conduct he had granted, ordered the elector Palatine to see him carried to execution, and he was accordingly burnt alive in presence of the elector, chanting out hymns of praise to the divinity till the flames stifled his voice. After his death, the duke of Bavaria ordered the executioner's servant to throw all the martyr's cloaths (for that title he certainly deserved, if ever man did) into the flames; and his ashes, being carefully collected, were cast into the Rhine.

Some months after, the council exercised the same severity against a disciple and friend to John Hus, named Jerom, whom we commonly call Je-
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rom of Prague. This man was greatly superior in understanding and eloquence to Hus; he at first had subscribed to the condemnation of his master's doctrine; but being informed with what greatness of soul he had encountered death, he was ashamed to survive him, and having made a public retraction, he was consigned to the flames.

Poggio the Florentine, secretary to John XXIII. and one of the first restorers of letters, who was present at his examinations and execution, says that he never heard any thing that approached so nearly to the eloquence of the Greeks and Romans as the speech which Jerom made to his judges: "He spoke (says he) like Socrates, and walked to the stake with as much cheerfulness as that great philosopher drank the cup of hemlock."

The council having deposed the true pope in the manner we have already related, wanted the renunciations of those who pretended to the pontificate. Corrarion sent them his; but the proud Spaniard, Luna, would never yield: the council found no difficulty in deposing him, but it was an affair of greater importance to fix upon the choice of one to succeed him. The cardinals claimed the right of election as immediately vested in themselves; and the council, as representatives of the whole Christian church, pretended likewise to the same right. The present question was about giving a head to the church and a sovereign to Rome. It was but just that the cardinals, who constituted the privy-council of this sovereign, and the fathers of the general council, who acted in conjunction with them, as representatives of the church, should with them enjoy an equal right of suffrage: thirty deputies of the council joined with the cardinals in electing Otho Colonna, of the same family who had been excommunicated by pope Boniface VIII. to the fifth generation. This pope, who, after his election, changed his illustrious name for that of Martin V. possessed all the qualities of a prince with the virtues of a bishop.

Never had the inauguration of a pontiff been attended with greater pomp: he went in procession to the church, mounted on a white palfrey, the emperor and the count Palatine on foot, leading it by the reins, a numerous croud of princes, and all the members of the council closed the train. When he arrived in the church, the tripple crown was put on his head, which the popes had worn for upwards of two centuries.

There had been great complaints made in this council, for above two years, against the annates or first-fruits, the exemptions, the reservations, and the taxes imposed by the popes on the clergy, for the profit of the holy see; and against the torrent of vice with which the church was at this time overflowed. But how did this so much desired reformation end? Pope Martin declared, first, that no exemptions ought to be granted, without shewing just cause. Secondly, that an enquiry should be made into the re-united benefices. Thirdly, that the revenues of vacant churches should be disposed of, according to common law. Fourthly, he made an ineffectual prohibition of simony. Fifthly, he ordered for the future, those that had benefices should be distinguished by the tonsure. Sixthly, he forbade the celebration of mass in a lay habit. These were the laws promulgated by the most solemn assembly in the universe.

Gerson, and the deputies of the university of Paris, even found great difficulty in getting the two following propositions condemned, viz. "That in some cases the assassination of a person might become a virtuous act: that it is more meritorious in a knight than in an esquire, and far more in a prince than in a knight." This doctrine of assassination had been maintained in France by one John Petit, a doctor of the university of Paris, upon the occasion of the murder of the king's own brother. The council for a long time evaded Gerson's petition, but at length it was obliged to condemn this doctrine of murder, though without mentioning the cordelier John Petit's name.

We cannot close our account of this council, without noticing some transactions thereof, which were peculiarly honourable to the English nation.

In the nineteenth session of this council, the question of precedency between the English and the Arragoneze, or Spaniards, was again revived, through the intrigues of the French deputies, and for a while by its violence caused a total cessation of all business; but the noble stand made by the English, and the great credit their nation was in at this time with all Europe, was such, that, before the end of this council, an end was put to this affair entirely in their favour; and the question running between the right of precedency of the universities of Oxford and Salamanca, the antiquity, privileges, and excellency of the former were defended by Henry de Abingdon, of Merton college, in Oxford, in a formal speech, with so much glory and advantage, that the council gave the point entirely in favour of that university.

On the twenty-second of April, 1418, the council of Constance was dissolved by the new pope, Martin V. after having been assembled four years and an half, viz. from the first of November, 1413, and after having rendered itself famous by the irretrievable blow it had inflicted upon the papal authority by the spirited decree passed in its fourth session, by which a general council was declared above any pope, and that, "being gathered together in the Holy Ghost, and representing the catholic church militant, it received a power immediately from Jesus Christ, which persons of all conditions, even popes themselves, were obliged to obey in every thing which concerned the faith, the extirpation of schism, and reformation of the church in head and members." In short, the authority of a general council was ultimately confirmed by the approbation of two unquestionable popes, John XXIII. and Martin V*.

In the mean time the Lollards underwent severe persecutions in England. Presentments of heretics were formally ordered by Henry Chicheley, archbishop of Canterbury (in the room of Arundel, who died in 1415), in a convocation held at London, July 1, 1416, enjoining every parish to give in the names of all persons suspected of heresy within their respective districts; and ordering that the diocesans, upon such informations, should issue out process against the accused persons.

These injunctions were carried into execution with a most fiery zeal, and the bishops obliged all whom they suspected, to swallow abjuration in the most copious terms. It was about this time that sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham, was taken by

*Baronius. Æneas Sylvius. Poggius. Voltaire.

the lord Powis, and sent up to London, where he suffered death in the manner related in the civil history*.

In the year 1418, a synod was called by the archbishop of Canterbury, at London, which granted two tenths as a supply for the war with France; and the duke of Bedford notified to the assembly the election of pope Martin V. whose elevation was celebrated with rejoicings and acts of devotion. The assembly then enacted a decree for regulating the graduations at the two universities, which decree met with great opposition at Oxford and Cambridge, though it was at last received by the interposition of king Henry V. who was himself a patron of learning.

The meek Martin V. proved as encroaching a pope upon the English church as any of his predecessors had ever been: he disposed of bishoprics by way of provision, and vacated the elections of the chapters. Henry V. in order to put a stop to this usurpation, as also to reform a number of abuses which had crept in among the clergy, sent John Ketterick, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, to demand an express concordat upon the abuses so much complained of. The pope, who knew too much of Henry to think of dallying with him, on the seventeenth of April, 1419, established the following concordat between the see of Rome and the church of England.

“That it was agreed by pope Martin V. for the reformation of the church of England, and of the dominions of Ireland and Wales, that the number of cardinals should be so moderate that it might not be a burthen to the church, nor render the dignity mean and contemptible.

“That they should be elected indifferently out of all the nations of Christendom, and be created with the consent of the college of cardinals, or the greatest part of them.

“That since, on occasion of indulgencies granted by the popes, and the great number of those persons who distributed them, which now abounded in England more than formerly, many encouraged themselves in a bold licentiousness; and, neglecting their proper cures and proper churches, flocked to make their confessions in those places where the indulgencies were given out; it should therefore be in the power of the diocesan of the place to enquire into the quality of those indulgencies, to suspend those which were scandalous, and to send notice to the pope that he might revoke them.

“That there should be no appropriations of parochial churches, without the knowlege and consent of the bishop of that diocese.

“That all appropriations of perpetual vicarages in the parish churches, made during the late schism, should be recalled; and perpetual vicars be ordained in them by the ordinaries of the place: and that in every parochial church there should be one constant vicar to have the cure of souls, who should be sufficiently endowed to maintain hospitality, and to support the charges of his function.

“That all the privileges of using the pontifical vestments granted to inferior prelates since the death of Gregory XI. should be revoked; but those which had been obtained before, should continue.

“That whereas the plurality of benefices was contrary to the canons, and no dispensations could be lawfully made in this case, unless in favour of persons of noble birth or excellent learning, yet such dispensations were now common; it was therefore ordained, that they should not be granted for the future; though those which had been, might continue in force, excepting only such as were scandalous, of which the ordinary of the place should take cognizance.

“That whereas the popes, in latter times, had given dispensations to persons who had obtained benefices supplied with curates before, to enjoy them for a term of years, or for ever, to the great scandal of the church; it was therefore ordained that all those dispensations should be recalled, and the persons be left to common law.

“And whereas dispensations granted by the popes for non-residence, or to give to the archdeacons licence of visiting by their proctors, had caused not only a great neglect of the cure of souls, but a contempt of episcopal authority, it was therefore ordained, that no such dispensations should be made for the future, unless upon very great reasons; and that all which had been, should be revoked.

“That all letters of licence to obtain any ecclesiastical benefices, whether cures or sine-cures, which had been given to monks and friars, and not yet put in execution, should be revoked; and that there should be no more of them for the time to come.

“That those of the English who were fit for places or offices in the court of Rome, should stand as fair to be elected as those of other nations.”

The pope, after passing an act so much in favour of the church of England, applied to Henry to have all those laws which had been made to the prejudice of his authority, abrogated; but Henry soon gave his holiness to understand that this was not in the power of the crown to grant. About this period another convocation was held in London, wherein one Richard Walker, a priest of Worcester, was tried and convicted of witchcraft, which he solemnly renounced, and did public penance. Many people were likewise obliged to abjure Lollardism; and the assembly granted a large subsidy to the king, who suppressed French monasteries in England, and granted their lands to other colleges of the learned. After Henry's marriage, a convocation, held at London, made the king a present of a tenth, but upon the following conditions, proposed by the famous Lyndwood:

“First, that the king's purveyors should not over-reach upon the goods of churchmen.

“Secondly, That no clergyman should be imprisoned, but for theft or murder; and that when prosecuted for other crimes, they should beailable†.” It is pretended that these exceptions were confirmed by act of parliament, but no such act is to be found upon the records.

Pope Martin V. having summoned a new council at Pavia, in the beginning of the year 1421, the archbishop of Canterbury held another convocation, for the election of delegates, the names of whom were returned to the king, whose prerogative it was to pitch upon what number he thought proper to represent the English clergy in the ensuing council: a sum of money was likewise voted

* Page 17, of this volume.

† Goodwin.

to the delegates who were to act on this occasion. At this convocation also several were punished for heresy and other crimes.

Archbishop Chicheley was famous for a great number of constitutions which he enacted, enjoining the celebration of festivals, regulating the probates of wills by administration, instituting a kind of inquisition against Lollardism, providing against false weights, reviving the constitutions of John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, who decreed that in those cases and articles in which the sentence of the greater excommunication was incurred, should be publicly declared in every parish church for the information of the people; and augmenting the stipends of vicars, who were allowed to sue for such augmentation "in forma pauperum."

The last ecclesiastical occurrence in the reign of Henry V. was the reformation of the Benedictine monks, who were become so luxurious and dissolute that the king himself interposed to reduce them to greater regularity; and by his orders a provincial chapter was held in the year 1422, in the chapter-house at Westminster, where the following regulations passed.

"That the abbots should employ their attention in the cure of souls; and that the extravagance of their equipage should be retrenched, so that none should be attended by above twenty horse, under a severe temporal penalty.

"That none of the monks should ever make gifts of the effects of the convent above the value of forty shillings.

"That they should be uniform in the colour and fashion of their habits.

"That their necessities should be supplied, not in money, which none of the order ought to possess, but in provision of things needful.

"That they should not have distinct private cells for the entertainment of female guests.

"Lastly, That, since the way to preserve chastity was to avoid the conversation of women, therefore none of the monks should have liberty to go into the cities or towns to visits or merry-makings."

No sooner had the illustrious Henry V. paid the common debt of nature, and the reins of government were devolved into the hands of an infant king, than the see of Rome began to take advantage of a circumstance which appeared so favourable for her purpose, and to endeavour at levelling that terrible fence against her usurpations, the statute of *Præmunire*. This statute, which has been already mentioned on several occasions, though it did not directly attack the pope, since the parliament had no jurisdiction over him, yet as it hindered the English from applying to the court of Rome for things contrary to the prerogative of the crown and the laws of the realm, it abridged the pope of good part of the advantages which he pretended to reap from his apostolic power. It will, perhaps be thought strange that the popes should be silent at the time, and so long after the time this statute was passed; but the continued schism which had rent the Roman church from 1378 to 1409, had hindered them from stirring. It is true there was an interval of some years, during which Alexander V. and John XXIII. might have made some attempt against that law; but Alexander's pontificate was very short, and John was employed in affairs which he thought of more importance. Martin V. however, did not consider this affair with

the same indifference; and he no sooner heard of the death of Henry V. than he thought the minority of his successor, Henry VI. a favourable opportunity to compass his ends. Accordingly he wrote a thundering letter to Chicheley, archbishop of Canterbury, upbraiding him for his remissness, and enjoining him to exert his utmost efforts to get this statute repealed. As this letter is a very extraordinary one of its kind, and shews the pope's sentiments of the pretended privileges of his see, it may not be unacceptable to give an extract from it; such of our readers who may be desirous of perusing it entire, will find it in bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. i.

He begins with accusing the archbishop in the warmest terms with "having neglected his pastoral care, and minding nothing but the means of amassing wealth." He tells him, "that he suffered his flock to brouze on poisonous herbs, and that when wolves came to devour them, he stood like a dumb dog, without so much as barking." Then he inveighs against the statute of *Præmunire* as an act "that repealed the laws of God and the church, and subverted the ancient usages of the good kingdom of England." He complains that "such a rigour is the more unjustifiable, as the English government does not treat Jews, Turks, and Infidels with so great severity: people of all countries and persuasions (says he) have the liberty of coming into England, only those who have cures bestowed on them by Christ's vicar are excluded; those only are banished, seized, imprisoned, stripped of their fortunes, and thrown out of the king's protection. Was ever such iniquity (exclaims this mild and modest pontiff) passed into a law?" He concludes with an order to the archbishop to repair immediately on the receipt of his letter to the council, and use all his interest there, and in the parliament, for the abrogating this statute; and threatening him, in case of remissness or non-compliance with this his apostolic injunction, that he should incur the sentence of excommunication."

If it should be enquired, why pope Martin poured forth all his indignation upon Chicheley in particular, who was not concerned in the statute of *Præmunire*, passed long before he was archbishop? the reason is this, Chicheley had opposed to his utmost the papal exemptions; he had dissuaded Henry V. from consenting that Henry Beaufort, his uncle, bishop of Winchester, should be made cardinal and legate a latere for life; moreover, he had publicly declared that the views of the see of Rome were perpetually to drain the country of its treasures for the aggrandizing of her own sons.

Chicheley, on receiving the above letter, sent an apology for his conduct to Rome; notwithstanding which he was again severely reprimanded; and, notwithstanding the archbishop of York, and the bishops of London, Durham, and Lincoln wrote to his holiness in favour of their brother, and that their instances were backed by the university of Oxford, which gave testimony greatly in honour of the archbishop's character, whom they termed "the golden candlestick of the church of England," yet Martin remained implacable, and summoned Chicheley to Rome, as an enemy to the pope in England.

At last the archbishop, seeing the pope thus obstinate, and not daring longer to disobey him, went, with

with several other bishops, to the house of commons, where he made a long speech, tending to persuade the house to repeal the statute, and put them in mind of the danger of an interdict upon the whole kingdom. But the members, supposing this harangue was the effect of compulsion, paid no regard to the metropolitan's threats or remonstrances, but presented an address to the king, praying that he would take the archbishop into his protection, and to write to the pope in his behalf.

When the crusade against the Bohemians was preached up, and the cardinal of Winchester declared general of the enterprize, the pope ordered that prelate to collect a tenth from the English clergy, for the expence of the expedition; but all the convocation would grant was eight pence in the mark, on condition it should be found consistent with the king's prerogative, and the laws of the kingdom. The pope's nuncio thinking this supply insufficient, had the insolence to venture to collect money without being properly authorised, and was imprisoned for his presumption: in short, Martin perceiving he was supported neither by the king's council, the clergy, nor the people, dropped the affair, not thinking proper to expose his authority any farther.

Pope Martin V. in the year 1430, issued his summons for a general council to meet at Basil, the capital of a canton of that name in Switzerland; upon which the archbishop of Canterbury held a convocation at London, when the following delegates were chosen to represent the English church in that assembly, and two pence in the pound voted to defray their expences: Thomas, bishop of Worcester; William, prior of Norwich; Thomas Brown, dean of Salisbury; Peter Patrick, chancellor of Lincoln; Robert Baston, precentor of Lincoln; John Salisbury, doctor of divinity; and John Simon Desborough, bachelor in common law. These received instructions to act against all papal dispensations and other abuses which had crept into the church of Rome, especially that of providing livings for unqualified persons. Pope Martin would have avoided convening this council if it had been in his power, but finding himself strongly pressed by the emperor and other princes in Christendom, he ordered cardinal Julian Cesarini to preside as legate, and open the assembly; but dying before its meeting, which was in the year 1431, Eugenius IV. was chosen in his room.

Neither the emperor Sigismund nor the fathers of the council of Constance had foreseen the consequences of the execution of John Hus and Jerom of Prague. Out of their ashes rose a civil war; for the Bohemians looked upon this action as a cruel affront offered to their whole country, and imputed the death of their fellow-citizens to the revenge of the Germans, who had withdrawn from the university of Prague: they openly reproached the emperor with having violated the law of nations; and, not long afterwards, when Sigismund attempted to succeed his brother Wenceslaus in the kingdom of Bohemia, he found that, though he was emperor and king of Hungary, the death of two private citizens barred his way to the throne of Bohemia. The avengers of John Hus amounted to no less than forty thousand. Martin V. espousing the cause of Sigismund, and publishing crusades against

the Hussites, they found themselves obliged to stand in their own defence, and chose for their general a person called Ziska (or the One-eyed), chief in barbarity and rank among these barbarians who defeated Sigismund in several battles. This same Ziska having lost his only remaining eye in an engagement, still continued to march at the head of his troops, giving his orders to his generals, and assisting at their victories: he commanded his soldiers, that, after his death, they should make a drum of his skin*, which they obeyed, and these his remains proved for a long time fatal to his enemies.

This war continued till the meeting of the council of Basil, which, considering the bad success of Sigismund, resolved to make peace with the Hussites. With this view the fathers invited them to send deputies to the council; who, being sent accordingly, presented the four following articles containing their chief tenets and sentiments, in which they differed from the church of Rome, to whom they offered to reunite themselves should it agree to these articles:

"I. That communion in both kinds should be administered to the Bohemian laity.

"II. That offenders should be punished according to the law of God, and by those to whom such correction belonged.

"III. That the word of God should be preached by pastors properly qualified. And,

"IV. That the clergy should have no jurisdiction over temporalities."

Eugenius IV. who had by this time succeeded pope Martin, highly resented the proceedings of the council: he said, that admitting the Bohemians to a conference was an indignity, not only to the holy see, but to the authority of the council of Constance, wherein those heretics had been so solemnly condemned; he therefore published a bull in the beginning of the year 1432, dissolving the council, and summoning another to Bologna in a year. The members, however refused to separate, and passed several decrees, which placed the authority of a general council above that of the pope, and vacating the bull for their dissolution. On this occasion a convocation was held at London, in which it was resolved to send more delegates to the council, and that some of them should repair to the pope, in order to attempt an accommodation between him and the council. In this same convocation a dispute happened between the archbishops of Canterbury and York, about precedence; for Kemp, archbishop of York, having obtained a cardinal's hat, claimed the upperhand of the archbishop of Canterbury in the parliament house at Westminster; Chicheley opposed this with great firmness: pope Eugenius, before whom the matter was laid, espoused the cause of the cardinalate, though without any effect.

The dispute between the pope and the council now flamed forth more violent than ever; but the emperor, the king of France, and most of the other princes of Europe, declaring for the council, and this latter threatening to suspend the pope, Eugenius saw himself under the necessity of confirming the council and approving its decrees.

This forced compliance of the pope appeased the quarrel for some time, and, in the year 1433, the affair of the Hussite heresy was taken into serious

* Voltaire's Essay on General History, vol. ii. chap. 61.

consideration. The fathers of the council exhausted all their art and eloquence in persuading the Bohemians to submit to the church at discretion; but finding them inflexible, resolved to grant their demands, on condition that they should be previously explained, in order to avoid new disputes. This they accordingly did by the mouth of their orator, Peter Payne, an Englishman, and a concordat was settled, to the satisfaction of all parties. This affair being accommodated, Sigismund was acknowledged king of Bohemia, after having approved of the concordat, and subscribed some other conditions; but he had no sooner mounted the throne, than he broke his promise, and the pope refused to sign the concordat: the troubles of Bohemia were renewed; and, being fomented by the pope of Rome, continued till the Hussites were entirely ruined*.

In the year 1438, the university of Oxford complained that church-preferments were bestowed without any regard to learning or merit: that the colleges were thereby become empty, because there was no need of study or learning to be qualified for a benefice. Whereupon the convocation, then sitting, formed a canon, declaring "that none but graduates in either of the universities should be capable of enjoying benefices†."

During these transactions, Chicheley, archbishop of Canterbury, died, after having filled that see twenty-nine years, during all which time he had been a strenuous assertor of his own independency, and that of the church of England, though sometimes obliged to give way to the necessity of a conjunction with the Roman pontiff. He was also a remarkable benefactor to learning and learned foundations. He was succeeded by John Strafford, son to the earl of Strafford, one of the greatest families in England. This prelate, at the time of his accession to the see of Canterbury, was lord high-treasurer and bishop of Bath and Wells. Under this prelate the clergy complained grievously that the act of Præmunire, which was meant to guard the church of England, was, by the construction of the common lawyers, turned into an engine of oppression, and that, by the arts of perverse men, they were subjected to all manner of persecution, by vexatious suits in the courts, and this by the misapplication of a single word; for it was enacted in that statute, "That if any purchase or pursue, or cause to be purchased or pursued, in the court of Rome, or *elsewhere*, any translations, processes, &c. &c. affecting the king's rights ‡," &c. Now they observed, that when common lawyers were disposed to harass the clergy, they put such a construction upon the word *elsewhere*, as to bring them within the statute, if ever they should prosecute any matter of ecclesiastical right before any of the ecclesiastical courts without the kingdom; whereas the word *elsewhere* can only refer to the place in which the pope might chance to preside; and therefore they prayed that some remedy might be applied to this evil, by expunging *elsewhere* in the statute of Præmunire: but the times were too unsettled for them to obtain immediate satisfaction.

The dispute between the council of Basil and pope Eugenius IV. being again revived, on account of his perfidy in refusing to sign the concor-

dat, the assembly proceeded to depose him, and, in the year 1440 or 1441, chose another pope in his room. This was Amadeus, duke of Savoy, who was the first of his family who had borne the title of duke, and afterwards turned hermit from a motive of devotion, which Poggio says he thinks to have been far from real: be that as it may, his piety could not hold out against the temptation of a tripple crown; accordingly he was declared supreme pontiff, though a layman, and took the name of Felix V. But that which had occasioned so violent a schism, and the most bloody war in the time of Urban VI. now only produced a few ecclesiastical disputes, bulls, censures, counter-excommunications, and splenetic invectives: the council of Basil had bestowed the epithets of simonist, schismatic, heretical, and perjured, on Eugenius IV. and his secretary returned the abuse by styling the fathers fools, madmen, and barbarians, and their new pontiff Cerberus and Antichrist. In fine, in the year 1449, this council dispersed gradually of itself, and this hermit-pope duke of Savoy contented himself with a cardinal's hat, and left the church in its usual tranquility. Eugenius dying in 1447, was succeeded by Nicholas V. who, upon the resignation of Felix, was acknowledged as lawful pope. Thus ended at length this schism, in which there was a complication of three schisms, first between Eugenius IV. and the council of Basil; then between two general councils, and lastly between two popes. My reason for having introduced what passed between the two famous councils of Constance and Basil, was to shew the reader, in its true light, the wretched state of the church in those days.

Nothing remarkable happened for a year or two in ecclesiastical affairs in England. On the first of June, 1452, Strafford, archbishop of Canterbury, died, and was succeeded by John Kemp, archbishop of York and cardinal, who held his see not quite two years, and was succeeded by Thomas Bourchier, brother to the earl of Essex and cardinal-bishop of Ely. He owed his election to the monks alone, which was confirmed by the pope. He composed a set of articles of reformation for his province, amongst which were the following:

"I. That all religious who, abandoning their habit, entered upon parochial cures, should lose their freedom, and be punished as deserters from their order.

"II. That no church-living should be farmed, without leave from the bishop. And,

"III. Lastly, That all marriages and last testaments should have two witnesses."

But the most remarkable churchman that lived at this period was Reginald Peacock, bishop of Chichester, a person of great learning and reputation, who appears to have been a kind of free-thinker in matters of religion. If we believe Collier and other ecclesiastical historians, he maintained, "that the meaning of the holy Scriptures was to be collected by the force of natural reason; and as for the generality of preaching, it was little better than bawling in the pulpit. He denied the apostles were the authors of the creed which goes under their name; questioned the received doctrine of several articles; and made human reason the ul-

* Æneæ Sylvii Hist. Bohem.

† See the article Laws, vol. i. p. 704.

‡ Spelman Concil. vol. ii. p. 675—677.

timate judge of the controversy. He denied the descent of our Saviour into hell; and though he granted the article of the Catholic Church might pass, he added, that Christians were not bound to the observance of the canons any farther than they could be found agreeable to reason and good sense." For these tenets, and others that were deemed equally erroneous, published by him in a long creed, drawn up in English, he was condemned, in a convocation, held at London, by Strafford, then archbishop of Canterbury; and, upon the death of the earl of Suffolk, his great patron, in the year 1450, his books were ordered to be burnt, and himself forced to recant part of his writings. He was afterwards deprived of his see, and sent to live at Maidstone, in Kent, where he died in obscurity.

During the remainder of the period under consideration, the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of England are so interwoven, that the latter have generally been accounted for in the relation given of the former; we shall therefore be very brief on this head, touching only on such matters which could not be introduced in the civil history.

Edward IV. found the friendship of the clergy so necessary for supporting his disputed title to the crown, that he rather enlarged than abridged their privileges. He granted them a charter, exempting them from the jurisdiction of the civil power, in criminal causes, and remitting all such to the judgment of their ordinaries.

In this reign, pope Sixtus IV. at the solicitation of Graham, archbishop elect of St. Andrew's, in Scotland, erected that see and Glasgow into archbishoprics, independent of the diocese of York, which claimed a jurisdiction over the church of Scotland: but the same pope, to make this encroachment go down with the English clergy more smoothly, granted them several advantageous bulls, by which they were rendered more independent of the secular power; and also confirmed, renewed, and greatly augmented the privileges of the university of Oxford.

Upon the death of the usurper Richard III. whose short and troubled reign left little room for any ecclesiastical transactions of note, archbishop Bourchier placed the crown of England on the head of the fortunate earl of Richmond, Henry VII. and dying in the year 1486, was succeeded by Morton, bishop of Ely, who had been greatly instrumental in raising Henry to the throne. The civil history of this king's reign has shewn us, that his situation, like that of Edward IV. laid him under a kind of necessity of keeping fair with the clergy; and they, in return, took care to gratify so obliging a patron. The secure retreat that sanctuaries afforded to all those who took refuge in them, had given Henry no little uneasiness in the cases of Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck; he therefore applied to his friends the churchmen, to give up some part of this their privilege in his favour; and, by their concurrence, a bull was pro-

cured from Rome for regulating these sanctuaries, which, according to lord Bacon, contained, among others, the following articles:

"I. That if any sanctuary-man did, by night or otherwise, privately get out of a sanctuary, and commit mischief or trespass, and then come in again, he should lose the benefit of sanctuary for ever after.

"II. That how soever the person of the sanctuary-man was protected from his creditors, yet his goods out of sanctuary should not.

"III. That if any took sanctuary for cases of treason, the king might appoint keepers to watch and guard him in sanctuary."

Such in general was the state of the English church during the period from the year 1413 to the year 1509, in which we meet with no national councils, but only convocations of the clergy in the two metropolitan provinces of Canterbury and York. National synods were, indeed, become useless, since the popes had engrossed the cognizance of all ecclesiastical affairs; besides, the least appeal to the pope was sufficient to annul all the canons of a council. On the other hand, the popes had so managed, that no national synods could be held without their licence; now as in those synods there was but too frequent occasion to enquire into the extent of the papal authority, they were grown so odious to the court of Rome, that the use of them was insensibly laid aside, and the pope was become the centre of religion, to which every thing was to tend: while the legates sent hither by the see of Rome were so many incendiaries, who sought every means to sow discord and division among kings and their nobles, or excite the former to acts of violence and oppression. In a word, they regarded only the interest of their master, and the papal chair, making no scruple to violate all the ties of religion and equity to accomplish their ends.

The indolence and devotion of Henry VI. was extremely detrimental to the English church. He was the first king of England who gave the bishops a taste for a court-life, which brought them into all the intrigues of ambition and avarice. The heads of the universities, and some of the more virtuous prelates, were sensible of this degeneracy, and endeavoured, but in vain, to put a stop to the papal provisions, which were the roots of all abuses, since few could hope to attain any degree of preferment in the church, who did not render themselves commendable by their attachment to the interests of the court of Rome, or for their services to the prince in his temporal concerns.

The great favour shewn the clergy by his successors, Edward IV. Richard III. and Henry VII. who all stood in need of their assistance, at length raised this body to such an envied pitch of greatness as prepared the way to that reformation, which, some years after, ushered in their fall: a glorious event! which must make the subject of the ensuing period.

LEARNED

LEARNED MEN in the XVth CENTURY.

LEARNING was at a very low ebb in this century, till the accession of Henry V. but through the whole course of his glorious reign, there was always a particular bias on the part of the crown towards the advancement of literature. This great design was carried into much more extensive execution than could be imagined from the multiplicity of martial concerns with which the life of that prince was filled: in short, perhaps several princes, to the time of Charles I. in England, have been patrons of learning, but we know none who was at the same time the patron of liberty and the arts besides Henry V. The fine taste for polite learning he inherited from his family always appeared uppermost, amidst the toils of the field or the intricacies of the cabinet: in a word, we may say, that from his time learning in England began to gain every day new strength, and to improve in numberless useful discoveries. The most eminent men for learning which this period produced, were the following.

John Seguard was a very fine Latin poet, and possessed a variety of polite learning. He flourished about the year 1414, and was so unblameable in his life and morals, that the freedom he took in lashing the lives of the monks and priests never brought him into trouble. His great patron was the martial bishop of Norwich, Richard Courtney.

Richard Snettisham acquired so great reputation at Oxford, that, though very young, he was elected chancellor of that university in the year 1412. He was reckoned one of the best disputants of the age, and was indefatigable in his labours in expounding the holy Scriptures in the public schools. He was appointed, by the archbishop of Canterbury, one of the censors of Wickliff's doctrine.

John Beston, prior of a convent of Carmelites, in Lynn, was held to be one of the greatest orators of the age. He was illustrious for philosophy and divinity, in the university of Cambridge, as likewise in that of Paris. He was sent as one of the delegates to the council of Sienna, called by pope Martin V. but that council never meeting, he died at Lynn about the year 1428.

The elder Leland was one of the best grammarians of that age. He taught in the university of Oxford with so much success, that the following barbarous verse grew into part of his character with the public:

Ut rosa flos florum,
Sic Leland grammaticorum.

He was buried at Oxford, in the year 1428.

Richard Ullerstone, a Lancashire man, was fellow of Queen's college in Oxford, doctor of divinity, and canon of York, but a zealous Anti-Wickliffite. He published a book in 1409, concerning the articles of faith, or the creed of the church, which shews him to have been a great master of controversial learning. He likewise, at the request of the cardinal-bishop of Salisbury, wrote a book in Latin, concerning the reformation of the church, in which he proved himself as zealous a reformer as the warmest Wickliffite. He was likewise author of several other tracts, relating to the divinity common in those days.

Peter Clerk was himself a professed Wickliffite, though master of arts in the university of Oxford. He disputed about the points in debate, in the year 1420, with Thomas Walden; but his great zeal had almost cost him his life, for he was obliged to fly to Bohemia: but even there he was apprehended by order of the emperor, nor did he ever after return to England.

Thomas Walden is represented by Leland, and other authors of that stamp and time, as one of the most formidable enemies that the Wickliffites ever had: he is cried up by Leland and other writers as a man of prodigious acuteness in disputation. This much is certain, that Henry IV. who was a great judge of learned men, sent him from England to the council of Pisa, where he distinguished his zeal against the schism of the two antipopes. In the year 1414, he was made provincial prior of his order of the Carmelites, being the twenty-third of that succession; and he had the courage to reproach Henry V. to his face from the pulpit, for his indolence against the Wickliffites: this freedom was not, perhaps, disagreeable to the king, as Leland tells us that Walden's zeal was principally levelled against the Oldcastellans, of whom, no doubt, the king, in the beginning of his reign, was extremely jealous. About the year 1415, the king made Walden his father-confessor, and sent him to the council of Constance, as being the best qualified of any man in England to make a figure against the Hussites. About the year 1419, he was employed in a kind of mediation between the king of Poland and the great-master of the Teutonic order: his intercession had great weight, and he had the address to introduce his order of Carmelites into those countries. But this was not all, for he converted to the Christian religion Wittold, duke of Lithuania, one of its most dreadful enemies. He had the honour to be in the bed chamber when Henry V. expired; and he afterwards died at Rouen, on the third of November, 1430.

Richard Flemming, a Yorkshireman, educated at Oxford, was a professed favourite of Wickliff's doctrine, and very eminent in the learning of those days. One Nicholas Pout particularly affected to oppose him in all public disputations: but Flemming, either receiving new conviction, or altering his sentiments, through the flow of ecclesiastical promotions which came upon him, became a violent persecutor of the sect he had befriended, and was appointed one of the twelve censors of Wickliff's doctrine. He was the founder of Lincoln college, which he had designed as a seminary for Anti-Wickliffites. On the twenty-fourth of May, 1420, he was appointed bishop of Lincoln by the pope; and afterwards, as we have already seen, was nominated to the see of York, but the pope was obliged to drop his nomination. In the council of Sienna, to which he was sent, he made a great figure in defending the honour of the English nation above all others. He died in the year 1430.

William Lyndwood was first of Gonvil hall, in Cambridge, and then took his degree as doctor in Oxford. He was undoubtedly one of the greatest canonists this nation has produced, and a most consummate statesman. He was keeper of the privy-
seal

feal to Henry V. and employed by him in many important negociations, particularly to the courts of Spain and Portugal. By Henry VI. he was sent to the council of Basil; and in the year 1434 he was made bishop of St. David's, but died in 1446. His great work, and indeed the only work of the kind we have, composed by an Englishman, is his *Provinciale seu Constitutiones Angliæ*. Therein we have the provincial decrees of forty archbishops, digested into order, with large and learned commentaries upon them.

There were but few good historians graced this period: those whose writings in this kind were the most esteemed, were,

Sir John Froissart, who wrote a general history of France, Spain, &c. but chiefly of England. He was a Frenchman born, but was brought up in his youth in the court of Edward III. and familiarly conversant in that of Richard II. He wrote in his own tongue, which was then the court-language of England. In the English edition, published by sir John Bouchier at the command of Henry VIII. the mistakes that had crept into the French copies are corrected. His account of matters seems to be plain and honest; and perhaps none gives a better of the affairs of Edward III. and Richard II.

Enguerrand de Monstrelet, and Philip de Commines, may not improperly be called Froissart's continuators. They give a faithful and complete account of the affairs of England, as far as they are intermixed with, or have any relation to those of France, Burgundy, &c.

L A W S.

THE common law of England (saith the author from whom we borrowed our last observations on this head*), during the reigns of Henry IV. and Henry V. fell short of the excellency it had in the first part of the reign of Edward III. but the times of Henry VI. as also of Edward IV. Edward V. and Henry VII. were times that abounded with excellent lawyers.

The first part of Henry VI. indeed is more barren, spending itself in much learning, of little moment, and now out of use: but the second part is full of excellent learning. In the time of these three kings, Henry VI. Edward IV. and Henry VII. the learning seems to be much alike: but these two things is observable in them, and indeed generally in all reports after the time of Edward III. viz.

First, that real action and assize were not so frequent as formerly; but many titles of land were determined in personal actions: and the reasons thereof seem to be, first, because the learning of them began by little and little to be less known or understood: secondly, the ancient strictness of preserving possessions to possessors till eviction by action, began not to be so much in use, unless in cases of descents and discontinuances, the latter necessarily drove the demandant to his Formedon, or his Cui in vita, &c. But the descents that shewed entry, were rare, because men preserved their rights to enter, &c. by continual claims: thirdly, because the statute of 8 Henry VI. had helped men to an action to recover their possessions by a writ of

Thomas Walsingham, a Benedictine monk of St. Alban's. His *Historia Brevis* (or Short History) begins at the conclusion of Henry III's reign, where Matthew Paris ended his. The account he gives is well enough; and we are indebted to him for many things not taken notice of by any other writer of those times. His *Ypodigma Neustriæ* (as he calls it) gives an account of Normandy, from the time it came first into the hands of Rollo and his Danes, down to the sixth year of Henry V. wherein the reader will find many occurrences not elsewhere to be met with. Both these works were published by archbishop Parker, in 1547, and reprinted at Francfort in 1603.

John Harding comes next, a northern Englishman, and an inveterate enemy to the Scots. He collected whatever might tend to the proof of the antient vassalage of Scotland to the crown of England; and hearing of an old record in that kingdom which put the matter past dispute, he went in disguise, with much ado brought it away, and shewed it to Henry V. Henry VI. and Edward IV. To the last of these he dedicated his two books of *Chronicles* in English rhyme. Printed at London, 1543.

John Rose, or Rous, travelled over the greatest part of England, and having made large collections out of the libraries where he came, he wrote the history of our kings, which was published in 1716, by T. Hearne, from a MS. in the Cottonian Library. He died 1491.

Forcible Entry, even while the methods of recovery of possessions by ejectments was not known or used. The second thing observable, is that though pleadings in the time of those kings were far shorter than afterwards, especially after the death of Henry VIII. yet they were much longer than in the time of Edward III. and the pleaders, and even the judges, became somewhat too curious therein. So that art or dexterity of pleading, which in its use, nature, and design was only to render the fact plain and intelligible, and to bring the matter to judgment with a convenient certainty, began to degenerate from its primitive simplicity, and the true use and end thereof, and became a piece of nicety and curiosity; which, how these latter times have improved the length of the pleading, the many and unnecessary repetitions, the miscarriages of causes upon trivial niceties, have too much witnessed. Our author next gives some general observations touching the proceedings of law in these latter times, more especially touching the length and nicety of pleadings, which at this day far exceeds not only that short yet perspicuous course of pleading which was in the time of Henry VI. Edward IV. and Henry VII. but those of all times whatsoever, as the vast presses of parchment for any one plea do abundantly witness; and the reasons thereof seem to be these, viz. first, because in ancient times, the pleadings were drawn at the bar, and the exceptions all taken at the bar, which were rarely taken for the pleasure or curiosity of the pleader, but

only as it was apparent that the omissions, or matter excepted to, was for the very merit or life of the cause, and purposely omitted or mispleaded, because the matter or cause would bear no better; but now the pleadings being first drawn in writing, are drawn to an excessive length, and with much laboriousness and care enlarged, lest it might afford an exception, not intended by the pleader, and which could be easily supplied from the truth of the case; lest the other party should catch that advantage, which commonly the adverse party studies, not in contemplation of the merit or justice of the cause, but to find a slip to fasten upon, though in truth not material to the merits of the plea, wherein all things conform to it. Secondly, because those parts of pleading (which in antient times were material, but at this time are become mere styles and forms), are still continued with much strictness; and so all those ancient forms (at first introduced for conveniency, but now not necessary, or it may be antiquated to their use) are yet continued, as things wonderfully material, though they only swell the bulk, and contribute nothing to the weight of the plea. Thirdly, these pleas being mostly drawn by clerks, who are paid for entries and copies thereof, the larger the pleadings are the more profit comes to them; and the dearer the clerk's place is, the dearer he makes the client pay. Fourthly, an over-forwardness in courts to give countenance to frivolous exceptions, though they make nothing to the true merits of the cause, whereby it often happens, that causes are not determined according to their merits, but do often miscarry for inconsiderable omissions in pleading.

Next our author gives reasons why, in the time of Edward I. one term contained not above two or three hundred rolls; but in latter times one term contained two thousand rolls, or more: his reasons are, first, many petty businesses, as trespasses or debts under forty shillings, are now brought to Westminster, which used to be dispatched in county or hundred courts; and yet the plaintiff is not to be blamed, because at this day those inferior courts are so ill served, and justice there so ill administered, that they had better seek it (where it may be had) at Westminster, though with some more expence: secondly, multitudes of attorneys practising in the great courts of Westminster, who are ready at every market to gratify the spleen, spite, and strife of every plaintiff: thirdly, a great increase of people in this kingdom above what they were anciently, which must needs multiply suits: fourthly, a great increase of trade, and trading persons, above what there were in ancient times, which must have the like effect: fifthly multitudes of new laws, both penal and other; all which breed new questions, and new suits at law: and particularly the statutes touching the devising of lands, cum multis aliis: sixthly, the multiplication of actions upon the case, which were rare formerly, and thereby a wager at law outsted; which discouraged many suits; for when men were sure that they rested upon a bare contract, without specialty, the other party might wage his law, they would not treat upon such contracts without reducing the debt into a speciality, if it were of any value, which created much certainty and accorded many suits*.

We shall now proceed to shew the great improvements made in the statute law, by the several

monarchs who reigned during this period. And first of

HENRY V.

THIS great king, on his accession to the throne, gave his assent to several statutes tending to the preservation of the public peace, and of the people's rights and privileges, and in particular one relating to the elections for members of parliament. Henry IV. as well as Richard II. had endeavoured to corrupt the house of commons; and the court had of late years fallen upon the method of getting its own dependents chosen for counties and boroughs, to whose interests they were absolute strangers, and where they had resided. This practice, if not discouraged, bid fair to extinguish all the spirit of an English parliament, a seasonable check therefore was given to it in this king's first parliament, which met on the fifteenth of May, 1413, and which enacted,

"That none should be chosen knights of the shire who were not resident in the county on the day when the writs were dated; nor any be chosen burgesses but such as were citizens, or townsmen and freemen, dwelling in the towns and cities where they were elected."

It was also enacted in this session, that no under-sheriff, sheriff's clerk, receiver, or bailiff, should be attorney in the king's courts during the time he is in office with such sheriffs†.

In the next parliament under this king, holden at Leicester, on the thirtieth of April, 1414, the commons, desirous to have a clear and full explanation of their rights, drew up a petition for that purpose; and that the matter might be clearly understood, their petition was drawn up in English. In this remarkable address, they lay it down as an incontestible fact, "That it has ever been the privilege of their house, that no statute or law should pass without their assent; and upon this principle the house of commons has been ever a constituent part of the legislature, and assented as well as the petitioners; they therefore insist, that no act or statute should be made without their consent; and that nothing should be entered upon the rolls as their petitions, but in the direct terms in which they were presented by their speaker and granted by the king."

Had this petition, which Henry agreed to, been ever examined, it would have given an irrevocable blow to the arguments advanced by the enemies of the power of the commons in parliament.

In the eighth year of this king's reign, a parliament, which met on the sixteenth of October, among other regulations, passed an act for the consumption of home manufactures, by providing that all the English troops in France should be clothed and furnished with English commodities manufactured in England.

TAXES in the Reign of HENRY V.

His first parliament, which met on Monday the fifteenth of May, 1413, at Westminster, continued the subsidy of wool and leather for four years, and the tonnage and poundage for one: and, granting him an entire fifteenth and an half, expressed their hopes of being soon eased of such taxes and talliages by his good government.

* Analysis of Common Law, vol. i. p. 172, 173, &c.

† See Statutes, 1 Hen. V.

On occasion of his parliament addressing him to make war with France, in the second year of his reign, they granted him a subsidy of two whole tenths and two fifteenths, to be levied upon the laity; an immense sum for those days!

In his fourth year, he had again two whole tenths and two fifteenths, to be levied on the laity; and the clergy gave two tenths to be raised from their own body.

In his sixth, he had one tenth and one fifteenth, and two tenths from the clergy.

In his seventh, the parliament gave him one fifteenth and an half, and one tenth and an half.

In his ninth, he received a fifteenth from the laity, and a tenth from the clergy; and the bishop of Winchester (afterwards cardinal of England) lent him twenty thousand pounds by way of advance.

HENRY VI.

THE first remarkable parliamentary transaction we meet with under this reign, was during the king's minority, when, in a parliament held by the duke of Bedford, as regent of the kingdom, in April, 1425, the fourth after Henry's accession, amongst other salutary acts, one passed against the exportation of sheep beyond sea, without the king's licence; because, by carrying sheep into Flanders and other parts, the wool of England would at last become of little value, and the woollen manufacture be diminished, to the damage of the realm: to prevent which, they laid an heavy tax upon exported wool, of forty-three shillings by the sack, ten shillings more than ever was paid in England for the like quantity. From this reasonable provision we learn how jealous even in those days the legislature was of the English golden fleece; a jealousy which hath hitherto been transmitted down to their posterity, and which never can be lost without losing sight of the true interest of England. We have from this provision another hint, that the woollen manufactures of England were then much advanced beyond what is generally imagined; a retribution more than sufficient for all their expence of blood and treasure incurred in the reduction of France. The happy division of England from the continent had rendered her the asylum of banished arts and industry; and however loudly then the people complained of the public taxes, which were immediately and sensibly felt, as they must be under all governments, it is evident that the increase of trade and riches had now enabled them, especially the lower sort, to support them with ease, while the government applied them to bad purposes.

But, besides manufactures, it is certain that agriculture, that necessary attendant, was by this time highly advanced in England. Honest industry had for some time enjoyed under her own vine the fruits of her labour; and trade in some measure connected with the continent of the country, which nature had disjoined from it; for we find that there was another act of this parliament for the exportation of butter and cheese, to encourage husbandry, giving the chancellor of England power to grant licences, at his discretion, to such persons who should apply for them, to sell and vend the same in all foreign parts as well as at the staple of Calais. "That all merchant-strangers, within fif-

teen days after they are landed in any port of this kingdom, shall take up for themselves lodgings, or some other habitations, in the town or place where the port is, under some Englishman; and shall not make sale of any goods or merchandizes till they are so settled; and then shall sell all their merchandizes within forty days next ensuing; and if any goods after this time shall remain unsold, they shall be forfeited for the king's use." This act, says a judicious, but inaccurate author, was intended that the king might not be defrauded by strangers of his customs; and next, that strangers might not, by keeping their goods and merchandizes, understand the wants of the nation, and so raise the prices. After these acts the parliament gave the king a tax of twelve pence per pound upon all merchandizes, whether brought into or carried out of the realm, except wool, which they had otherwise taxed; and wine, upon which they laid three shillings per tun for three years ensuing.

But we cannot dismiss this parliament without taking notice of some other laudable provisions which the commons insisted upon, for the public good; as if they had thought that their glory and grandeur abroad was but a secondary enjoyment to that of liberty and property at home.

For, among other petitions of the commons, one was from the inhabitants of Northumberland, praying that the extortions of the sheriffs, by yearly levying certain sums of money, called head-pence, amounting to fifty-one pounds, may be utterly abolished.

That such merchants as be grieved by the Bretons in time of truce, may have letters of marque.

That remedy may be provided for such victuals as are taken by the soldiers lying at sundry towns.

The grieved, upon complaint, shall be heard.

That all men imprisoned for treason, felony, or Lollardy, may come to their answers speedily.

The statutes afore-made shall be observed.

Another, That the treasurers of the chamber of Henry IV. and Henry V. who only are accountable to the king, and not in the Exchequer, may pay all due upon tallies.

The king will be advised.

Another, That the justices of peace in every county may redress all matters of sewers, and touching the waters.

The statutes therefore made shall be observed.

Another, That the feoffees that buy lands of the king's tenants in tail, may enjoy the same against the king.

The king will be advised*.

In this same fourth year of Henry VI. an act passed, "granting a discretionary power to the king and council to restrain the exportation of corn, whenever they shall judge it to be for the benefit of the realm:" Which restraint may be necessary, first, in the case of a bad harvest at home, whereby our own corn may prove too scanty for ourselves: secondly, in case of a very great dearth of it beyond sea, so that our dealers in corn may be allured by its high price in foreign parts, to export more of it than we can spare from our home consumption: and lastly, it may be frequently prudent and beneficial to restrain our exportation of corn for the distressing of our enemies, who may at such times be in great want of it, and who might obtain a

* See Stat. Hen. VI. Guthrie, vol. ii. p. 517, 518,

supply of it from those neutral nations to whom we export it."

This prudent law has in the main been continued ever since in force, though with some temporary regulations, as the public utility from time to time required.

In the year 1429, the eighth of Henry VI. it was enjoined by act of parliament,

"That every city and town of England should at their own expence keep a common ballance with sealed weights, corresponding to the standards in the Exchequer; and all the inhabitants might weigh thereby, without paying any thing for the same; but strangers were obliged to pay." By this same statute it was enacted "that no man should buy woollen yarn, unless he will make cloth thereof."

In the parliament holden at Westminster, the tenth year of his reign, the following acts passed.

"I. That whereas, under the colour of outlawries sued out against certain persons, occasion was taken to molest others of the same name, and to seize goods and chattels, especially when they were dead, because there was no remedy at common law for executors to recover such seizures; wherefore it was enacted by the parliament in favour of executors, that, in defence of the testator's goods, a writ called "Identitate nominis," should be granted to them, and should be maintainable by them as by any other person living.

"II. That whereas the Welshmen assembled in great numbers, and did, in a riotous and rebellious manner, intercept and stop the boats, trowers, and boats called drags, carrying wares and merchandizes to Bristol, Gloucester, Worcester, and other places upon the river Severn, and broke the said vessels, to the end that the traders might have their boats and vessels of them only; therefore it was enacted, that all the king's liege people should have free passage upon the said river, to carry their goods and chattels as they please, without any molestation from the Welsh; and if, for the future, they any ways molested them in their traffick, the party or parties aggrieved, should have their action according to the course of common law.

"III. That in all pleas wherein bastardy is alleged against any person, party to the said plea, the judge or judges in the court wherein the said plea is depending shall certify it to the chancellor of England, for the time being, to the intent that proclamation be made in the same chancery by three months, once every month, that all persons that have any thing to object against the said mulier, or person pretending a legitimate issue, may put in their allegation and objections before any certificate be given in by the bishop."

In the twelfth year of his reign, in a parliament holden at Westminster, on the eighth of July, the following acts were passed.

"I. That such persons as were keepers of the stews, or whore-houses, in Southwark, should not be impannelled upon any jury, nor keep any inn or tavern in any other places; lest men of such vile consciences and practices should corrupt justice, and propagate their villanies over the nation.

"II. It was enacted, that even disseisors should not be put out of possession by any collusive tricks of law, as was then usual, by making the sheriff the disseisor, and then entering upon the lands for the default of the tenants not answering; where-

fore it was ordained, that all such writs should be abated and quashed. And,

"III. In the behalf of the person disseised wrongfully of his lands, whereas before the law was, that the disseisee might sue the disseisor in his life-time, if he took the profits at the time the suit commenced, which, to avoid, the disseisors made over the land by feoffments to others, and so avoided the suit; whereas it was enacted, that the disseisees should have their action as well against the feoffee, as disseisees or himself, if either of them take the profits of the lands.

"IV. And because divers tenants of lands for term of life and years, made over the said lands to other under-tenants, to the end that they might not be liable to writs of waste, for the damages done upon the said lands by their order and connivance before the grant of the said leases; it was hereupon enacted, that the tenant in reversion might have his action against the tenant for life or years, for the damages done as well before as after the lease made to any under-tenants, and recover treble damages for the said waste, provided that it were proved that the said first tenants took the profits of the land to their own proper use at the time of waste done.

"V. Whereas divers suits and indictments, as well for the king as his subjects, were discontinued by making of new commissioners for the peace, to the great delay of justice, and wrong of the subject; it was enacted, that no pleas or processes should be discontinued by any new commissions; but the justices so made, should have power and authority to continue all pleas depending, and determine the same.

"VI. An abuse also being crept into the nation about measures contrary to the statutes, and purveyors, bakers, merchants, and buyers of corn, taking nine bushels for the quarter; it was enacted, that the statutes for weights and measures should be retained in every market-town, and that there should be a bushel, common balance, and weights in every market-town, city, or borough, kept by the mayor and justices thereof, according to the standard in the Exchequer; and if any person shall presume to sell or buy by any other weights or measures, they shall forfeit five pounds to the person that shall sue for it, and five pounds to the king.

"VII. Recognizors having found out the way to defeat the exactions of such persons as they were indebted to for recognizances, by bringing their writ "De corpus cum causa" out of chancery, and giving sureties to the king only, are delivered out of prison, and their creditors are defeated of their debts; it was therefore ordained, that sureties should be given as well to the party as to the king, that their debts may be surely paid."

In the parliament which sat early in the year 1437, the sixteenth of this reign, the following acts were passed.

"I. A remedy was provided against vexatious and troublesome suits of such persons as were not of the king's household, in the courts of stewards and marshals in the king's house; and it was allowed as an exemption from their jurisdiction, to plead and aver that they are not of the king's house.

"II. An allowance was given to all the subjects of England to transport corn of low price out of the realm,

realm, viz. wheat at six shillings and eight pence, and barley at three shillings and four pence the quarter.

"III. An injunction to all sheriffs, bailiffs of franchises, and coroners, that in actions or writs of attainder of plea for land, of the yearly value of forty pounds, they do not return nor impanel any persons but such as be inhabitants in his bailiwick, and have an estate to their own use, in lands and tenements, to the yearly value of twenty pounds, or more, upon the penalty of forfeiting ten pounds to the king, and ten pounds to the plaintiffs in the said actions or writs of attainder: and that no person of less sufficiency of freehold than twenty pounds a year, shall be sworn in the king's courts upon any issue in the said actions, if he be for the same by the plaintiffs in due form challenged.

"IV. A permission was given to all persons, as well religious as secular, to appoint themselves general attorneys, to sue or plead for them in every hundred or wapentake. And,

"V. A prohibition was laid upon all merchants to ship, or cause to be shipped, any wool, woollfells, or any other merchandize belonging to the staple, in any place within the realm, excepting the quays and wharfs appointed by statute, where the king's weights and wools be set; excepting the merchants of Genoa, Venice, Tuscany, Florence, and the burghers of Berwick."

In the *Fœdera*, vol. x. p. 661. we meet with the form of a naturalization granted by Henry VI. this year to Titus Livius of Ferrara, poet to Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, in substance, viz. "that he be received and taken in all respects as if he were a native of England; and shall be capable of holding any office or employment in England; may take or receive, buy or sell, any lands, revenues, reversions, advowsons, or other benefits, for him and his heirs; to have and plead all manner of actions, in all courts, in all respects like a natural-born subject." Than which a fuller naturalization can scarcely be penned in any words whatever.

In Sir Robert Cotton's *Abridgment of the Records*, p. 626, there is a second instance or proof that the English people, even so early as the year 1440, understood the expediency of a navigation-act (the former being under the year 1381), as the only means to preserve to themselves the benefit of being the sole carriers of their own merchandize, and as much of those of other nations as they could procure. It is a petition of the house of commons to the king Henry VI. requesting "that no Italian, nor any other merchant beyond the Streight of Morocco (i. e. Gibraltar), shall bring any other merchandize into the realm than such as are growing or produced in the same, their own respective countries;" and that for good reasons in the record.

The answer of king Henry was, "The king will be advised;" (which every one knows to be a flat denial from the crown.) Whether the king's own weak judgment or (which is most likely) the bribes of the Italians to his worthless ministers, produced this answer, is not perhaps easy to determine at this distance of time; but sure the petition was wisely intended, being the very substance of that enacted after the restoration of king Charles II. and still in force, to the very great benefit of the nation.

A remarkable and wholesome law was made in the twenty-third of king Henry VI. chap. vii. for reducing the number of attorneys at law in the two manufacturing counties of Norfolk and Suffolk: it takes notice, "that not long past there were not six or eight attorneys in both those counties and the city of Norwich together, in which times great tranquillity reigned there; whereas there were now more than fourscore attorneys, most part of whom, not being of sufficient knowledge, come to fairs, markets, and other public places, exhorting, procuring, moving, and inciting the people to suits for small trespasses, &c. wherefore there shall be but six attorneys for the county of Suffolk, six for Norfolk, and two for the city of Norwich."

In his thirty-second year, an affair of a very extraordinary nature took up the attention of the parliament, then assembled at Reading. This was no less than the arresting of Thorpe, speaker of the house of commons. The whole of this transaction, and the proceedings consequent thereupon, we have thus related by Mr. Carte, from the records.

Thorpe was a baron of the Exchequer, and, as was represented by the duke of York's counsel, to the house of lords, had, in the last summer, seized, in Durham Place, and carried off the duke's harness and warlike habiliments, with other goods, to the value of two thousand marks, against the said duke's will and licence; who thereupon brought an action against him in Michaelmas term, for the insult, in the court of Exchequer, agreeable to its privilege, Thorpe being a member thereof; and, after several hearings before a Middlesex jury, judgment was given against Thorpe in one thousand pounds damages to the duke for his trespass, and he was moreover committed to the Fleet prison till he should have made payment thereof, as also of his fine to the king for the breach of his peace. When this affair came to be argued, the duke's counsel insisted, "that as the trespass had been committed by Thorpe not in parliament-time, but during the prorogation, and that if he should be released by privilege of parliament before the duke had satisfaction for his costs and damages, the latter would be left without remedy; therefore that Thorpe should be kept, according to law, in custody till he should give full satisfaction for the said damages." The lords, out of tenderness for the privileges of the commons, and yet obliged to do justice to every one according to law, consulted the judges on the subject; who, after a mature deliberation, answered, "that it did not belong to them to determine in any ways the privilege of parliament; but the house of lords was the proper judicature to determine such privileges." The chief-justice, however, added in their name, "that, with regard to proceedings in the lower courts, in such cases as writs of Superfedeas and privilege of parliament, there were many of that kind brought into those courts, but never any general Superfedeas for the surcease of all processes; for if there were, it would look as if the high court of parliament, which ministers all justice and equity, should obstruct the process of common law, and put the party complainant without remedy, since actions at common law are not determined in parliament. But if any member of parliament were arrested in cases as neither for treason, felony, surety of the peace, nor for a condemnation had before the parliament, it

was

was usual in such cases for the member to be released of his arrest, and to constitute an attorney, that he might have his liberty freely to attend on the parliament." The lords hereupon adjudged, that Thorpe should, according to law, remain in prison, notwithstanding his privilege as a member and speaker of the parliament; and the commons were thereupon required to chuse another speaker, which they accordingly did.

In the parliament of 1460, the thirty-ninth of this king's reign, the following statute was made, "that women being of the age of fourteen years at the time of the death of their ancestors, shall, without question or difficulty, have livery of their lands and tenements descended to them; for so the law of this land wills they should have."

TAXES in the Reign of HENRY VI.

In the fourth year of his reign, the duke of Gloucester then acting as regent, the parliament granted the king the subsidy of wool, namely, forty-three shillings and four pence on every sack, from strangers; and from denizens, thirty-three shillings and four pence: as also three shillings on every tun of wine, and twelve pence in the pound for all sorts of merchandize imported or exported.

In his sixth year, the parliament granted tonnage and poundage for two years; and of every parish within the realm, six shillings and eight pence for every twenty nobles in value; and six shillings and eight pence of every person that held immediately by knight's fee, or according to the rate.

A parliament held at Westminster, in January, 1431, the tenth of his reign, by the duke of Gloucester, keeper of England, gave the crown the grant of one tenth and one fifteenth, and of a third of both; a grant of tonnage and poundage for two years, with a subsidy of like value, of all merchant-strangers, over and above the said tonnage and poundage. The commons also granted the king, that every person holding a whole knight's fee, should pay the king twenty shillings; and so according to the value, under or over: and so of the clergy, for lands purchased since the twentieth of Edward I. that all other persons having any hereditaments to the value of twenty pounds, over all reprises not holden as above, shall pay to the king, and so according to the rate.

In his twelfth year he had a grant of one tenth and one fifteenth, to be levied on the laity; as also three shillings on every tun of wine imported or exported; twelve pence in the pound on all merchandize sold for two years, and a subsidy of fifty-three shillings and four pence on every sack of wool for three years.

In his fourteenth, a parliament which met at Westminster, on the tenth of October, granted the king a tenth and a fifteenth, deducting out of it four thousand pounds for the relief of decayed towns and villages; also tonnage and poundage for two years; a subsidy of thirty-three shillings and four pence of merchant-denizens, and of forty-six shillings and eight pence of aliens, for every sack of wool. They also granted, that every person having any freeholds in lands, annuities, fees, offices, or hereditaments, above five pounds yearly, should pay for every pound six pence, upon his oath. There was also a parliament in the beginning of the year 1436, which met at Westminster,

on the twenty-first of January, and granted a tenth and fifteenth, and the like subsidy of wool for three years, as was granted in the former parliament.

In his eighteenth, a parliament met at Westminster, on the twelfth of November, which granted the king one tenth and one fifteenth, to be levied on the laity; and the subsidy of thirty-three shillings and four pence from the denizens, and forty-six shillings and eight pence from aliens, for every sack of wool; as also for tonnage and poundage, for which aliens were to pay seven shillings and eight pence. The commons also granted, that all aliens within the realm, who were not denizens, should pay to the king sixteen pence, if they were householders; and if they are not, then but six pence.

The parliament which met in 1446, granted the king a considerable subsidy, for a vigorous prosecution of the war in France, for which purpose they gave a tenth and an half, and a fifteenth and an half, except five thousand pounds allowed to poor wasted towns; they also granted tonnage and poundage on denizens as before, but double on aliens; and a subsidy of thirty-four shillings and four pence on denizens, and fifty-three shillings on aliens, for every sack of wool, for four years.

In his twenty-seventh year, his parliament granted him a tenth and a fifteenth; tonnage and poundage, for five years, of all merchants; with three shillings tonnage more of aliens; and the subsidy of wool for four years, as before. They also granted the king sixteen pence to be taken of every household within the realm not born in the king's dominions, and six pence of every other person not so born; and also six shillings and eight pence of every merchant-stranger, and twenty of all and every of their clerks.

In the year 1449, the twenty-seventh of his reign, the parliament met at Westminster, from whence it was adjourned to Black-friars, London, by reason of the plague being in the fore-named place, and on the fourth of December it was adjourned back again to Westminster, prorogued on the seventeenth to the twenty-second of January, 1450; and on the thirtieth of March prorogued to the twenty-ninth of April, at Leicester. In this parliament the commons granted the king an annual subsidy, viz. "that every person having frank tenement by free deed, copy, grant of annuity, or office, to the clear yearly value of twenty shillings, should pay six pence; and so to twenty pounds; from twenty pounds to two hundred pounds yearly, twelve pence in the pound; from two hundred pounds to pay two shillings for twenty shillings, as well for the laity as the clergy, guardians of wards, men having fees, and all corporations to pay accordingly."

On the seventeenth of March, 1453, a parliament sat at Reading, and on the eighteenth was prorogued to the twentieth of April, at Westminster, where it assembled accordingly; from thence, on the second of July, it was prorogued to the seventh of November, at Reading, and from thence to the eleventh of February, 1454, at Westminster; but notwithstanding it appears that it met at Reading, whence it was adjourned to Westminster; for on the fourteenth of February, in the first session, the commons granted the king one tenth and an half and one fifteenth and an half, tonnage and poundage during life, the subsidy of wool, viz.

twenty-three shillings and four pence for every sack of denizens, and five pounds of aliens; and so of other staple ware in proportion. They also granted the king, of every merchant not born within the realm who was no denizen and kept house, forty shillings per annum; and of every such merchant as shall remain within the realm but six weeks, twenty shillings; and of every merchant alien being no denizen, six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence yearly, during the king's life.

EDWARD IV.

THE most remarkable statutes in this king's reign were the following.

In his third year the importation of woollen cloth, laces, ribbons, all sorts of iron ware, and most other things manufactured in England, was strictly forbidden. This statute was farther enforced, especially in regard to English wool, in the following year.

In his seventh year, a parliament meeting at Westminster, on the third of June, or, according to others, the third of July, the king signed an act of resumption, wherein he recalled into his own hands all the crown-lands granted away during his reign.

TAXES in the Reign of EDWARD IV.

In the third year of his reign his parliament granted him an aid of thirty-seven thousand pounds, to be levied in the counties, cities, and towns. And, in the following year, the same parliament, which had been prorogued several times till the thirty-first of January, gave him tonnage and poundage for life; and of every English merchant for every sack of wool, thirty-three shillings and four pence, of every two hundred and forty wool-fells the same, and of every last of hides three pounds six shillings and eight pence; of every merchant-stranger, denizen or otherwise, for every sack of wool three pounds six shillings and eight pence, of every last of hides three pounds thirteen shillings and four pence, of every two hundred and forty wool-fells, three pounds six shillings and eight pence.

In his seventh year, the parliament at Westminster passed the resumption act, and also granted the king two tenths and two fifteenths.

In his eleventh year the commons granted that fourteen thousand archers should serve the king at their own charge, to be levied out of all men's lands, according to a certain proportion; and the lords spiritual and temporal granted towards the same the tenth part of one whole year's revenues of all and singular their possessions; and at a second session of the same parliament, the commons granted the king one tenth and one fifteenth.

In his thirteenth year they granted him one tenth and one fifteenth, and fifty-one thousand, one hundred and seventy pounds four shillings and seven pence three farthings, in full payment of the wages of the fourteen thousand archers granted before; towards the payment whereof every county, city, and town were severally taxed.

In the beginning of the year 1482, the twenty-second of his reign, a parliament, which met at Westminster, gave the king a tenth and fifteenth, to be levied on the laity, except six thousand pounds to be bestowed on decayed towns. They also granted a yearly subsidy, to be levied on all stranger as well denizens as otherwise. They moreover allowed a

yearly rent out of the customs and other revenues, to defray the king's household expences, amounting to eleven thousand pounds.

RICHARD III.

IN January, A. D. 1484, the second of this king's usurped reign, he held his first parliament at Westminster, in which an act of attainder was passed against Henry, earl of Richmond, and all his adherents. The most remarkable statutes enacted in this parliament were these:

"I. An act abolishing a new imposition set on foot by Edward IV. called a benevolence.

"II. An act giving every justice of the peace power to admit a prisoner, arrested for felony, to bail; and that no officer shall seize the goods of a prisoner arrested for felony, till he is attainted.

"III. An act to settle the qualification of persons to be impanelled upon juries; no one to be chose but who hath twenty shillings freehold, or twenty-six shillings and eight pence copyhold, at least.

"IV. An act for settling the standard measures of wine and oil vessels, as follow: that every tun should hold two hundred and fifty-two gallons; a pipe, one hundred and twenty-six gallons; a tertian, eighty four gallons; an hoghead, sixty-three gallons; a barrel, thirty-one gallons and an half; a runlet, eighteen gallons and an half."

We meet with no other statutes worth notice during this reign, nor was the subject loaded with any new impost, notwithstanding the heavy outcries some historians have made on account of the exorbitant taxes this king laid on the nation: in this parliament, indeed, the commons continued to him, for his life, the subsidy of tonnage, poundage, wool, and hides, which they had granted in like manner to his brother Edward IV.

HENRY VII.

THE constitution of England, by the feudal law, was calculated plainly to govern the realm with a standing army, of which the king was commander in chief; the barons, his field-officers; the knights, his subalterns; and all the other subjects, the common soldiers. While the kings of England had great hereditary countries and lands of their own, whilst they were pursuing foreign conquests and subduing great nations, those countries supplied England with manufactures, and many of the necessities of life; and the people were too much abroad to feel their wants at home. The immense estates of the great barons, and their uncontrouled power over their vassals, kept them from feeling the miseries of the inferior sort; whilst the vast prerogative which was lodged in the crown often times squeezed all the riches of those barons into its own coffers. But the almost perpetual wars which the kings of England, upon their own accounts, and to preserve their hereditary dominions on the continent, were obliged to carry on with the kings of France, Scotland, and other potentates, made the barons sometimes of such importance, as to dispute their attendance, and by degrees to emancipate themselves from the rigours of the feudal constitution, as both the king and the nation severely felt till the days of Henry VII. That wise prince made use of the circumstances of the times he reigned in, to encourage

encourage commerce and agriculture, and to raise the middling state of the subjects as the only balance against the dangerous power of the barons. In this he was greatly assisted by the situation in which the barons found themselves: they had just begun to breathe from a long and bloody war, which had emptied their veins and exhausted their estates; they wanted to enjoy the sweets of peace, but found themselves without the means to do it on account of the vast debts they had contracted.

But Henry, to smooth the way for removing those difficulties, seemed to part with an useless prerogative of his crown, by passing an act giving leave for all barons and great land holders, who should attend him, to alienate their estates, or sell or otherwise mortgage or dispose of the same, without paying for fines or licences of alienation. This act following a great benevolence very unconstitutionally granted by parliament, and which must have proved very prejudicial for many of the landed interest to have complied with, and the thing itself being popular, we know no opposition made to it by the great barons*.

A legal though dangerous cramp to the liberty of the subject was projected, encouraged, and at last enacted by this prince, almost in the very beginning of his reign: for under pretence that the channels of justice, by unlawful maintenances, giving of liveries, misbehaviour of sheriffs, and a number of other causes, were corrupted, the authority of the court of Star Chamber was now set up. The officers who constituted this court were, the chancellor and treasurer of England, for the time being, and the keeper of the privy-seal, or two of them, calling to them a bishop and a temporal lord of the king's most honourable council, and the two chief-justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas for the time being, or other two justices in their absence. Their powers "were (as appears by the words of the statute, 3 Hen. VII.) to proceed upon bill, or information, that to the said chancellor, for the king, or any other, against any person for misbehaving, to call before them, by writ or by privy-seal, the said misdoers, and they, and others by their discretion, by whom the truth may be known, to examine; and such as they find therein defective, to punish them after their demerits, after the form and effect of the statutes thereof made, in like manner and form as they should, and ought to be punished, if they were thereof convicted after the due order of laws." Thus the reader may perceive that the most valuable privileges of Englishmen, of not being taken or imprisoned but by the law of the land, or the judgment of their peers, was set aside.

But this institution, or, as lord Bacon will have it, re-creation, of the Star Chamber, who makes it of a date much more early than is to be found upon the rolls, or records of parliament, was far from completing the great civil scheme, which Henry had projected, of humbling the great men, so terrible to the crown, and enhancing the consequence of the commoners. He observed, that many salutary laws had been made by parliament, but that the over-grown powers of his great men, by neglecting the observance of those laws, had brought many of them into such disuse, that they

were now as if they never had been. It was, for example, the law of the land, "that if any man be slain in the day, and the felon not taken, the township where the death or murder is done, shall be amerced: and if any man be wounded, and in peril of death, the party that so wounded shall be arrested, and put in surety till perfect knowledge be had whether the person so hurt should live or die." But those excellent institutions, with that of the coroner's duty upon such an occasion, had fallen into such disuse, that murder was every day committed with impunity; for whilst the protection that great men gave to their retainers existed, it was dangerous or impossible for the officers of justice to attach the person of any malefactor. Thus the course of civil justice was obstructed, and the hopes of impunity made all who had ambition, revenge, or any other passion to gratify against their neighbours, to enlist them as retainers, or dependents of great men. Henry therefore revived, reinforced, and renewed the old laws against murderers and felons, as the most proper way for bringing them to the punishment of the law, and withdrawing them from the protection of the great.

The parliament also passed an act, by which it was ordered "that the coroner, upon the view of a dead body, should, according to the former acts, enquire of him or them that had done that deed or murder; of their abettors and consentors, and who were present when that death or murder was done, whether man or woman, and the names of them that were present; and so bound to enrol and certify." But this was not enough for rooting out this pernicious practice of murder: it appears by the common law, a felony could not determine at the king's suits within a year and a day after a death or murder, for saving of the party-suit. That the first edge of resentment being taken off in the prosecutor, his eagerness was abated, his prosecution was often times a seeking revenge in cold blood, and few were found who prosecuted with the same earnestness twelve months after the crime had been committed, that they would have done immediately after such commission: we may add to these reasons, which are expressed in the act of parliament, another not there expressed, which is, that such a delay gave the great men, who were perhaps at the bottom of those murders, an opportunity of interposing and making matters up, to the infinite prejudice of the public justice; but it was now enacted, that "if any man be slain or murdered; and therefore the slayers, murderers, or abettors, manslaughterers, and comforters of the same be indicted; that the same slayers and murderers, and all other accessaries to the same, be arraigned and determined of the same felony and murder, at any time, at the king's suit, within the year after the same felony and murder done, and not tarry the year and a day for any appeal to be taken for the same felony or murder. And if it happened that any person named as principal or accessary to be acquitted of any such murder, at the king's suit within the year and a day, that then the same justices aforesaid, by whom he is acquitted, shall not suffer him to go at large, but either remit him again to prison, or else to let him to bail, after their discretion, till that year and a day be passed. And if it fortune that the same

felons or murderers, and accessaries, so arraigned, or any of them, to be acquit, or the principal of the said felony, or any of them, to be attained, the wife, or next heir, to him that is slain, as shall require, may take and have their appeal of the same death and murder, within the year and day after the said felony or murder done, against the said person so arraigned, and acquit, and all other their accessaries against the said principals so attained, if they be alive, and the benefit of his clergy thereof before not had: and that the appellant have such aid like advantage as if the said acquittance or attainder had not been the said acquittal or attainder notwithstanding."

A kind of civil rapes upon women of property were none of the least frequent consequences of the power of the great men; and it was a common way of rewarding their followers by assisting or protecting them in such violences: it was therefore to put a stop to so enormous an abuse that this same parliament made an act, "That whatever person or persons from henceforth that taketh any woman against her will unlawfully, that is to say, maid, widow, or wife, that such taking, procuring, and abetting the same, and also receiving willingly the same woman so taken against her will, and knowing the same, shall be felony."

We find another act of the same parliament, according to the act of Richard III. concerning the power which justices had in admitting prisoners, committed for felony to bail. By this act, the justices of peace who took bail, were obliged to certify the same at the next general sessions of peace or next goal-delivery of the county, city, or town; and the sheriff was to certify the names of all the prisoners in his custody, to the justices of goal-delivery. Thus the act of Richard III. giving authority and power in the premisses to any justice by himself, was repealed.

The other remarkable statutes enacted at this time, were the following.

"I. That if any of the king's servants, under the degree of a lord, did conspire the death of the king, or any of the king's council, or lord of the realm, as the lord-steward, treasurer, or comptroller, it should be felony." This law was thought to be procured by the chancellor, Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, who, being unamiable in his private manners and extremely obnoxious to almost all the great men of Henry's court, provided this act for his own safety.

"II. An Act for making void all deeds of gift made to defraud creditors.

"III. An act awarding costs to the plaintiff, where the defendant sueth a writ of error before execution had*."

The parliament which met in the beginning of the year 1490, the sixth of Henry's reign, passed an act which shews the consistency and firmness of Henry's policy at home. It was founded upon a statute made under Edward I. by which it was ordained, "That notes and fines to be levied in the king's court before his justices, should be openly and solemnly read; and that both pleas in the mean time should cease; and this to be done two days in the week, after the discretion of the justices." But the statute now enacted says, "That fines ought to be a final end and conclusion." The

contrary practice had some time before prevailed, to the great trouble of the English subjects; it was therefore enacted, "That, after the engrossing of every fine to be levied, after the feast of Easter that shall be in the year of our Lord 1490, in the king's court, before his justices of the Common Pleas, of any lands, tenements, or other hereditaments, the same fine be openly and solemnly read and proclaimed in the said court, the same term, and in three terms the next following the same engrossing in the same court, at four several days in every term; and in the same time that it is so read and proclaimed, all pleas to cease:" some exceptions of minors, married women, and such others, are inserted in the statute. Thus Henry in some respect gave his subjects the same right to their estates that he had to his crown, thereby engrafting upon the English constitution, and even tenor of government, and restoring the peaceable possession of estates. This admirable law prevented and shut the door upon that dreadful litigiousness which civil commotion introduced, and which the success of the one or the other party which the claimant favoured, always revived and encouraged.

During the session of the same parliament we meet with a proclamation, which, by act of parliament, every justice of peace was to take care should be proclaimed four times yearly in four principal sessions within the county where he acted. This proclamation complains bitterly of the remissness of justices of the peace in doing their duty; it takes notice, that by their remissness riots, murder, and other enormities were occasioned, to the great prejudice of agriculture, the great stay and support of the land, the upholder of the English church, and the fund for the payment of the landlords rent: it is therefore decreed, "That if any person shall be baulked in his suit, or aggrieved, that they may have an appeal to the next neighbouring justice, from him to the justices of assize; and if he find no remedy there, to the king himself or his chancellor. In this case the justice is to be struck out of the commission, and further punished according to his demerits."

The other remarkable statutes enacted in this parliament were,

"I. That benefit of clergy shall be allowed but once; and that persons convicted of murder, shall be marked with an M upon the brawn of the left thumb, and other felons with a T.

"II. That no butcher kill any manner of beast within the walls of London, on pain of forfeiting for every ox twelve pence, and for a cow and every other beast eight pence; this to extend to every city, borough, and walled town within the realm of England, Berwick and Carlisle excepted." There were some other laws then made, which are either repealed or of small consequence.

In the eighth year of his reign an act passed, by which the barons and gentlemen of landed interest were at liberty to sell and mortgage their lands, without fines or licences for the alienation; and that likewise they should have their own liveries, and authority to dispose of the wardships of their heirs: but this act was confined only to those who should enter into the army; and nothing could be better calculated than it was, not only for the purposes already mentioned, but for Henry's great

* See Statute 3 & 4 Hen. VII. and Bacon, p. 594.

and favourite scheme in breaking the tenures and dependencies upon the landed interest. For luxury and vanity were become as it were necessary to the English for the enjoyment of life. Those vices had been begun, continued, and encouraged by Edward IV. the short reign of Richard III. could not, but Henry (though he did not practise them in his own person) did encourage them at his court. The great debts the nobility had contracted, rather encreased than weakened the dependency, as long as it was out of their power, without the king's licence, and without paying exorbitant fines, to dispose of their lands for discharging them. This act in some measure took off this check. The prodigal, the brave, and the adventurous rushed precipitately into extravagance; some through motives of luxury, and others of ambition; whilst the industrious commons made every day fresh acquisitions of the landed interest, and thereby threw an additional weight into the scale, which Henry wanted to support and help to preponderate. Some other military acts passed in the same parliament, particularly a kind of mutiny bill; for every captain whose musters were not complete, or who defrauded his soldiers of their legal pay, was to forfeit all his goods and chattels to the king, and his body to the prison. By another clause of the same act, all deserters were adjudged to be guilty of felony without benefit of clergy: the captain was likewise, if in the land service, to make a return of all soldiers who should die or desert, within ten days after such deaths or desertions, to the paymaster of the forces; or if in the marine service, to the admiral of the navy. By another act of this session, every officer and soldier of the army serving beyond sea, or on the sea, was protected; and he had power by his writing to make his attorney enter upon lands descended unto him.

The parliament which met towards the end of the year 1495, after a long prolongation, enacted a law which is well deserving the attention of every English reader. This act was founded upon a reflection of the dreadful situation in which the people of England must have found themselves had Henry himself not succeeded, and had Richard been victorious. The act itself was built upon a maxim so simple and plain, that it could not be mistaken or misrepresented by the meanest or most ignorant of his subjects: it was, "that the possession of the throne points out the king." This was the principle upon which the parliament made the following law: "That none who shall attend upon the king for the time being, no matter whether he was so in fact or in right, or in both, doing true service, should be attainted or forfeit any thing." And to this act it was added, "That if any act or acts, or other process of law, hereafter made thereupon for the same, happen to be made contrary to this ordinance, that then that act or acts, or other process of the law whatsoever they shall be, stand and be utterly void; provided always, that no person or persons shall take any benefit or advantage, who shall hereafter decline from their said allegiance."

To explain the true meaning and occasion of this act, it is proper to consider the circumstances of things and the situation of the kingdom at the time it passed. The feudal law and customs, agreeable to which all tenures of knight's service were regulated, prevailed in England at that time; and the great lords, who held their lands immediately

of the crown, on the condition of serving the king in his wars, and other services, granted out parcels of those lands to under-vassals, holding of themselves under the like obligations and service; these vassals were bound to follow the mesne-lord, or (as he is termed in statute 12 Henry VII. cap. 7.) their immediate sovereign, in his hostings (or arrays); and if they neglected to attend him in the field, even when he fought against the crown, they forfeited their tenures, and their lands were confiscated to the use of their immediate lord. Hence arose the great power of the ancient barons, who, in the days of Henry III. and in latter reigns, were able to make head against the crown in the field, having, in proportion to their estates, a powerful body of vassals, obliged, by their tenures on pain of forfeiture, to follow them in their risings, and farther engaged so to do by the sacred tie of their oaths of fealty taken in their lords courts. It had always been Henry's view, from the beginning of his reign, to depress the power of the great lords; but as there was danger in attempting it too openly, he chose to do it in the way of sap, by means the true design whereof was scarce perceivable; as by allowing them freely to alienate their estates; and by this act justifying all persons (and their vassals among the rest) that should serve him in his wars, and securing them absolutely from all forfeitures on that account, whatever conduct their immediate lords observed. This lessening the dependence of vassals upon those lords, seems to have been calculated for the same purposes, as some late acts for diminishing or taking away the vassalage of the Highland clans in Scotland to their superiors; but if it was one part of Henry's view in this, it was not the only end he proposed to answer.

For though Henry thought that the above act was a sufficient security for his subjects to stand by him, yet he wanted a farther security for himself: for though it is declared in general terms, that the possession of the crown implies allegiance, yet there is no specification of the cases that require this allegiance to call the subjects into the field, neither is there any penalty upon a man who does not attend. But Henry made a distinction among his subjects, between those who owed him allegiance, and those who with allegiance owed him service, which last rank included all place-men, that is, such persons who had from the crown promotions or advancement, as grants and gifts of office, fees, and annuities. It was therefore enacted, "That if such do not attend the king, when he shall fortune to go in the wars in his person, in their said persons, as their duty bindeth them, that then they, and every of them, making thereof default (the king's special licence not had, or else he have such unfeigned sickness, letting, or disease that he may not in person come to do his personal attendance and service, after the form aforesaid, and that duly proved), that then every such person or persons forfeit and lose their said offices and annuities, and to stand void at the king's pleasure, any act, statute, or ordinance to the contrary, before this time had or made, in anywise notwithstanding. Provided that this act extend not to any spiritual peers, or master of the Rolls, nor to any other officer and clerks of the Chancery, justices of either bench, barons of the king's Exchequer, and other officers and clerks of the said places, the king's attorney and solicitor,

and the serjeants of the law." But notwithstanding both those acts, it is certain that Henry thereby took from his subjects that determined zeal with which they had hitherto fought, since their safety no longer depended upon their swords, but was insured by an act of parliament.

In this parliament it was ordained, "That a weight and a measure of each kind in use, according to the standard of the Exchequer, should be sent unto every city and borough, and that no commodity should be bought or sold but with such weights as were stamped or sealed."

There was likewise a standard weight and measure consigned into the hands of the representatives of eight-and-twenty cities, towns, and corporations, there to remain, and to be appealed unto upon occasion. This parliament was likewise distinguished by a strain of public spirit which has since been of vast use to England; for it prohibited the exportation of any horse, without a licence from the king, and of any mare which was not three years old, and above the value of six shillings and eight pence, which the government was obliged to pay to the owner in case of being seized. The parliament afterwards, in this session, passed an act "That no alienation by the wife of the inheritance of her deceased husband, should be valid; but that a woman may alienate her lands for the term of her life." This parliament likewise enacted, "That an attaint should be attainable against a petty jury upon a false verdict between party and party; but with this exception, that the act should not extend to capital causes; for there the verdict of the jury was to be final and irremediable, except by the king's prerogative, if the party was cast." Lord Bacon upon this observes, that such cases were, for the most part, at the king's suit; and that if they are followed in course of indictment, there are properly two juries, one to find the bill and the other to try the prisoner: add to this, that matters of life and death where a jury is liable to any penalty for acquitting a prisoner, it might occasion a perpetual warping towards severity, and would discourage the subjects from the office. Another case, wherein this law did not take place, is where the sum tried did not exceed forty pounds; because such sums could not bear the charges of farther trial. To this parliament was likewise owing the act of admitting poor suitors, in forma pauperis, to sue in courts without paying fees for any writs they should have out of Chancery, and having counsel and attorneys assigned to them without paying for the same.

On the sixteenth of January, 1504, a parliament was held at Westminster, in which Dudley, one of the detested instruments of Henry's mercenary oppressions, was chosen speaker of the house of commons. The principal business of this session was to give a farther blow to the power of liveries and retainers. A greater penalty was now enacted for giving or taking any livery, or for retaining or being retained with another, during the king's life. "Hereupon (says an excellent author), is a strange power given to summon upon a mere suspicion; to proceed, without information, to examine the defendant upon oath, and to make him his own accuser; to punish according to discretion, by fine and imprisonment: and thus the king and his council have gotten a power, under colour of liveries and retainers, to bring the whole kingdom to

be of their livery; or else they can suspect whom they please, apprehend whom they suspect, put him presently to the rack of confession, and so into prison till he hath satisfied both displeasure and jealousy, and even covetousness itself. Never was England before now in so low a degree of thralldom, bound under a double knot of self-accusing and arbitrary censure."

In the same parliament it was enacted, "That all persons having gifts or patents, should forfeit the same if they did not attend the king, upon lawful summons, whenever he took the field in person, either at home or abroad, for the safety of his crown and defence of his kingdom." This act was supplemental to the act formerly made, by which the like penalty was imposed upon those who held places, and did not give the like attendance; but neither of those acts have any retrospect.

By the same act it is provided, "That all persons repairing to the king's standard, upon summons, shall receive pay according to their degree; nor does that act extend to clergymen or lawyers, nor to any who held mortgages from the crown.

Great abuses had been committed with regard to the coinage; and among others complained of, was the practice of bringing Irish coin into England, and of clipping and counterfeiting the English coin, especially silver. It was therefore enacted, "That no clipped or diminished money should be current in payment, but that the same might be brought to the king's mint, there to be changed for new coined groats and two-pences." Our historians say, that this act brought vast sums into Henry's coffers.

A statute was likewise made against importing certain manufactures of silk, such as ribbons, laces, girdles, and points, the same being now manufactured in England; but encouraging the importation of raw silk, as the materials for the said manufactures. This act does not extend to large pieces of silks, there being no such manufacture then in England. Lord Bacon observes, that it was founded upon a right principle in commerce, that where foreign materials are but superfluities, foreign manufactures should be prohibited; for that will either gain the manufacture, or banish the superfluity. The next act of importance in this session, was that concerning gaols: it had been a common practice, during the civil wars, for the great men to have places within their castles which they used in the nature of gaols, in which they imprisoned and ransomed at their own pleasure. But this practice was now abolished. It was enacted, "That the sheriff of each county should have the keeping of all gaols, except all gaols whereof any person or persons, spiritual or temporal, or body corporate, have the keeping, of estate or inheritance, or by succession; and all letters patent for the keeping of any gaols were resumed and void."

During this session, an act was made to regulate the making of statutes by incorporate bodies. It had, it seems, been a practice for masters and wardens of fellowships and corporations to make acts, which were not only inconsistent with the laws of the land, but held by them to be compulsive upon the subject, and thereby they very often restrained suits in the king's courts. It was therefore enacted, "That no master and wardens of fellowships should make any new ordinances without the consent of the chancellor, or the treasurer, or the chief-justices,

tices, or the justices of assize within the same county."

This was not the only act that bore hard upon small corporations in this parliament. An abuse had prevailed all over England, of extorting a tax called seawage, or schewage, upon all goods vended within a borough or other corporation. This tax had originally been imposed upon merchants aliens, but was now extended to natural born subjects. An act was therefore now made, abolishing this tax upon the natives throughout all England, excepting within the city of London.

The last act which we have occasion to take notice of, in this parliament, concerns vagabonds and unlawful games, and the suppressing common tippling ale-houses; abuses which are all linked together. Proper officers and persons were appointed for punishing, but not by imprisoning, all vagabonds in proportion as they repeated their offences. The playing at games was restricted to persons of certain quality and standing; and two justices of the peace had it in their power to suppress any notorious common tippling ale-house.

We shall close this sketch of the laws of Henry VII. with a few observations taken from the lord Bacon's character of that prince. "In that part both of justice and policy which is the durable part, and cut as it were in brass and marble, which is the making of good laws, he did excel. His laws he did much maintain and countenance, which nevertheless was no impediment to him in working his will; for it was so handled, that neither prerogative nor profit went to diminution, and yet, as he would sometimes strain up his laws to his prerogative, so would he also let down his prerogative to his parliament."

TAXES in the Reign HENRY VII.

In the first parliament of this king the taxes granted were as follow: 1. Tonnage, which was three shillings on every tun of wine of denizens, and six shillings of aliens. 2. Poundage, that is, one shilling in the pound for all merchandizes imported or exported, except tin, for which aliens were to pay two shillings. 3. The subsidy of wool and wool-fells, which was thirty-three shillings and four pence of denizens, and of aliens three pounds six shillings and eight pence for every sack of wool, and for every two hundred and forty wool-fells; and for every last of hides denizens were to pay three pounds six shillings and eight pence, and aliens three pounds thirteen shillings and four pence. The clergy at the same time granted the king a tenth.

In the fifth year of his reign, the commons voted him seventy-five thousand pounds, to make good his engagements with the dukes of Brittany; and for raising this sum they granted a tenth of the yearly value and profits of all honours, castles, manors, rents, lands, fees, annuities, offices, and pensions, to whomsoever belonging (except lords of parliament, who likewise granted a tenth of all their lands, fees, offices, and pensions); and laid a tax upon personal estates, at the rate of twenty pence for every ten marks of goods, and upwards in proportion: but this producing only twenty-seven thousand pounds, the commons, to make up the deficiency, gave the king a fifteenth, with

a request that he would accept thereof, and remit the residue of the seventy-five thousand pounds voted for the supply. This Henry consented to; and the commons were so pleased with his compliance, that the next year they granted him another fifteenth of their goods and chattels.

In the year 1492, the eighth of his reign, having publicly declared his intention of heading his army in person against France, under pretence that the supplies were not sufficient for the service, he sent, of his own authority, commissioners into every county, to extort money from the subject by way of Benevolence, a practice first set on foot by king Edward IV. but which Richard III. had got abolished by act of parliament. Archbishop Morton, the chancellor, is said to have been the adviser of this illegal taxation; and the lord Bacon relates, that he at the same time made use of this dilemma in his instructions to the commissioners (which was commonly called Morton's Fork or Crutch), "That if they met with any who were sparing, they should tell them they must needs have, because they laid up; and if they were spenders, they must needs have, because it was visible in their manner of living; declaring that the largeness or smallness of the sums they gave, would serve the king for an infallible rule to distinguish who were his friends, and who were disaffected to his government*." By these arts immense sums were raised all over the kingdom; and near ten thousand pounds from the city of London alone. Henry's avarice being not yet satisfied, he obtained from the parliament, that met towards the latter end of this year, a grant of two fifteenths of personal estates.

The next extraordinary tax we meet with under this reign (for there were many petty ones intervening) was in his twelfth year, when the two houses, upon a heavy complaint of the Scots breach of the seven years truce, and late invasion of the realm, voted a supply of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds (a greater sum than had ever been granted on such an occasion) for the war with Scotland. The way of raising it, was by a grant of two fifteenths, and by a subsidy, as well on all cities, boroughs, and towns not chargeable to those fifteenths, who were to be assessed to the amount of both, as on all freeholders and copyholders having twenty shillings a year, and others that were worth ten marks in goods. The colleges of Oxford, Cambridge, and Eton were exempted from this taxation; which was not to be levied if the king, or his lieutenant, did not march with an army, or if a peace or truce was made, in which cases the levies were to be suspended. This enormous imposition, and the unmerciful manner of collecting it, raised a dangerous insurrection among the inhabitants of the West, as we have already shewn in the history of this king's reign.

In January, 1504, the nineteenth of his reign, he called a parliament, in order to procure an equivalent for two ancient aids due to the crown, on account of the knighting the king's eldest son, and the marriage of his eldest daughter; (the dignity of knighthood he had conferred on his elder son Arthur, lately deceased; and had bestowed his daughter Margaret on James IV. of Scotland.) The commons, meanly obsequious to his will, desired

* Bacon, p. 602.

him to accept forty thousand pounds in lieu of those aids; but Henry, amazed at the largeness of the sum, out of his abundant grace, and to gain the love of his subjects, remitted ten thousand pounds of the money, that the poor might not be charged with it; and the rest was levied upon all cities, boroughs, and towns (those not used to pay it, included) and on all persons who had either a real estate of twenty shillings a year, or a personal one of ten marks, throughout the kingdom. The lands and tenements of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge were exempted from this tax, which was levied by an assessment of specific sums upon each county, the whole amounting to thirty-one thousand two hundred and forty-eight pounds and nine pence; out of which, two hundred and forty-one pounds six shillings was to be deducted for the fees and wages of the collectors.

Thus did this prince, through the most insatiable thirst for money that ever disgraced a royal breast, oppress his subjects to fill his coffers. Henry had no view but to get money; and it was indifferent to him by what means: this made him unfeelingly traffick with the blood and treasure of his people, loading them with taxes, and seizing all opportunities of ruining them by excessive fines: all which were, towards the latter end of his reign collected by those execrable tools Empson and Dudley, who

left no nerve of villany unstrained to drain the helpless victims of their master's avarice to the last drop. These two instruments of Henry's being lawyers in science, and privy counsellors in authority, "turned (to use lord Bacon's words, and better I cannot use) law and justice into wormwood and rapine." They, who introduced arbitrary and unusual methods of informations and proceedings, and revived every penal law, wherein they spared none, great or small, nor considered whether the law was possible or impossible, in use or obsolete; and, after suffering the accused parties to languish long in prison, without admitting them to traverse the charges according to law, they, by various artificial terrors and devices, extorted from them great fines and ransoms, which they termed compositions and mitigations." Nothing can be more melancholy than the representation which this noble author gives of the miseries of the people for fourteen years together, that these prosecutions were carried on; but neither their cries nor their sufferings caused any relenting in Henry's heart; avarice, at once the meanest and the worst of crimes, stifled in him every other sentiment: he basked in the spoils of the ruined, and stuck at nothing to amass an immense treasure, which he was at length obliged to leave behind him, to be squandered away by his son and successor.

Of the PUBLIC REVENUES.

IN the *Fœdera*, or Collection of Public Acts, vol. x. p. 113, 114, we have a curious record, exhibiting the annual revenue of the kingdom of England, anno 1421, and its application: "*Declaratio proficuorum regni, & onerum supportandorum*," viz.

R E C E I P T S.

	l.	s.	d.
" 1. The revenues arising from the custom, in the several ports of England, from wool exported,	3,976	1	2
" 2. The subsidy on wool [i. e. the inland duty],	26,035	18	8½
" 3. The small customs,	2,438	9	1½
" 4. Twelve pence per pound on goods, rated ad valorem,	8,237	10	9½
Total	40,687	19	9½

[But the printed record makes the total (by mistake) but 40,676 l. 19s. 9½d.]

" 5. The casual revenue for one year past, viz. sheriffs receipts [for the quit-rents, fee-farm rents, &c. were still received, and accounted for in the Exchequer, by the sheriffs of counties], escheats, duties on sale of provisions and on other necessities, wards, marriages, &c. paid into the Exchequer	15,066	11	1
Total revenue	55,754	10	10½

A N N U A L P A Y M E N T S.

" 1. For the annual [maritime] guard [custodia] of England, 8000 marks [or]	5,333	6	8
" 2. The like for Calais and its marches, in war time	19,119	5	10
" 3. For guarding the East and West Marches of Scotland, with Roxburgh castle, in the time of war,	19,500	0	0
" 4. For the guard of Ireland, 2500 marks, i. e.	1,666	13	4
[The smallness of this sum confirms what many writers have remarked, viz. that the entire reduction of Ireland to the laws and government of England was much neglected now, and long after.]			
" 5. For the guard of the castle of Frounsake, 1000 marks,	666	13	4
" 6. For the fees of the treasurer, keeper of the privy-seal, the judges of both benches, the barons of the Exchequer, and other officers of the king's court,	3,002	17	6
" 7. To the collectors and comptrollers of the king's customs and subsidies, in the several ports of England, for their salaries [de regardis], paid at the receipt of the Exchequer,	547	0	0
Carried forward	49,835	16	8

with Improvements



	l.	s.	d.
Brought forward	49,835	16	8
" 8. To sundry dukes, earls, knights and esquires, to the abbess of Shene, and to divers other persons, for their annuities at the Exchequer,	7,751	12	7½
" 9. To sundry persons, for their annuities, out of the customs of sundry ports of England,	4,374	4	3
" 10. For fees of the customers and comptrollers of the several ports of England, allowed them at the Exchequer yearly,	274	3	4
Total yearly payments, according to the particulars,	62,235	16	10½

Which total is just 10,000l. more than the record makes the total to be, viz. 52,235l. 16s. 10½d. probably owing to the sum for the marches of Calais, or else for those of Scotland, being set down 10,000l. too much. "And thus (saith the record) the receipt at the Exchequer exceeds the payments the sum of 3507l. 1s. 11½d. (taking the above-mentioned wrong total of 40,676l. 19s. 9½d.) out of which saving the following charges are to be supplied, viz.

- " 1. For the king's and queen's chamber (camera.)
- " 2. For the household of the king and queen.
- " 3. For their wardrobe.
- " 4. For the building of the new tower at Portsmouth.
- " 5. For the office of clerk of the king's ships (navium regis.)
- " 6. For the keeping of the king's lions, and the salary of the constable of the Tower of London.
- " 7. For the artillery and divers other necessities for the king's war.

- " 8. For the expence of the king's prisoners.
 - " 9. For the king's embassies.
 - " 10. For sundry messengers (pro diversis negociis), for parchment, and other disbursements, and other necessities.
 - " 11. For the expence of the duchess of Holland.
- "And the following articles remain unprovided for, viz. The old debts of the towns of Harfleur and Calais — of the king's wardrobe and household — of the clerk of the king's ships — and of the clerk of the king's works — for the arrears of annuities, or yearly salaries — to the executors of Henry IV's will for discharging his debts — and lastly for the present king's debts when prince of Wales.
- "This account was laid before the king, at Lambeth, by the lord-treasurer of England, in the presence of the archbishop of Canterbury and sundry other lords spiritual and temporal, and the great officers of the crown."

State of ARTS, SCIENCES, and COMMERCE, in the XVth Century.

IF we are to believe many writers, and particularly archbishop Nicholson, in his English Historical Library, and baron Holberg, in his Introduction to Universal History, this century was one of the most rude and illiterate: "Learning (says the latter author) was looked upon as a sort of heresy." There were even bishops who did not so much as know their letters; and in some of their subscriptions to synodical acts the following words are to be found, viz. "As I cannot read myself, N. N. hath subscribed for me:" or, "As my lord bishop cannot write himself, at his request I have subscribed."

All which, with respect to the ignorance of many, or even of most, of the clergy, may very probably be true; nevertheless, there are many visible traces to be discovered of the increase of real knowledge within the compass of this century; and in particular the noble art of Printing, which was not only invented, but brought to perfection, much about the same time with the most useful invention of rag-paper. William Caxton, citizen and mercer of London, an ingenious man, being sent, in the year 1464, ambassador from Edward IV. to the duke of Burgundy, at great labour and expence learned the art of Printing, and introduced it into this kingdom about 1474: he set up a press at Westminster, and was greatly encouraged in the art by Margaret, duchess of Burgundy, king Edward's sister. The monasteries soon purchased the invention, and it was exercised at Oxford, Cambridge, St. Alban's, and other places. This noble art disseminated fresh seeds of knowledge, which were continually labouring for birth. The incom-

parable science of Algebra also began to be known in this country; a science which has proved extremely useful in some calculations relating to certain branches of commerce, and probably the foundation of the excellent method of merchants accounts by double-entry, commonly called Italian Book-keeping.

This century can moreover boast of sundry other improvements for regulating and rectifying coin, and of the interest of money, all which, though not so perfectly well understood as in more modern times, were however more so than in any former century.

Engraving on wood and metal was introduced into England in this century by the famous Albert Durer: Etching was also discovered very near as early. We need not add, that both of these necessarily produced rolling-press printing.

Geographical maps were first brought into England by Bartholomew Columbus, in the year 1489: and the study of this science began daily to gain ground, through the great encouragement given by Henry VII. to persons of an adventuring spirit.

Painting was in this century greatly improved, and the art of perspective and clair obscure began now to animate the canvas, and diffuse justness and propriety through all the works of the pencil.

Sculpture, which is a more limited art, and easier to be attained, was in this century likewise carried to some degree of perfection.

Music was as yet rude, nor was it thoroughly cultivated till after the sixteenth century; but even in the state it was at the period we now treat of, we have the strongest reason to imagine that it was

very far superior to that of the Greeks, as they have left no monument of this art, by which we can gather that they sung in parts.

We find, in the Collection of Public Acts, an annuity or salary granted by Henry VII. to his poet laureat, Bernard Andreas (or Andrews) of ten marks yearly (or about six pounds modern money); a sad instance of the low esteem in which poetry was held in those times.

As to architecture, it was still in a very low state; the hand of industry had not yet changed our sorry wooden dwellings into sumptuous palaces; the thatched roofs and mud walls still remained in the streets of London; and the manner of living among the people in general, was coarse, hard, and indelicate. The greatest noblemen, when they went into the country, carried their ladies behind them on horseback; princesses themselves seldom travelled in any other manner, being covered only with a riding-cloak of waxed cloth in rainy weather. Indeed, on certain occasions, they made a momentary display or stretch of luxury; but this did in no wise imply that general magnificence, nor those useful conveniencies, which so far exceed the pomp of a single day. The magnificence of those times were only for days of public solemnity; whereas at present, the shews and entertainments which we see common every day, the number of gilt coaches, and the multitude of lamps which are lighted up during the night-time in the streets of all our great cities, exhibit far greater riches, plenty, and convenience, than the most brilliant ceremonies of the most mighty monarchs of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries.

COMMERCE.

The general mercantile characteristic of this fifteenth century is, that almost every important incident in it contributes more or less to its being an introduction to the succeeding commerce and opulence of Europe, and very eminently so to those of the British empire, which, towards the conclusion of this century, by marriages and other concurring circumstances, visibly tended to a consolidation of all its formerly disjointed parts and interests into one united dominion, by the blessings of the Almighty, in succeeding times brought to maturity.

With particular regard to the improvement and increase of commerce, navigation, and manufactures, as well as of agriculture and fisheries, and even of some mercantile and mechanic arts, this century undoubtedly excels any preceding one; witness the building of larger ships, and the undertaking of remoter voyages, even prior to the actual discovery of either of the Indies; remote isles and strange coasts discovered and partly planted, till at length new worlds being discovered, before the final conclusion of this century, sundry new and unheard-of materials for commerce and manufactures were hereby brought among us.

It may, perhaps, be deemed no unacceptable piece of curiosity to see the under-named list of English manufactures and merchandize so early exported as the year 1428. It is a licence granted by Henry VI. to the king of Portugal's agent to export them custom-free, as being for the proper use of his Portuguese majesty and of the prince his son*, viz.

1. Six silver cups gilt.

2. The following woollen goods, viz. two pieces of scarlet; one piece of sanguine, dyed in grain; two pieces deblodis (we know not what); two pieces of Mustrevillers; two pieces of marble colour; two pieces of russet of Mustrevillers; two pieces of blanch cloth of Lynn; one piece of white cloth; three hundred pieces of Essex straits; two thousand vessels of amber, being dishes, plates, saucers, &c. (this is called "electrum" in the record, but could never be pure amber, as it must have been of an immense value, but was probably a mixture of brass, or tin, or pewter, a practice formerly used to give an amber-colour to vessels and other matters made of it); two beds with curtains, of the largest size; four beds, of a middling size, with red and green colours; four red and green pallet-beds; two green beds, with curtains; eight pieces of red cloth; four pieces of green; sixty rolls or bales of worsted, red, white, and green; twelve dozen of lances, and twenty-six saddle-horses.

And the same year king Henry VI. grants the like licence to the agent of the duchess of Gloucester and Hainault, of exporting the following merchandize duty free:

Thirty-four yards of grey Mustrevillers; thirteen yards of grey cloth; seven yards and half of moray, dyed in grain; ten yards and half of red, twenty-two yards of green, six yards of white, and twenty-four yards of grey cloth; two yards and half of Brunette; twelve yards of red flowered sattin (fatyn figerato); two entire white kerseys; three mantles of coney-fur; one and half timber of martin fur; certain casks of grain and meal; and twelve yards of white cloth.

To this account of some of our exported commodities, we shall add, as matter of equal entertainment to the curious reader, the following account of the materials of commerce brought from almost every part of Europe into this country, France only excepted, with which nation England was at this time (viz. about the year 1430) engaged in an unfortunate war. It is taken from a poem in Hackluyt's first vol. p. 187, 188, &c. entitled the Process of English Policy, and is not only curious on account of its exhibiting a brief state of the then productions and manufactures of the different countries of Europe, whereby we may behold the wonderful alterations that have taken place almost every where in those respects within the space of about three hundred years, but it affords us also the satisfaction to know, that even so early as this time, the great political maxim, never too often to be inculcated, "That without our being always superior to any nation on the seas, not only our trade, but even our very existence as a free and independent nation, must be lost," was well understood; though in some other points the government seemed not sufficiently to have known their true commercial interests†.

This account is in substance as follows:

"I. From Spain came wines, figs, raisins, dates, liquorice, oil, grain (probably for dyers), soap, wax, iron, wool, wadmot, kid-skins, saffron, and quicksilver; all which (says our author) are transported to Bruges, (the then great emporium of Flanders,) by her haven of Sluys, where are so many fair and

* Anderson. Rymer's Fœdera, vol. x. p. 391.

† Anderson's Orig. of Commerce, vol. i. p. 258.

large ships: but then (says our poet) they must all pass between Dover and Calais.

"II. From Flanders the Spanish ships lade homewards fine cloth of Ypres and of Courtray, of all colours, much fustian, and also linen cloth. Thus (says he), if we be master at sea, both Spain and Flanders, who depend so much mutually on each other, must necessarily keep measures with us. And if England should think fit to deny to Flanders her wool and tin, and should also prevent the Spanish wool (which they work up with English wool) from getting to Flanders, the last named small country would be soon starved.

"III. Portugal is our friend, it sends much merchandize into England, and our people resort thither for trade. They have wines, oils, wax, grain, figs, raisins, dates, honey, Cordovan leather, hides, &c. all which are carried in great quantity to Flanders (which our author here justly terms the then staple of all Christendom); and as Portugal is counted changeable, they are in our power whilst we are masters of the Narrow Seas.

"IV. Brittany supplies Flanders with salt, wines, linen, and canvas. The Bretons, especially those of St. Maloe's (whom their dukes, who were generally friends to England, could seldom keep under due subjection), having been great sea-robbers, and often done much hurt on our coasts, landing, killing, and burning, &c. to our shame: whereas, would we keep well the Narrow Seas, they durst not be our foes.

"V. Scotland's commodities are wool, wooll-fells, and hides; their wool is sent to Flanders to be draped, though not so good as the English wool with which it is there worked up. The Scots must pass by the English coast in their way to Flanders; and therefore may be easily intercepted. Scotland brings from Flanders small mercery, (which in those times meant many kinds of small wares, &c.) and haberdashery wares in great quantities. Moreover, one half of the Scottish ships are generally laden home from Flanders with cart-wheels and wheel-barrows.

"VI. The Easterlings, Prussia, and Germany, send beer and bacon into Flanders, osmond, copper, bow-staves, steel, wax, peltry, pitch and tar, oak-boards, Cologne-thread, wool-cards, fustians, canvas and buckram. And they bring back from Flanders, silver plate and wedges of silver (which come to Flanders in great plenty from Bohemia and Hungary); also woollen cloth of all colours. They also (says our author) venture greatly unto the bay (of Biscay) for salt, so necessary for them. All which, &c. they could not do, without our permission, if we kept the Narrow Seas."

"VII. Genoa resorts to England in her huge ships named carracks, bringing many commodities, as cloth of gold, silk, paper, much woad, wool (of Spain probably), oil, cotton, roch-alum, and gold coin; and they bring back from us wool, and woollen cloth made with our own wool. They also often go from England to Flanders, where their chief staple is: so that the Genoese we have likewise in our power."

"VIII. The Venetians and Florentines, in their great gallies, bring all sort of spices and grocery wares, sweet wines, and a great variety of small wares and trifles, drugs, sugar, &c. and from us they carry home wool, cloth, tin, and our gold coins. They also deal much in usury both in Eng-

land and Flanders. — (This shews the ballance in those times was against us with the Italian republics.)

"IX. To the Brabant marts (which we call fairs), we send English cloth, and bring back mercery, haberdashery, and grocery.

"To those marts repair the English, French, Catalans, Lombards, Genoese, Scots, Spaniards, and the Irish who live there, and deal in great quantities of hides, &c." But he adds (as he says on good authority) "The English buy more goods at those marts than all other nations do all together: wherefore (says he) let us keep the sea well, and they must be our friends." And here he laments the neglect of our shipping for the guard of the sea.

"X. Brabant, Holland, and Zealand, afforded little merchandize properly of their own, but madder and woad for dyers, garlic, onions, and salt-fish; for the other rich merchandize which the English buy at the said marts come in carts over-land from Burgundy, Cologne, &c.

"XI. Ireland's commodities are hides and fish, (as salmon, herrings, and hake), wool, linen cloth and skins of wild beasts." (Here we may remark the antiquity of a linen manufacture in Ireland.)

"To keep Ireland in obedience to us is of great importance, and cannot be done without our being masters at sea. And the like may be said, as to Calais."

By an act of parliament passed anno 1463, in the third year of Edward IV. cap. iv. we find the following list of foreign manufactures prohibited to be imported into England: woollen caps, woollen cloths, laces, corsets, ribbons, fringes of silk and of thread, laces of thread, silk, twined silk in any wise, embroidered laces of gold and of silk, gold saddles, stirrups, or any harness pertaining to saddles, spurs, bosses for bridles, hand-irons, grid-irons, locks, hammers, pincers, fire-tongs, dripping-pans, dice, tennis balls, points, purses, globes, girdles, harness for girdles of iron, latten, steel, tin, or alkemine, any thing wrought of any tawed leather, furs, buskins, shoes, galoches, or corks, knives, daggers, wood-knives, bodkins, sheers for taylors, scissars, razors, chessmen, playing-cards, combs, pattens, pack-needles, painted ware, forcers, caskets, rings of copper or of latten gilt, chafing-dishes, hanging-candlesticks, chafing-balls, sacring-bells, rings for curtains, ladles, scummers, counterfeit basons, ewers, hats, brushes, wool-cards, black iron-thread commonly called and named white wire, upon forfeiture of the same; one moiety to the king, the other to the informer. Irish manufactures are, however, excepted; as also such as should be taken by sea or by wreck. Magistrates of cities and towns are hereby authorized to search for defective and unlawful wares, which shall be forfeited; excepting, however, the liberty of the dean of the free chapel of St. Martin's le Grand, in London, and its precincts. The above catalogue of merchandize may shew what manufactures were at that time brought to any perfection in England."

The fishing trade of England, for exportation, must have been considerable at this period, for in the twenty-second year of king Edward IV. anno 1482, we find no fewer than four statutes for the well packing, in casks, salmon, herrings, eels, &c. and other barrelled fish. These are some of the earliest statutes for packing fish; yet there are sundry

dry older laws for the preservation of the fry of salmon and lampreys in the rivers Thames and Medway; but these are only for home consumption.

By an act of parliament of the first year of Richard III. we find the quality and dimensions of all kinds of English woollen cloths regulated in the following manner.

"1. That no broad-cloth be put to sale, or exported, till it be fully watered.

"2. The dimensions of all kinds of cloths were directed to be as follow, viz.

"3. Broad-cloths shall be at length twenty-four yards (and to every yard an inch); breadth, eight quarters within the lifts.

"4. Half-cloths, twelve yards long, and not to exceed sixteen yards; and breadth as above.

"5. Straits, two yards long; and breadth, one yard within the lifts.

"6. Kerseys eighteen yards long; and breadth, one yard and a nail within the lifts.

"7. No setting, drawing, or tentering, of those cloths, after watering.

"8. None shall set, cast, or put on said cloths, flocks or other deceitful thing.

"9. Nor any chalk on white cloths.

"10. Nor sheerman sheer or cancel any cloths till fully watered.

"11. Tenters shall not be kept within doors, but alone in open places.

"12. No cloth shall be dyed with cork or orchel.

"13. The cloth and lifts shall be dyed of one colour.

"Excepting out of this act cloth of bay, and also cloths made in Winton and Sarum, usually joined with bay; and also plonkets, jackens, celestines, packery-whites, vesses, cogware, worsteds, florences, bastards, kendals, sayling ware, with cremil lifts and frise ware, so as in other respects they be fair and legally made*."

In the last year of the said king Richard III. we have a commission of his, appointing the first consul for English merchants in foreign parts, together with the salary allotted him, in the following words:

"We, understanding that the city of Pisa is a very proper place for the residence of our merchants, and being assured of the fidelity and probity of Laurentio Strozzi, a merchant of Florence, have and do, at the request of our merchants already frequenting Pisa, and of such as are to resort thither, appoint him to be Consul and President of all our merchants at Pisa and parts adjacent; allowing him for his trouble herein the fourth part of one per cent. on all goods of Englishmen imported to, or exported from thence†."

Henry VII. made it the chief glory of his reign to raise, cherish, and support the industrious commons, who, ceasing to live in an abject, despicable dependence on the great, sought to avail themselves of the rising arts and flowing commerce which England began at this time to enjoy. The support of agriculture was one of the measures which this great prince had chiefly at heart, because it encouraged the yeomanry, the strength and nerves of the English state, and its great barrier against the encroachments of the barons. He perceived

evidently, that the power of the latter, troublesome to the peace of the land, grew weak in proportion as the villains, who by their industry could make themselves free men, grew strong, which always happened according as commerce and agriculture prevailed: but the late civil wars had in some respects ruined agriculture almost to the depopulation of the state, and an infinite quantity of arable lands were now turned into pasture.

But this vast use of pasturage had one great advantage in it, which was the encouragement of inclosures; for it does not appear that it was then much the practice to inclose arable ground. The great art therefore was to encourage those inclosures without discouraging the practice to inclose arable land, and thus to prevent depopulating pasturages. This was done by an ordinance passed in the parliament of 1490, enacting "That all houses of husbandry that were used and occupied with twenty acres of ground, and upwards, should be manured and kept up for ever, together with a competent proportion of land to be used and occupied with it." This act, as lord Bacon justly observes, in a manner forced the occupiers of such houses as are described in the same, to raise themselves above the degree of cottagers or villains, and to become men of property and substance: it had, likewise, a farther tendency, that it raised a seminary for infantry, or foot-soldiers, and therefore prevented England from being obliged, like France and Italy, to hire infantry from other nations.

But perhaps Henry did not in any respect shew a more masterly stroke of policy, than he did in an act passed in this parliament, for the encouraging national power at the expence of national luxury. The Venetians, the Genoese, the Spaniards, and the Portuguese, not forgetting the Bretons, had, for some ages, been the carriers of all Europe by sea; the English had, indeed, cultivated navigation and commerce, but upon principles more convenient than stable; for they had in a manner naturalized all England to foreigners who should resort thereunto; and when foreigners settled here, bringing with them the spirit of commerce and industry, and their sons becoming Englishmen, it was perhaps, right policy; but the vast alteration now introduced in the system of power and property, all over Europe, joined to the dreadful effects which the civil wars in England had been attended with, prevented foreigners from settling in the kingdom, though not from resorting to it: the money therefore given as freight for imported commodities, was so much loss to the nation without any retribution, but the increase of luxury. But Henry formed a noble plan of making a public emolument from private luxury; an act therefore passed, "That no Gascoign or Guyon wine, or Thoulouse wood, should be brought into this realm but by English ships, and English masters and mariners; nor any person shall freight in a stranger's ship, to be brought into this realm, or carried forth, if he may have sufficient freight in the same port in a denizen's ship."

The benefit of commerce thus provided for, manufactures came next under consideration. In this Henry's chief care was to encourage the woollen, that staple commodity of this kingdom. The first step towards this was to repress the extravagant prices into which the great persons, and, by their

* Anderson, vol. i. p. 299. Statutes at Large, 1 Rich. III.

† Rymer's Foedera, vol. xii. p. 261.

example,



An ACCURATE MAP
of
NORTH AMERICA
Drawn from the
Sieur Robert,
with
Improvements.



G. Hall's sculp.



Longit. W. from London.

210 Longit. E. from London.

G. Haller sculp.

example, the lower sort, had run for cloaths, in which curiosity supplied the place of use, and which tended more to the encouragement of luxury, than the consumption of manufacture; an act therefore was passed, imposing a penalty of forty shillings upon any person who shall sell by retale a broad yard of the finest scarlet in grain for above sixteen shillings; or other grained cloth of the finest makings for above eleven shillings. A like act passed with regard to hatters and cappers, by which, under the same forfeiture, the price of the best hat was fixed at twenty pence; and that of the best cap at two shillings and eight pence.

Henry VII. also made it his business to take advantage of the jarring interests which prevailed on the continent, for improving the trade and commerce of his own kingdom: with this view he granted safe-conducts to all merchants, in particular those of France, to come and trade with England, and to buy up her woollen goods, tin, lead, and her other native commodities, by paying the accustomed duties to the crown.

In a treaty he made with Philip archduke of Austria, governor of the Low Countries, towards the latter end of his reign, we meet with the following remarkable articles.

"It is agreed, that the fishers belonging to either prince may securely any where sail the sea, and fish without any impediment, licence, or safe-conduct." It is likewise provided, "That the trading subjects of neither prince shall import into the harbours or dominions of either, any commodities or merchandize belonging to the enemy of that prince." And in the following article it is provided "That, in case of a shipwreck, if any person or any animal, a cat, or a dog, or a cock, should remain alive on board a shipwrecked vessel upon the coasts of either party, in that case the cargo belonging to the subjects of either shall not be deemed confiscated, but remain safe for a year and a day, till a proper claimant shall appear."

But that which distinguished this century above all other transactions in the commercial way, was the attempt made by Christopher Columbus to discover a new world. This fortunate adventurer was the son of a mechanic of Genoa, a wool-comber as is said; he had observed the improvements which the Portuguese had made in their discoveries towards the East Indies, and he had been projecting some discoveries towards the West. Having digested his conjectures and reasons why this was feasible, he laid them before his natural sovereign, the state of Genoa. Being rejected there, he applied to the king of Portugal, whose ministers, as he discovered, wanted to cheat him. He then went into Spain, from whence he dispatched his brother Bartholomew, a man of the same turn of genius with himself, into England, with a commission to lay his schemes before Henry. Bartholomew meeting with great misfortunes on his voyage, had such difficulties to be introduced to Henry, that his brother Christopher, despairing of success in England, applied to the court of Spain. In the mean while Bartholomew, having published a specimen of his genius in a Map of the World, which he projected, had admittance to Henry, who was not at all averse to commune with him, and actually entered into an agreement about employing his brother Christopher in the proposed discovery: But Henry's frugal caution, his desire to be fully in-

formed, and to be himself master of the subject, and the affairs of state which employed his head, seem to have occasioned such a delay in the execution, that Christopher Columbus actually agreed with the court of Spain; and in August, set out upon those discoveries which he made, and which (whether for the happiness or detriment of mankind, we shall not determine) are now so greatly improved.

Henry, however, let few opportunities slip of encouraging the adventuring spirit of discovery, as the surest means of upholding that taste for commerce, which was to assure treasure to his subjects and himself. On the fifth of March, 1497, he granted a licence to John Cabot, a Venetian, and Ludovic, Sebastian, and Sancho, his sons, to sail with five ships, under English colours, for discovering new islands or countries. Henry seems, when he granted this licence, not to have been himself engaged in the expence of fitting out these ships, for there is no limitation either as to their burden or number of seamen who were to go on board. Fabian says, that Cabot promised to discover a very rich island; and we are told by other writers, that the king afterwards was an adventurer himself, by causing a ship to be fitted out at Bristol, to which the London merchants added three or four more; but this expedition did not take place till next year; and Cabot's scheme seems to have been to find out a north-west passage to the Indies, which he actually attempted, and, after making several valuable discoveries, he sailed down to Cape Florida, and returned richly laden to England, where he was knighted by Henry. It is observable that Henry, in the licence he gives for this expedition, provides that Cabot should, besides the ordinary customs and tolls, pay the crown a fifth of all his nett gains. Thus Cabot in effect was the first that discovered the continent of America; for neither Americus or Columbus knew any thing of it at this time.

Upon Cabot's return, and report of the discoveries he had made on the continent of America, from whence he brought with him three savages, Henry was more than ever prompted to improve these beginnings: he knighted Cabot as a reward for his labours and success, and invited several merchants and others to enter into engagements with the crown for peopling and cultivating, under the royal patent, the discoveries which had been or might be made.

At the same time he confirmed a treaty with the city of Riga, very advantageous to the English nation; for by this treaty the citizens of Riga were obliged to cancel a debt of ten thousand six hundred nobles, which was due to them from the crown of England, upon condition that Henry should restore them to the liberty of trading to his coasts. Henry likewise this year revived his treaties of commerce, upon very advantageous terms, with the subjects of the archduke.

Not long after the return of Cabot from his American expedition, letters patent were granted by Henry to James Elliot and Thomas Ashurst, two merchants of Bristol, and John Gonzales and Francisco Fernandez, two subjects of the crown of Portugal, to sail with as many ships, and of what burden they pleased, under English colours, for making new discoveries: but there is in this charter an express provision that they shall not enter upon any

lands or territories possessed by the king of Portugal, or any of Henry's allies. It may be likewise proper to observe, that the contractors had power to punish all outrages committed by their crews and colonists, and particularly all rapes of women, inhabitants of the discovered countries. By another article, it is provided that no native of England shall, for forty years, presume to trade to any country discovered by the said undertakers, without the king's and their special leave: if, when the forty years are expired, any such trade should be carried on without the licence as aforesaid, the contraveners are to forfeit ship and cargo, one half to the king, and the other half to the proprietors. It is farther provided, that every master of a ship shall have liberty of importing from the said discovered countries four hogheads duty free; a quarter-master two, and a sailor one hoghead, for their own use.

In the year 1505, the twentieth of this king's reign, we find the first charter granted for incorporating and establishing "the merchants trading in woollen cloth of all kinds to the Netherlands, by the style of the Fellowship of Merchants Adventurers of England." By this charter they had authority given them to hold courts and marts at Calais, provided that they exacted no more than ten

marks of any merchant whatever for his freedom in this fellowship for trading to Flanders, Brabant, Holland, Zealand, &c. and also enjoining all merchants adventurers to come into the freedom of this fellowship.

We shall now close this article with an observation of the rate of living in these times, compared with that in our days. The *Chronicon Pretiosum* says, that hay was, in the year 1505, eight shillings per load, but that it had been usually five shillings per load; yet the year following it was at ten and twelve shillings per load. This seems nearly to correspond with the proportion of wheat, &c. in those days to the same in our own times, viz still nearly about one to five; for by the preceding plentiful seasons (says Stowe, sub anno 1499), wheat was so low as four shillings (i. e. six shillings of our money) per quarter; bay-salt about two shillings per quarter; and a tun of Gascon wine, two pounds: so that supposing, very probably, the mean or moderate price of wheat to be now eight shillings per quarter, or twelve shillings of modern money, this brings it to the proportion of three one-third to one in our days, forty shillings per quarter being (if every other necessary were as cheap) about the moderate price of wheat at our time.

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History of England.



S. Wale delin.

C. Grignon Sculp.

HENRY VIII.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
E N G L A N D.
F R O M

The Accession of King HENRY VIII. to the Union of the Two Kingdoms of
ENGLAND and SCOTLAND, under JAMES I.

P A R T IX.

HENRY VIII. The second King of ENGLAND of the Line of TUDOR.
A. D. 1509.

FEW princes have made a more considerable figure in history, than the monarch whose remarkable reign we are now entering upon: he ascended the throne with every advantage that nature and fortune could possibly give him. Amiable in his person and address, in the flower of youth, blessed with uncommon talents, and possessed of immense treasures, he saw himself, at eighteen years of age, at the head of a flourishing kingdom, where the arts and sciences wanted only a liberal benefactor to promote their progress; and the public tranquility being secured by an honourable peace and by powerful alliances, his people had already formed great expectations from his distinguished abilities, not doubting that he would so employ his great wealth as to make the pleasing arts of peace universally successful, and, by rewarding ingenuity and industry, free them from the cruel oppressions they had suffered in the preceding reign, to gratify the odious passion of avarice, one of the most detestable that can possess the mind of a great prince. In fact, they were not disappointed; for the young monarch was no sooner seated on the throne, than he shewed himself the reverse of his father, by a liberality of temper which bordered on profusion; but was fundamentally beneficial to his subjects, though, in particular instances, his generosity was misapplied.

His education, by order of his father, before the death of his brother Arthur, was certainly in a great measure ecclesiastic; from whence some have concluded, that the king intended, as Arthur was

married, and there was no prospect of his succeeding to the crown, to have brought him up for the church: this circumstance is very immaterial, and not worthy the attention that has been paid it, much less the disputes it has occasioned; it is certain, however, that he very early imbibed a taste for polite learning, and for theology in particular, which he cultivated ever after with peculiar attention, bestowing the closest application, whenever he had leisure from public affairs, on this particular science: and whoever examines his conduct with candour, will find that to this turn of mind is to be ascribed all his public measures with respect to religion, and not to his quarrel with the pope concerning his divorce from Catherine of Arragon, which, after all the pains that has been taken to represent it as the first cause of his shaking off the papal yoke, will appear, to the impartial, no other than a favourable opportunity which the king readily embraced, to carry into execution a reformation which the history of former reigns had shewn him the necessity of, and which a prince of his political abilities could not read but with abhorrence, and an ardent desire to free his people from the cruel impositions of a foreign ecclesiastical tyrant. This being premised, we pursue the thread of our history.

After the interment of Henry VII. with uncommon funeral pomp, in the stately mausoleum he had erected in his life-time, in his own chapel in Westminster abbey, the first prudent action which did honour to the judgment of the young monarch,

was

was his continuing his father's ministers and counsellors in their offices. The board was composed of the following persons, William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury and lord-chancellor of England; Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, secretary and lord privy-seal; Thomas Howard, earl of Surry, lord-treasurer, son of the duke of Norfolk, slain in the battle of Bosworth-field, fighting for Richard III. George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, lord-steward of the king's household; Thomas Ruthal, doctor of laws; sir Edward Poynings, knight of the Garter, comptroller, whose name is still famous for a statute of his in Ireland, in the former reign; sir Charles Somerset, lord Herbert of Gower, Chepstow, and Ragland, lord-chamberlain; sir Thomas Lovel, master of the wards and constable of the Tower; sir Henry Wyat; sir Henry Marney, afterwards lord Marney; sir Thomas Darcy, afterwards lord Darcy. These the lord Herbert, in his History of Henry VIII. tells us were selected out of those the late king had most trusted, by the countess of Richmond, grand-mother to the young monarch. But though Henry, as being little experienced in the ways of government, was pleased to make use at first of those who had been at the head of affairs in his father's life-time, yet it is to be observed, that when these grew over-bearing and insolent, presuming too much on the king's youth and inexperience in affairs of government, he soon convinced them that by continuing his father's servants he did not intend to make himself so many masters, and dismissed them with the same good policy that he at first continued them.

The late king, on his death-bed, had signed a general amnesty, but with some exceptions: this was published soon after his interment, but, to the great joy and satisfaction of the people, Dudley and Empson, the two grand instruments of oppression in the late reign were excluded, and a proclamation was issued, inviting the people to prefer complaints against them; so that in a short time there appeared sufficient evidence of their grievous extortions, and they were summoned to attend the privy-council, when Empson made a defence, wherein he threw the whole blame upon the late king, insisting that they had only obeyed his orders. Though this was true in fact, yet it was not considered, even in these early days of liberty, as any extenuation of their offence; but the letter of the law not expressly condemning them as felons for this species of extortion, the council were obliged to commit them to the Tower, and determine on a fresh accusation, which was that of a treasonable conspiracy against the new king, upon which they were tried and condemned, but without such sufficient evidence of their crime as the law, in such cases, requires: indeed, the whole foundation of a charge which was swelled into high-treason appears by the testimony of the best historians to have been this, "That, conscious of the popular odium they had incurred by their unjust proceedings, they had summoned their friends, when they found the late king was on the his death-bed, to consult them on the necessary measures to be taken to secure them from the public resentment." These measures were construed into a conspiracy to seize the person of the new king,

and to take up arms in defence of themselves and their party. On the supposition of this absurd and improbable conspiracy they were condemned to die; but their execution was delayed till the following year, 1510, when the executors of the late king having discovered some very flagrant acts of oppression, made restitution to the injured parties; and these transactions being made public, the people were so incensed against them, that the king ordered their immediate execution.

The seizing of these wicked ministers, and the proceedings against them, fully engaged the attention of the common people; but the court had a more important question to canvas, which required the maturest deliberation, and the most able advice. This was no less than "Whether the king should consummate his marriage with Catherine of Arragon, to whom he was solemnly contracted?" But it must be observed, that the king, when prince of Wales, at the age of fourteen, had protested against any consent on his part to this contract, made for him by his father in his nonage; and this protestation was made in the presence of sufficient witnesses, but was kept a profound secret for many years after the period we are now considering: it is necessary to mention it here, because it appears probable that Henry VII. whose motive to this contract was avarice, had some scruples concerning the legality of the contract in point of proximity.

The council which decided this grand question consisted of the late king's ministers and counsellors, and amongst these was Fox, bishop of Winchester, a zealous prelate, violently bigotted to the papal authority: his opinion greatly contributed to determine the king and council in favour of Catherine; for when Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, urged that a man's marrying his brother's widow was contrary to the Levitical law, and that the pope's dispensation, though obtained, was invalid, as being insufficient to cancel a positive law of God; Fox, who regarded only the political convenience attending this match, opposed to this argument the unlimited authority of Christ's vicar, and told the king, that it ought to satisfy his conscience that the pope had granted the dispensation. To this idle sophistry he added some arguments founded in sound policy, and which shewed him an able statesman: he represented the danger of forcing Ferdinand into a league with France, and the two monarchs joining to resent the affront offered to the king of Arragon by sending back his daughter, after she had been so long affianced to Henry; and, what is very remarkable, which we shall have occasion to mention again, when we come to the proceedings for the divorce, the bishop, after enlarging on the amiable qualities of Catherine, assured the king, that there was no doubt of her being still a virgin, for that she had offered to submit to the usual decision of a jury of matrons, for the confirmation of this point. The archbishop of Canterbury, finding that the king and council inclined to the opinion of the bishop of Winchester, gave up the point respecting the validity of the dispensation, and the king soon after consummated this marriage, which afterwards engaged the attention of all the courts of Europe*.

* The council determined this weighty affair on the third of June, 1509; they were married the seventh, and crowned the twenty-fourth of the same month. On this occasion

the king created sir Edward Howard standard-bearer of England.

As Henry was very young, newly married, and fond of pleasure, he gave little attention to the affairs of government; and the nation enjoying a profound peace, the internal policy of the state was well preserved by the vigilance and experience of the ancient ministers and of the council; while the king spent his whole time in such pleasures and amusements as were then in vogue; and to procure him these, no cost was spared. This the bishop of Winchester could not bear, without complaining to the earl of Surry, the lord high-treasurer, and expostulating with him on his great change of conduct; whereas in the late reign he was reckoned more parsimonious than the king himself, he now readily gave into his new master's extravagancies, and encouraged him in all his profusion. The prudent prelate finding his remonstrances ineffectual, that his murmurings gave disgust, and judging that his dismissal would soon follow, artfully contrived to preserve his interest at court, when his credit should be totally lost, and personal attendance withdrawn: for this purpose he introduced at court the famous Dr. Thomas Woolsey, as almoner to the king's household; a place which the bishop still had credit to procure him, especially as he could plead his former services; for having recommended him, in the late reign to sir Thomas Lovel, in the same capacity, he was by his means employed in negotiating the marriage of Henry VII. and Margaret, duchess of Savoy, upon which occasion, though he gave a convincing proof of his talent, he was not however, considered as yet in any other light than that of a rising churchman.

This young clergyman, set up by the bishop of Winchester as a proper spy to watch the motions of the earl of Surry, who had brought on the prelate's disgrace, afterwards made as conspicuous a figure in the eyes of Europe, as Henry himself.

The most remarkable public events during the first year of this reign were the renewal of the treaties concluded between Henry VII. and the king of Scotland, and between the emperor Maximilian and the king of England, which were ratified and confirmed about the middle of this year; about the same time, Henry having nominated Christopher Bambridge to the archbishopric of York, that prelate went to Rome to solicit the pope's confirmation of his election, where the king continued him in the character of his ambassador, to watch the motions of pope Julius II. a pontiff of a daring and enterprising genius, who was on the point of entering into a confederacy with the most powerful princes of Europe, with a view to recover some dominions which the republic of Venice had seized from the Ecclesiastic State, in the time of his predecessors.

The emperor Maximilian, Lewis XII. king of France, and duke of Milan, Ferdinand king of Arragon and Naples, and the duke of Ferrara, had all much the same complaints and the same pretexts to engage them in a league against the Venetians, who by force and policy had increased their domains at the expence of each of these princes, and were now become so formidable that no one power in Europe durst attack them separately: each therefore, with a view to recover what he pretended was his just right, and to add to it the spoils of conquest, engaged secretly to assist the rest; and this shameful confederacy was ratified by treaties signed at Cambray, from whence it became customary in

history to call this infamous piece of treachery, perfidy, and cowardice, the famous League of Cambray. The better to deceive the unsuspecting republic, it was pretended that the congress at Cambray was only held for settling a difference amicably between the emperor, as guardian to Charles of Austria, and the duke of Gueldres; but as this artifice soon lost its effect, a treaty of perpetual peace was signed and published, between the pope, Lewis XII. the emperor, and Ferdinand; and this was declared to be the end of the congress; while at the same time, the secret treaty against the Venetians was signed, and, in a very short time after, suddenly carried into execution. For just before the death of Henry VII. namely in the beginning of April, 1509, Lewis took the field with a powerful army, and, entering the territories of the republic on the side of Milan, in a short space of time made himself master of Cremona and five other capital cities, after having routed the army of the Venetians, undisciplined, and collected in haste, under the command of count Petigliano: this success of the French so intimidated the towns situated on the Istria, which the republic had taken from the empire, that they submitted to Maximilian: at the same time the pope's army fell upon la Romagna, and reduced its cities to the obedience of the holy see: the duke of Ferrara recovered Rovigo; and Ferdinand paid off an old debt by recovering the five maritime towns in the kingdom of Naples, which had been mortgaged to the Venetians, who in one campaign were dispossessed of their extensive territories, and reduced to the single city of Venice and its dependencies. It is true Ferdinand alone had not tried his strength against them, but when they were so reduced by the other confederates as to be obliged to sue to the pope for pardon and peace, they were obliged to offer Ferdinand the five maritime towns, in order to draw him off from the league.

Lewis having accomplished his views, withdrew his army and returned to France, only sending off a detachment to support the emperor, who had not men enough to garrison the places that had submitted to him: in the mean time the Venetians made their peace with the pope; and the emperor having made an unsuccessful attempt on Padua, he retired to Germany, and sent home the French general; by which conduct the republic enjoyed a short truce, and had time to continue their negotiations with his holiness, already grown jealous of the union between the emperor and the king of France, and apprehending more danger to the ecclesiastical territories from these powerful princes than from the once flourishing republic of Venice, and imagining there was a private treaty between them to get possession of all Italy, he formed the project of breaking the league of Cambray, of disuniting the powers engaged in it, of forming an alliance with the Venetians on certain conditions, of engaging the king of England in his interests, and of fomenting a quarrel between the emperor and the king of France.

Whilst Julius was employed in forming these projects, the parliament of England assembled, on the twenty-first of January, 1510, when the first care of the commons was to represent several grievances, occasioned by the rigour of some statutes in force, which gave too great a power to the ministers of the crown to oppress the people,

even under the protection of the law: these were so mitigated and explained in this parliament, as to prevent all abuses of them by future ministers. During this session of parliament, Lewis sent ambassadors to London, to renew the treaties made with the late king, which the young monarch and his ministers had neglected, though, by the tenor of the treaty of Estaples, on the death of Henry VII. it was his successor's business to apply for the renewal of this treaty. Lewis overlooked this omission, and fearing, as Henry was a young and sprightly prince, he might be engaged in some enterprize against his dominions, either by the persuasions of the pope or the emperor, he ordered his ambassadors to conclude a new treaty with him, without mentioning former treaties: by the present it was agreed, "that the peace between the two king's should last till the death of one of them; that it should be ratified by the parliament of England and the states general of France; and that the pope's approbation should be obtained, with a sentence of excommunication against the first violator of the treaty*."

In the mean time the pope was maturing his plan, first against Lewis, and afterwards against the emperor, in case he should not bring him over to his party: his first care was to endeavour to excite all the states of Europe against France; and, in order to engage our young monarch in his favour, he bestowed on him this year a most singular mark of apostolical favour: he sent him a consecrated golden rose, which the popes used to present only to their most favourite princes; and Ferdinand having at length taken the pope's party, proposed an artful treaty of alliance with his son-in-law, the king of England, which he had reason to expect would, by its consequences, draw him into a war against France; for in this treaty which was concluded and signed at London on the twenty-fourth of May, 1510, it was expressly stipulated, "That in case either Henry or Ferdinand should be attacked by any prince whatever, the other should be obliged to declare war against him, though he should then be his ally: and that if either was attacked by the king of France, the other should be obliged to take the field against him in person."

This treaty reflects great dishonour on the ministers of Henry, who had just concluded a new treaty with Lewis, which secured their master from any attacks from France, consequently there could be no necessity for providing for a danger there was no reason to apprehend, by a treaty wholly in favour of Ferdinand, and likely to engage the nation in an unnecessary foreign quarrel; but the English court at this period was wholly taken up with pleasure and amusement, which would not admit of leisure to deliberate and weigh every article of a treaty.

In the midst of the general dissipation of the court, when each was vying with another in the magnificence of carousals, Wolsey was privately forming the plan of his future grandeur. He already began to attract the king's favour, and was this year promoted to the deanery of Lincoln, and to this was added a present of a country-house, which had fallen to the king by the confiscation of the estate of Empson, lately beheaded: but it certainly is an error to rank Wolsey amongst the mi-

nistry at this period †, for it is no where asserted, that he was even of the king's council; nor is it probable that if Wolsey had been in power, he would have made so bad a use of his political abilities, as to have given his consent to so weak a treaty as that concluded with Ferdinand, the consequences of which will soon appear, as we must return to the affairs of Italy, which are intimately interwoven with those of England, throughout the major part of this reign.

The pope's plan being ripe for execution, he quarrelled with Lewis XII. on the most frivolous pretext, by disposing of a vacant bishopric in Provence, without asking the king's consent. Lewis complained of this proceeding: the pope insisting strenuously upon his apostolical authority, and Lewis standing up as stiffly for his independence, this produced an open rupture; the pope now openly declared the league he had entered into with the Venetians, and sent his orders to the duke of Ferrara to renounce the league of Cambray and join with him. But the duke refused to comply with his commands, and continued steady to the king of France; this gave Julius a handle to interdict him and confiscate his duchy: and, that his intention might be the better known, he refused the tribute which the duke offered, as usual, for the fief of Ferrara, held of the see of Rome.

Ferdinand, in order to support the pope's interest, to whom he had united himself, used all his endeavours at this time to draw Henry from his alliance with Lewis, who all this time never suspected the Arragonian prince, but concluded, from the repeated assurances of his ambassador, that he still firmly adhered to the treaty of Cambray.

While Ferdinand was thus working in secret, the pope stirred up a new enemy against France, by engaging the bishop of Sion, who was in great credit with the Swiss, to set them at variance with Lewis, by demanding an augmentation of their subsidy: on Lewis's refusal, and entering into an alliance with the Grisons, their enemies, they immediately fell into the bishop of Sion's measures, and, in a diet at Lucerne, resolved to declare for the pope, and to send an army into the duchy of Milan.

The pope carried on these negotiations with so much privacy and expedition, that Lewis, when he found the papal army was in the field, imagined it was designed to act solely against the duke of Ferrara, and therefore he only sent orders to his general, Chaumont, governor of Milan, to support the duke in case of an attack: but soon after, the Venetian fleet, in conjunction with the pope's forces, making an unsuccessful attempt to surprize Genoa, his eyes were immediately opened to the grand designs that were forming against him by Julius, in conjunction with Ferdinand and the Venetians, and therefore lost no time in sending fresh instructions to the governor of Milan. Chaumont received his new orders very seasonably, for hearing that the pope was arrived at Bologna, and intended to lay siege to Ferrara as soon as the reinforcements he expected should arrive, he resolved to surprize him, and accordingly departed from Milan, at the head of a powerful army, and, if he had not suffered himself to be amused by treating with the pope's envoys, in all probability he would

* It was signed at London, on the twenty-third of March, 1510.

† See Smollett's History, Hen. VIII. have

have put an end to all the projects of this enterprising pontiff; but, while he was busy in hearing proposals, some Venetian troops had time to throw themselves into the castle, and Chaumont not being prepared for a regular siege, was obliged to retreat.

The pope loudly complained of this pretended insult, and ordered his ministers to expatiate largely thereon in every court of Europe, but particularly at London, in order to engage Henry to espouse his cause: he also excommunicated all the French officers; and soon after made a second attempt, in conjunction with the Venetian fleet, upon Genoa, but without success: and the Swiss army, that was to enter the Milanese, under the conduct of the bishop of Sion, finding the passes into that country well defended, and not being paid by the pope according to agreement, dispersed and returned home.

Lewis at last, having tried every means to obtain a reconciliation with the pope, and finding all his proposals were rejected, determined no longer to keep any measures with him; and therefore forming a new alliance with the emperor, he afterwards assembled a synod at Tours, that he might have the sanction of their authority for his future conduct. The synod determined, that Lewis should offer fresh terms of reconciliation to his holiness; and that, in case of a refusal, he might attack him with a safe conscience. This decree obtained, and Julius still refusing to come to an accommodation, Lewis concluded a second treaty with the emperor, whereby it was resolved to summon a general council to meet at Pisa, in order to depose Julius; and for this purpose they gained over nine cardinals, who agreed to call the council in their names.

At the same time the French king published his complaints against Ferdinand of Arragon, for his behaviour in assisting the pope; but Ferdinand defended himself by maintaining, that, in quality of vassal to the see of Rome, he was bound to protect the pope's person and dominions; that he did not consider the disputes between France and the pope, but only firmly adhered to the articles of the treaty of Cambray.

While things were in this situation, Henry of England was revelling in pleasures, which, however, received some little damp in the beginning of the year 1511, by the queen being brought to bed of a son in January, which died the following month; and it was soon after this event that Henry first saw himself under a necessity of attending to the important affair of Italy; and, with an impetuosity of temper equal to his want of judgment and experience, allured by the charms of conquest, he blindly embraced the artful proposals of Ferdinand who, to engage him the more readily to enter into the confederacy against France, promised to assist him in the recovery of Guienne, which had formerly belonged to the crown of England; and while a treaty for this purpose was negotiating at London, Henry endeavoured to maintain a good understanding with the king of Scotland, appointing ministers to settle all differences between them; but a singular event gave rise to a fresh disagreement, and finally determined James to support Lewis against the confederates, and to oppose all Henry's measures. The subject of this quarrel between England and Scotland was the taking of a Scots vessel which had committed some

acts of piracy in the British Channel, seizing and destroying all Portuguese ships that passed that way, in revenge for the murder of a private person (one John Barton, a Scots merchant), by the Portuguese, an act which that government by no means authorized; and yet James had the imprudence, on account of this transaction, to grant commissions to the son of the deceased (whom he also knighted by the name of sir Andrew Barton), for equipping two large frigates, to cruise in the British channel, and obstruct the trade between Portugal and England. The ambassador of Portugal complained loudly of this insult at the court of London; and Henry thereupon ordered out two ships of superior force, under the command of sir Thomas and sir Edward Howard, to fight the Scottish pirate. They met, and an engagement ensued, in which Barton was slain, and his ship taken. The king of Scotland demanded restitution and satisfaction, for what he termed a breach of treaties; but Henry alleging that pirates were not entitled to the law of nations, James in return vowed revenge.

This affair gave Henry a fair opportunity of arming the militia of the kingdom to prepare against an invasion from Scotland, while in reality he was meditating a war against France. On the other hand, the king of Arragon, afraid to push matters too far at once, represented to Henry his ardent desire to continue the war he was engaged in against the Moors, and desired a succour of a thousand English archers, which were immediately sent him, under the conduct of sir Thomas Darcy. Having received this aid, he plainly discovered his intentions by employing it, and the rest of his forces, against France, and not against the Moors as he had pretended.

At the same time the ambassadors from the Venetians at London, and the archbishop of York, Henry's ambassador at Rome, who had lately obtained a cardinal's hat, so strongly pressed the king and council to engage in the league against France, that at length they prevailed; and Henry, forgetting the ties of honour and equity, renounced his late alliance with France, and impolitically entered into the selfish views of the pope and Ferdinand. Lewis, though unacquainted with the transactions between the kings of England and Arragon, yet had a suspicion that the pope was secretly forming alliances, and that he had some more extensive plan in view than the conquest of Ferrara; and knowing that he could gain little or nothing by a war with the haughty pontiff, while on the other hand he had much to lose, he determined to attempt once more a reconciliation: to this end he made him some condescending proposals by Chaumont, his general, while he lay before Mirandola; but Julius, knowing how strongly he was supported, rejected them with disdain, and continued the siege till the town surrendered.

The king of France finding his holiness would not listen to any terms of accommodation, ordered Chaumont to lose no farther time in fruitless parleys, but at all events to support the duke of Ferrara. The French general, accordingly, by forced marches, though in the depth of winter, joined the last-mentioned prince. This seasonable activity so disconcerted the pope and Ferdinand, that, though their forces were superior to those of the French, yet they durst not order an attack; and the pope, in order to fix Maximilian on his side,

put

put into his hands the important city of Modena, which Chaumont was preparing to besiege; and from this time the emperor appears to be greatly estranged from the cause of France. The king of Arragon, however, still dissembled with Lewis, and would not declare against him till he was quite sure of Henry; and, to gain time, while the secret treaty was finishing at London, he affected to be well disposed to peace, and proposed a congress at Mantua. All parties having agreed, the congress was opened, but with no other view on the part of the allies than to amuse the French king, whose forces were victorious, while they were secretly strengthening the confederacy by the acquisition of Henry. Thus was Lewis overpowered by stratagem, at a time when his army, flushed with success, and dreaded by the allies, might have made its way through the whole Ecclesiastical State, and have reduced the pope to the last extremity. At length, however, he ordered the marshal de Trivulcé, who had succeeded Chaumont, lately deceased, to fall upon the enemy by surprise: Trivulcé accordingly surprised and took Concordia, at the very time when, by consent of the emperor and Ferdinand the summons was published for calling the council of Pisa, in order to depose the pope; and afterwards by continual marches he came up with the army of the allies, and offered them battle, but in vain; he then resolved to approach Bologna, where the pope was in person, with a view to engage the inhabitants to rise in favour of the family of Bentivoglio, who had been formerly sovereigns of Bologna. The pope on his approach retired to Ravenna, leaving his prime minister to take care of the city. He was no sooner gone than the inhabitants, agreeable to Trivulcé's expectations, raised a tumult, obliged the cardinal de Pavia, the pope's agent to fly, and restored the government of the city to the Bentivoglios; while this was transacting, the army of the allies approached the gates, and finding the pope and the cardinal were fled, they followed the example; and the citizens and peasants falling out, entire stripped their camp, which rendered the army unfit for service during that campaign. The cowardly cardinal was stabbed by the duke d'Urbino, his nephew; while his holiness had the sensible mortification of returning to Rome, attended only by a few domestics, and of seeing the placards for holding the council of Pisa, in which his character was severely handled, stuck up in all the towns and villages through which he passed.

The duke of Ferrara, improving the favourable juncture, easily recovered his dominions; and it was generally imagined that Lewis would soon become master of Rome. Instead of this, through scruple of conscience, being urged by the queen not to oppose the church too far, he ordered Trivulcé to retire to Milan; and the pope now saw himself reduced to the necessity of proposing an accommodation to Lewis, who readily agreed to his terms, which were rather those of a conqueror than of a vanquished prince: but while the emperor's consent (which Lewis insisted on) was obtaining to this accommodation, his holiness received the welcome news that Ferdinand's fleet, destined to assist him, was arrived at Naples, and immediately altered his measures, demanding such fresh concessions from Lewis, as left him no room to doubt that his whole aim in this negotiation was to gain time. This

prevarication highly exasperated the king of France, who immediately ordered his general to send strong detachments to Bologna, and firmly to support the Bentivoglios; he also added a reinforcement to the emperor's troops in the state of Venice, and took every precaution to prevent a surprise by Ferdinand, whom he now regarded as his declared enemy. The pope, on the other hand, having advice that Ferdinand had nearly gained over the king of England, determined to summon a general council, in opposition to that of Pisa; accordingly he published a bull for holding a council at the Lateran, at Rome, on the nineteenth of April, 1512, whereas that of Pisa was summoned for the first of September, 1511; so that the subsequent council of the Lateran was contrived to annul the proceedings of that held at Pisa.

The affairs of Italy now remained in a very perplexed situation: the pope and the Venetians only were at open war with Lewis XII. while Ferdinand and the pope had promised secretly to assist each other against France, yet waited for the junction of Henry, and in the mean time mistrusted a separate accommodation with Lewis.

At length Ferdinand, being most suspicious of an accommodation between France and the pope, saw himself under a necessity of openly avowing his intentions, and accordingly he sent his whole armament, which he pretended was destined for Africa, to Naples, and declared that he would defend the church against the insults of Lewis; and soon after Henry promised to enter into this unjust confederacy; as for the emperor he remained quiet at Inspruck, neither absolutely forsaking Lewis his ally, nor yet acting agreeable to treaty against the confederates, but seemed determined to wait the event, and take part with the most powerful. While this was transacting, the cardinals who were in opposition to the pope, appointed commissioners to open the council of Pisa, and though this was only for form sake, that the appointed day of opening it might be observed, yet the pope was so enraged at it, that he excommunicated the Florentines and Pisans, and put the cities of Milan and Pisa under an interdict; which only hastened the actual assembly and sitting of that council for the dispatch of business on the fourth of November; and on the eleventh following, Ferdinand having by his secret negotiations, at length fixed the court of London in the pope's interest; it was agreed, that Henry and himself should send ambassadors to the court of France, to demand a cessation of all hostilities against Julius, and to declare in case of refusal, that, as became Christian princes, they would support the cause of the church. Lewis having been long prepared for this rupture, returned an answer becoming his dignity, and loudly inveighed against the perfidious conduct of Henry and Ferdinand; and soon after, viz. on the fourth of October, 1511, a league was concluded at Rome by the pope, the king of Arragon, and the Venetians, and spaces were left in the league to be filled up by the king of England's minister at Rome; but he was ordered not to accede to the treaty at this time, the court of London expecting to obtain some secret articles from the pope in favour of England; but a circumstance happened in the interim, which prevented all farther delay, and engaged Henry to sign the league without waiting for any better terms for his own kingdom: for John d'Albret, king

king of Navarre, being in strict alliance with France, declared for the council of Pisa, which furnished the king of Arragon with a pretext for depriving him of his kingdom; and the better to put this design in execution, he represented to Henry, that this was a favourable opportunity for recovering and restoring to the crown of England the province of Guienne, which had formerly belonged to the English, and he generously promised to furnish the necessary troops and ammunition, to save Henry the expence of transporting them from England. Deceived by this offer, and the too common ambition of sovereigns, the hopes of extending his dominions, the English monarch entered into the league, which by good policy he ought to have avoided, not only as the peace lately renewed with France was a very advantageous one for England, but as, by diverting the arms of that kingdom and turning them against Italy, he was secured in the quiet possession of his own kingdom, which had been continually exposed to invasions from France. The league at Rome being now ratified, in a short time a separate treaty of alliance was signed at London between Ferdinand and Henry, in the preamble to which they very indecently and unjustly accuse Lewis "of impiety, and represent him as a sacrilegious person, who had violated the peace of the church, and waged a civil war against the vicar of Christ; and that, having attempted in vain to engage him to desist from his cruel hostilities against the holy see, they had entered into a solemn league and alliance for the defence, exaltation, and increase of the catholic faith and of the holy Roman church, so unjustly oppressed: and for this purpose it was mutually agreed, that they should distress the king of France by carrying war into Guienne, which should be conquered for the king of England, to whom it justly belonged; that they should adhere to the council of Lateran, and oppose that of Pisa and all its adherents; that neither king should make peace without consent of the other; that this treaty should not cancel those which the two princes had formerly concluded; and that it should be ratified in four months*."

In this state, with regard to England, stood affairs in the year 1511. Very little of importance then passed with relation to domestic concerns: Henry was chiefly employed in spending the money left him by his father, and in all the parade of magnificence. His favourite seat was Greenwich, and his chief companions were William Compton and Charles Brandon (the latter of whom was afterwards the famous duke of Suffolk), sir Edward Howard, Edward Neville, Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorset, with Bouchier, earl of Essex, and Courtney, earl of Devonshire.

But before we close the transactions of this year, it is necessary that we should give some account of two expeditions set on foot from England, in the beginning of this year. Henry had granted an as-

sistance of a thousand archers to Ferdinand, to be employed against the Moors, and to be commanded by the lord Darcy, governor of Berwick. He also sent sir Edward Poynings, with a body of forces consisting of fifteen hundred men, who were to be employed by Margaret, duchess of Savoy, against the duke of Gueldres, in the Low Countries.

The lord Darcy embarking at Plymouth in the month of March, landed safe at Cales (or Cadiz), in Spain, where he was received by Ferdinand with great friendship and magnificence; but about the time he arrived, that prince had altered the destination of his troops, and was bent upon his Italian expedition. The lord Darcy received the declaration of this with no little dissatisfaction, which communicating itself to the English soldiery, occasioned some disturbances in the town, and about the beginning of August the troops returned to England.

As to the forces under sir Edward Poynings, they sailed from Sandwich about April, and joined the French army at Bois le Duc. A few days after their arrival they had an opportunity of shewing their courage in several encounters and attacks of places; but the enemy keeping themselves on the defensive all the time the English were in that country, the latter, as soon as the time limited for their service expired, desired and obtained leave to return home, which they did about the middle of October, with the loss of above one hundred men.

On the fourth day of February, 1512, the parliament of England sat: at the opening of the sessions a very plausible speech was made in behalf of the king, with regard to the part he had taken in the present disturbances of Europe. Perhaps the members were not insensible of the error in politics which he and his council had committed; but as the honour of the nation was now engaged, and as the public entertained a very high opinion of Henry, the commons granted him a handsome supply, and the clergy did the same.

Thus strengthened, the king, upon the rising of the parliament, entered into serious deliberation with his council, on the best methods for prosecuting with vigour the war against France; and Silvester, bishop of Worcester, and sir Robert Wingfield, being sent as ambassadors to the council of Lateran; the next measure resolved upon, was concerning the operations of the approaching campaign, by sea and land. Sir Edward Howard, eldest son of the earl of Surry, had, upon several occasions, given great proofs of his abilities in the sea-service, and was therefore appointed lord high-admiral of England.

The indenture entered into between the king and the admiral on this occasion is very particular, and affords us great light as to the manner of fitting out fleets at this time; the reader therefore cannot be displeased at seeing in the note † a part of this indenture, especially as very few historians have given any particular account of the state of the

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xiii. p. 310, &c.

† I. Besides three thousand men, armed for sea-war, there were to be seven hundred soldiers, mariners, and gunners, in the ship called the Regent. The above three thousand men consisted of the eighteen captains of the English ships, seventeen hundred and fifty soldiers, and twelve hundred and thirty-two mariners and gunners.

II. The admiral to have, for the maintenance of himself in diet, and for wages and reward, ten shillings daily pay, dur-

ing the voyage; and each captain one shilling and six pence per day, i. e. two shillings and seven pence of our modern money.

III. The soldiers, mariners, and gunners to have per month, or twenty-eight days, five shillings wages, and five shillings more for victuals.

IV. The admiral undertakes to manage his armament for the before-named and following allowance, he receiving three months expence always beforehand. Item, for the coat of every

the marine in these days. Indeed, from this year we may properly date the commencement of what may be called an English navy-royal, that is a number of stout ships for war actually belonging to, and permanently kept on foot by, the English crown for natural defence, Henry VIII. being the first English king who effectually pursued this plan, and for that end first established a royal navy-office, with commissioners, &c. nearly as at present: and, according to lord Herbert, the king built, in the preceding year, the largest ship ever known in England before; it was built at Woolwich, which place is said to have had the first or oldest royal dock of any place in England. This is the ship which in the indenture is called the Regent. The next year a magazine and store-house was first erected at Deptford, near London, which has since become a large town. But to return.

Every thing being now in readiness for the expedition, the marquis of Dorset was appointed general of the land forces, and had as officers under him, the three brothers John, Anthony, and Leonard Grey, the lord Thomas Howard, the lords Brooke, Willoughby, Ferrers, and Burford, sir Richard Cornwall, sir Maurice Berkeley, sir Griffith Rice or ap Rice, and many other persons of great distinction and courage.

But here I must observe, that Ferdinand acted with his usual policy and deceit; for when he first proposed the affair of Guienne to Henry, he promised to furnish him with troops and ammunition for the conquest; but after he found that Henry greedily swallowed the bait, he contrived in the late treaty to change these proposals, by agreeing to furnish only his quota of troops, and to provide forty transports and ammunition, provisions, &c. at a moderate price.

The fleet was got ready with such expedition, that in May following it put to sea, and landed the troops in the province of Guipuscoa in the middle of June. The English admiral, in his return, made some successful descents on the coast of Brittany; and Henry learning that Lewis had fitted out a powerful fleet, sent a reinforcement to Howard. Soon after the French fleet sailed from Brest, and met the English in the Channel, when a general engagement ensued, the decision of which was prevented by a most rash and desperate action of one of the captains of the French fleet, named Porrmoguere, who, being grappled by the great English ship the Regent*, and finding himself overpowered, madly set fire to his powder-room, which blew up

both ships, by which every person on board them perished, to the amount of sixteen hundred. This dismal catastrophe so affected both parties, that the engagement ceased; the French retiring to Brest, and the English remaining in the Channel.

The marquis of Dorset being ignorant of Ferdinand's intentions, was surprized to find, that, instead of pursuing the conquest of Guienne, that prince gave such instructions to his general, the duke d'Alva, as plainly shewed his whole aim was to conquer Navarre for himself; for the Spanish general, instead of joining the English army, which was encamped near Fontarabia, with a design to besiege Bayonne in conjunction with Ferdinand's forces, as had been agreed, kept moving about the frontiers of Navarre; and Ferdinand sent to the English general, to acquaint him, that as the king of Navarre was supported by France, he thought it would not be adviseable to attack Bayonne till they had taken some measures about Navarre, because, while they were carrying on the siege, the king of Navarre might call in the French, and, by encamping between the mountains of Navarre and the sea, prevent all supplies of provisions passing to the camp before Bayonne: on these considerations he said he judged it necessary to try to gain the king of Navarre to their party, before they undertook the siege. The English general, not suspecting any deceit, readily agreed to these proposals, and sent an English officer to the king of Navarre, to desire him to join the allies; while Ferdinand, who knew his attachment to France, sent him a summons to join them, couched in such terms as, he was well convinced, would only be treated at best with great coldness; however, his answer was very moderate, having resolved to observe a strict neutrality. But Ferdinand, not content with this, insisted on his declaring in their favour, or delivering up four capital places as a security that he would not act against them. This proposal was rejected with the contempt it merited, and in the mean time a French army approached the frontiers of Bearn, which obliged the marquis of Dorset to remonstrate to Ferdinand, that the time expended in treating with the king of Navarre had given the French leisure to approach and defend their frontiers; and insisted, that he should declare if he would attack Guienne agreeable to the treaty of London. Ferdinand replied, that, in the present posture of affairs, he could not send his army to the siege of Bayonne, and leave his own dominions defenceless and a prey to the incursions

every captain and soldier, four shillings; and of every mariner and gunner, one shilling and eight pence.

V. For the dead shares of the said eighteen English ships the admiral was to have as follows, viz.

	Tons burden.	Dead shares.
For the Regent, being	1000	four pilots 50
the Mary Rose	500	— 34½
the Peter Pomegranate	400	— 28
John Hopton's ship	400	Dead shares needless to be mentioned.
the Nicholas Rude	400	
the Mary George	300	
The rest of the eighteen ships were,		
One of 240 tons	Two of	140 tons
One of 200	Three of	120
Three of 160	One of	100
One of 180	One of	70

Moreover, for re-victualling and watering the said eighteen ships (they are here nineteen) the admiral was allowed two crayers, viz. one of sixty-five tons, and the other of fifty-five; in the former, twelve mariners and a boy, in the latter, ten and a boy, besides their commanders; each of the masters

and mariners to have ten shillings per month (as before) for wages and victuals.

VI. All the soldiers and sailors to have six pence per day for conduct money, allowing a day's journey to be twelve miles only.

And forasmuch as our sovereign lord, at his own costs and charges, victualleth the said army and navy, the said admiral shall therefore reserve for the king one half of all gains and winnings of the war, which he and the fleet, or any of them, shall fortune to obtain in the voyage, either on land or water; and also all prisoners, being chieftains; and one ship royal of two hundred tons or upwards, with the ordnance and apparel of every prize to be taken by them. Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xiii. p. 326, 327.

This English fleet was, by agreement, to guard the seas from the Channel to the Streight's Mouth of Gibraltar; and king Ferdinand's fleet was to do the like in the Mediterranean. It was about this time that ships began to be reckoned by guns and tonnage jointly, gunners being now the first time mentioned in the *Fœdera*.

* Commanded by sir Thomas Knevet.

of

of the French and of the subjects of the king of Navarre; that it was more for their joint interest to pass through Navarre and secure three or four considerable places, in order to prevent the enemy making use of that kingdom against him; he therefore requested that the English would advance and join the duke d'Alva; that his army should make the vanguard, and be exposed to the greatest danger; that in the mean while the siege of Bayonne could not be said to be retarded, but rather hastened by the securest means, for that the king of Navarre only wanted to be hard pressed, in order to save appearances, when he should enter into the league. To this the English general replied, that he had no instructions to act offensively against the king of Navarre; that the duke d'Alva might march his army through that prince's dominions, and take possession of his towns, if he thought proper; but that he should remain where he was. Ferdinand still persisted in his design, and while he was endeavouring to bring over the English general to join his army, he ordered d'Alva to invest Pampeluna, the capital of Navarre, which soon surrendered, and the king took refuge in France, where he entered into an offensive and defensive treaty of alliance with Lewis, to whom, however, he was obliged to make several concessions, and in particular to cede to him the town of Salvatierra and all Bearn. After the surrender of Pampeluna, Ferdinand, instead of sending d'Alva to join the marquis of Dorset, ordered him to pursue his conquests, so that the English army served as an army of observation, intimidating the French from attempting to succour Navarre, while the Spanish general subdued the greatest part of that kingdom without molestation.

In the mean time Ferdinand artfully dispatched a messenger to London, to amuse Henry with a different representation of the state of affairs, and to request him to order the English to join his army. Before this order, which Ferdinand obtained from Henry, could reach the marquis of Dorset, the duke d'Alva had taken St. Jean de Pied de Port, and then Ferdinand, content with his acquisitions, made a shew of joining the English army, and proposed to march directly to the siege of Bayonne; but that able general, the marquis of Dorset, now refused in his turn, alleging that it was become impracticable, as the French had gained time to entrench themselves between Bayonne and Salvatierra; and even the garrison of Bayonne must, during these delays, have provided themselves with every thing necessary for a long siege; besides, the situation of the French was such, that he must hazard the loss of all his army by crossing the river Bidasoa. Ferdinand was apprized of all these obstacles, but was willing, if possible, to throw all the blame on the marquis, who at last was highly incensed at his conduct, and, perceiving his army daily diminished through sickness and scarcity of provision, he demanded transports to convey them to England; these were granted by Ferdinand with an appearance of discontent, but as he had gained his point in subduing Navarre, which he now annexed to the crown of Spain, it is not to be doubted that he secretly rejoiced at the voluntary retreat of the English army.

Before the embarkation took place, the marquis was taken ill, and was succeeded in command by lord Howard, who received an order from court

for the English army to remain all the winter where it was, and to obey Ferdinand in all his directions; but these now produced a mutiny in the army, which insisted on embarking; and when they arrived in England, the king was at first greatly incensed against the marquis of Dorset; but when the proceedings of the whole campaign came to be fairly stated, he too plainly perceived that Ferdinand had shamefully imposed upon him and his impolitic ministers; and of this he was more fully convinced towards the end of the year, when he saw that prince in full possession of Navarre, and pretending to maintain himself in it by virtue of a bull from the pope, who had excommunicated John d'Albret, king of Navarre, for adhering to the council of Pisa, and had declared a right of possession in favour of the conqueror. Henry, though undeceived by these measures, was forced in his turn to dissemble, being apprehensive that Ferdinand would make his peace with Lewis.

While Ferdinand was making himself master of Navarre, the confederate army, consisting of the pope's forces, those of the Venetians, and a detachment of Ferdinand's, under the command of the vice-roy of Naples, undertook the siege of Bologna, at the pope's express desire, contrary to the sentiments of the vice-roy and of the general of the Venetian army: but Gaston de Foix, duke of Nemours, governor of Milan, coming to the relief of the place with a powerful force, the allies were obliged to raise the siege: and, in a few days after, the same general defeated the Venetian army, and at length totally routed that of the allies; but it cost him his life, for he was slain in pursuing the vanquished too warmly, after he had gained a complete victory.

After his death, la Palisse took the command of the army, and made himself master of Ravenna; upon which all the towns belonging to the pope in la Romagna voluntarily surrendered to the cardinal de St. Severin, who was legate in the French army from the council of Pisa, now removed to Milan. This rapid success of the French threw the cardinals of the pope's party at Rome into such consternation, that they publicly petitioned Julius to make peace with France; but the pope probably knew that the affairs of France were on the decline, and that the council of Pisa would have little or no weight when that of the Lateran was opened, for he persisted in refusing to offer any terms of accommodation, and only made his forces advance to prevent the French marching to Rome, which they might easily have done, if la Palisse had not judged it more for his master's interest to oppose the progress of the Swiss, who, encouraged by the cardinal of Sion, had entered the duchy of Milan with sixteen thousand men; this engaged la Palisse to fly to the assistance of that country; leaving only a small detachment, under the conduct of St. Severin, to defend his new conquests in la Romagna. In proportion as the French army retreated from the pope's dominions, his holiness assumed his accustomed haughtiness and implacability, and he now resolved to open the council of Lateran, and to refuse every offer of peace: he next proceeded to excommunicate Lewis, and laid France under an interdict; his pretence for this severe sentence was the detention of his legate at Milan, where, though a prisoner, his authority so far prevailed, that the inhabitants of that city refused

fused to acknowledge the authority of the council removed there from Pisa. In the absence of la Palisse all the towns of la Romagna once more submitted to the pope; Ferdinand was become master of Navarre; and Lewis was obliged to have an army in Bearn, in order to prevent the English invading Guienne; besides this, the emperor was secretly agreeing to withdraw from France a body of German troops, lent to Lewis for the defence of the Milanese: thus the affairs of Lewis grew every day more desperate, and la Palisse, finding himself too weak to defend the duchy of Milan against the Swiss army, after the emperor had recalled his troops, was obliged to send for the remainder of his army, which he had left under the command of the cardinal St. Severin for the defence of la Romagna.

The Swiss army having obtained the emperor's permission, marched to Trent, and thus entered the duchy of Milan by an indirect road, which the French did not suspect, as the emperor was in alliance with Lewis; by this means they avoided all the passes which la Palisse had strongly guarded, and having joined the Venetians, they marched directly to Milan, which totally disconcerted the measures of the French general, who, not being strong enough to give battle to the united army of the Swiss and Venetians, was forced to retire into the fortified towns, and there wait for relief from France; which not arriving as he expected, he found it was in vain to attempt the defence of that country, and therefore retreated with his army to France: upon this the council of Pisa was once more removed to Lyons, the prelates that composed it following the motions of la Palisse, for their own security.

After the retreat of the French, the whole duchy of Milan surrendered to the Venetian and Swiss army, except Parma, Placentia, and Reggio, which were ceded to the pope; and Alexander Bentivoglio once more abandoned Bologna to the mercy of his holiness, who, by this revolution, in a short space of time saw his affairs totally retrieved, by the French being entirely driven out of Italy: but, for the completion of his wishes, there still remained the following changes to take place; the restoration of the Sforzas to the duchy of Milan, the expulsion of the duke of Ferrara, the restoration of the Medici at Florence, and the driving the Germans and Spaniards out of Italy. For this end he procured a congress of the allies to be held at Mantua, where it was agreed to restore Sforza to Milan, and to re-establish the house of Medici at Florence. In consequence of this agreement, the army of the allies approached Florence, and compelled the inhabitants to admit the Medici as citizens, but not as governors; but the cardinal de Medici entering the city, by virtue of the new agreement, while the army of the allies were at the gates, he took that opportunity of raising a sedition in his favour, by means of which the gates were opened to the allied army, and the government was vested in the house of Medici as before their banishment.

Having gained these points, Julius, flushed with success, determined to lose no time in accomplishing the rest: for this end a second meeting of the allies was held at Rome, but he could obtain nothing of the Venetians, who would not act against the duke of Ferrara, because he was supported by Ferdinand. He then endeavoured to bring about an accommodation between the emperor and the Venetians; but in this he was likewise unsuccessful, owing to

the hard terms proposed by the emperor: and when he found there was no other method of completing his ambitious views, and probably that one of these powers might recal the French into Italy, he entered into an unjust league, offensive and defensive, with the emperor against the Venetians. The emperor, on his part, engaged to become a principal in the treaty formerly made at Rome, between Ferdinand, the pope, Henry of England, and the Venetians, who were by this treaty to be excluded from the former; he also promised to renounce the authority of the council of Pisa, and to abandon the duke of Ferrara and the family of Bentivoglio. This treaty being ratified, the bishop of Gurck, the emperor's minister, renounced, in the next assembly of the Lateran council, the authority of that of Pisa, and annulled all the former proceedings of his master in its support.

To return to the affairs of England. It is remarkable, that in all these revolutions in Italy, and in the several negociations consequent thereupon, the principals in the league at Rome seemed wholly to forget that Henry was of their party, so that he was merely considered as a necessary agent to carry on the designs of the pope and Ferdinand; yet, though he was not so much as mentioned in any of the transactions, after the emperor and the pope had concluded their treaty, they, in conjunction with Ferdinand, once more formed a scheme for imposing on the youth and inexperience of the English monarch, and, through the corruption or weakness of his ministry, succeeded a second time. It was represented to him, that, having driven the French from Italy, they now intended to unite their forces and turn them against France, promising to give Henry all proper assistance to recover Guienne and Normandy. In consequence of these offers Henry sent ambassadors to Brussels, with full powers to enter into a league with the pope, the emperor, Ferdinand, and Charles of Austria, sovereign of the Netherlands, against the king of France: and the parliament being assembled in November, readily granted a subsidy for the support of this confederacy; while the pope, the better to enable the king to carry his arms into France with expedition, sent over a plenary indulgence to all his subjects who should voluntarily assist him with their persons or estates.

Henry, that he might be able to prosecute this war without being interrupted by his neighbour, the king of Scotland, sent ambassadors to his court, with assurances that he would on his part inviolably adhere to the treaty of peace subsisting between them: but the affair of Barton, and the detention of his ships, had deeply affected James, who only waited a proper opportunity to resent it, and the intended expedition against France seemed to offer him a favourable one, since England would be drained of men and money for this impolitic enterprise: accordingly he secretly treated with Lewis, and agreed to make an incursion into England as soon as the English should land in France; and, by way of preparing matters for a rupture, he equipped a fleet, which he sent over to the continent, under colour of paying a compliment to the queen of France; but it was disabled, and some of the ships lost, in a storm. But when Henry soon after declared war against Lewis, the secret was divulged; for a treaty was suddenly signed between France and Scotland, which had been long concerted. Upon

on this Henry sent ambassadors to Scotland, under pretence of settling all differences between the two crowns, but in reality to observe the preparations that were making by the king of Scotland to assist Lewis, and also to procure a copy of the treaty with France: which they effected*; and then Henry, finding a war with Scotland was inevitable, gave a commission to the earl of Surry to levy an army in the North of England, and to act against the Scots, if they attempted to enter England with an armed force.

Of all the allies concerned in the confederacy against France, the king of England alone had serious views upon that kingdom: the pope's sole aim was to destroy the council of Pisa, to seize on the possessions of the duke of Ferrara, and in process of time to drive the emperor out of Venice, with whom he was allied only from the motives of interest; his only design therefore, with respect to France, was to find her employment at home: the king of Arragon wanted only to secure Navarre: the emperor, who was naturally covetous, was endeavouring to sell his friendship to the highest bidder, as occasion offered: the Venetians were endeavouring to put an end to a destructive war, on the best terms they could obtain from the emperor by the strength of money: consequently, while Henry was making ready for his expedition, these allies were separately contriving the means of accomplishing their particular views, without any regard to his meditated conquest of Guienne and Normandy.

The first proof of this treachery was given by the emperor, who, early in the year 1513, proposed a new league with France, offering to assist Lewis in recovering the duchy of Milan, if that prince would aid him against the Venetians; he likewise demanded the second daughter of Lewis for Charles of Austria, his grand-son; but to this proposal, terms were annexed that were so inconsistent and incompatible with the interest of France, that they argued both extreme weakness and arrogance in Maximilian, and were treated with that indignation they justly merited: but they had one good effect in favour of Lewis, for the Venetians, who earnestly desired an union with France, listened to terms of accommodation as soon as they found the emperor was attempting to be before-hand with them. While the treaty was negotiating between France and the Venetians, the grand promoter of the confederacy, pope Julius II. died in the midst of his preparations against the duke of Ferrara, and by his death gave a new turn to the system of affairs in Europe, as will be seen in the sequel.

He was succeeded by the cardinal John de Medici, the same who, in the preceding year, had restored his family to the government of Florence: he assumed the name of Leo X. and, though while a cardinal he had disapproved of several of the violent measures taken by Julius, yet he seemed now determined to pursue his plan with regard to the affairs of Italy. He was doubly interested to keep the French from returning into that country, not

only on account of the ecclesiastical dominions, but for the security of the house of Medici; and he was equally incensed against the council of Pisa. In this situation of affairs, all the allies animated Henry to pursue the war against France; and, the better to persuade him of the sincerity of their friendship, they entered into a new treaty at Mechlin. This treaty was christened by the name of the Holy League against France, and we have a copy of it in Mr. Rymer's Collection †, containing in substance as follows:

" I. The first article of the confederation made between the pope, the emperor, and the kings of England and Arragon, against Lewis XII. was to be friends of the friends, and enemies of the enemies, &c. to give mutual aid, at the charges of the demandant.

" II. To denounce war, after thirty days after the date hereof, and within two months to invade him, viz. the pope in Provence or Dauphiné, the emperor in some other fit place, the king of England in Aquitaine or Guienne, Picardy or Normandy, the king of Arragon in Bearne, Languedoc, and Aquitaine: not to desist from any hostility, or make any truce, without common consent.

" III. That the subjects of the confederates serve not the enemy, under pain of losing life and goods.

" IV. That the emperor (if he hath not yet done it) shall recal the authority by him given to the schismatical cardinals and their conventicle, and within a month after the date of this, signifying his pleasure, shall void and nullify all their proceedings and acts in the same.

" V. The pope shall, at the request of the confederates, fulminate his ecclesiastical censures against all that oppose this league.

" VI. The king of England shall give the emperor (towards the great charges he shall be at) one hundred thousand crowns.

" VII. Yet the emperor, by this treaty, will not engage his grand-child Charles (now under his tuition) into this war with Lewis."

Lewis, as a counterpoise to this league, entered into alliance with the Venetians, and immediately sent an army into Italy, under the command of la Tremouille, on whose approach Sforza abandoned Milan, and left the duchy open to the French army, who took possession without opposition; and, much about the same time, Alviano, the Venetian general, took several considerable places, and the French interest prevailing at Genoa, Lewis was again put in possession of that government. But a quick revolution succeeded this short success; for Tremouille being repulsed at the siege of Novarra, and afterwards totally defeated by the Swiss, Sforza returned to Milan, and the French lost Genoa; and, to add to their misfortunes, the Venetian general was defeated, and the state, terrified by these two accidents, referred themselves to the pope, imploring his protection of their affairs.

By this time every thing was ready in England for the expedition to France, and Henry's eyes were at last opened to the many impositions that

* It was expressed in the treaty ratified by both kings, " That whereas before the kings of Scotland and France were obliged to assist one another, in opposition to the English, or such as should offer to invert the hereditary right or succession to their respective crowns, they became now bound to aid and assist one another, and even in person if occasion should require it, against all who may live and die; that is, the king of Scotland, rather than his allies, the king of France and the duke of Gueldres, should perish, undertook, in conjunction with

them, to make war against the pope and all Italy, the emperor and all Germany, the king of England and his formidable dominions of England and Ireland, the king of Arragon and all Spain, the governesses of the Netherlands and all Holland, Brabant, Flanders, &c. the state of Venice, the cantons of Switzerland, &c." The original is preserved in the Public Register Office in Edinburgh.

† Vol. xiii. p. 354.

had been practised on him, not only by foreigners but his own ministers: the aspiring genius of Wolsey, who had lately been advanced to the dignity of a privy-counsellor, where he soon discovered his great talents for public affairs, put the bishop of Winchester, who had placed him about the royal person, upon seizing this opportunity to instruct his creature in the method of securing the king's favour, and of increasing his confidence in him, by which the good bishop hoped to obtain the advancement of Wolsey, and the removal of the king's favourites. This was soon after effected; for Wolsey, having gained the esteem of the king, by complying with all his foibles, and by humouring him in his passions, he took the liberty of remonstrating to him on the ill conduct of affairs; and fully convinced Henry how greatly he had been abused, both at home and abroad. The king finding that an able minister was wanting, to recover his affairs, rightly judged that the properest person for this office was the man who had been capable of discovering to him the insufficiency of his former council: accordingly from this hour Wolsey was entrusted with the administration of public affairs; and for the following seventeen years managed all the king's business, both at home and abroad; with what success, will be seen in the course of the history.

The first hostilities against France commenced at sea. Admiral Howard having attacked some French galleys, under the command of Pregent, an able sea officer in the service of Lewis, during the engagement, the admiral's ship having grappled Pregent's galley, he boarded her sword in hand, and threw the French into great confusion; but unfortunately the galley having disengaged herself from the English, the admiral was left on board with a few attendants, and in the confusion was knocked overboard with a handspike, and killed, before it was known who he was. The loss of the admiral so intimidated the English, that they immediately tacked about, and bore away for their own coast. The French, encouraged by the success of this action, and being joined by some ships from Brest to reinforce them, approached the coast of England, and made a descent, but in a small body, in Sussex, where they did some trifling damage, and then retired to their fleet. Henry appointed the late admiral's brother, sir Thomas Howard, to succeed him in the command of his fleet.

Shortly after, Henry came to the knowledge of a truce which Ferdinand had entered into with Lewis for one year, and to which his good father-in-law had made him a party, without giving him the least intimation of such an unexpected measure. Upon this Henry sent an ambassador to upbraid him for his perfidious conduct, and to insist on his fulfilling the treaty of Mechlin. Ferdinand still pleaded his integrity, urged the necessity of his affairs, which had forced him into this truce, desired Henry to agree to it, and promised to fulfil all his engagements at the expiration of this truce: but Henry had now a minister that was not to be amused in this manner: and shortly after, the emperor having sent the king of England a frivolous

excuse for not observing his part of the treaty, this year it was resolved that England should carry the war into France alone; and thus Ferdinand equally betrayed Lewis and Henry, for the former, trusting to the truce, had sent his best troops into Italy, and left his own dominions exposed to the invasion from England.

Resolved not to lose the fruits of the great preparations which had been made for the French expedition, and which were now nearly completed, Henry, on the second of May this year, issued a commission for a general muster of the army. The marquis of Dorset was made lieutenant-general under Henry himself; the earl of Shrewsbury was appointed to command the first column; the lord Mountjoy, William Atclyff, and Miles Gerard, were ordered to take up transports, which were to rendezvous at the ports of Dover, Sandwich, Winchelsea, Hastings, and Rye; and lastly, queen Catherine was appointed guardian of the kingdom during Henry's absence: her commission for this purpose was very ample, having command given her over all the troops in England, and a power, in conjunction with five noblemen, of taking up money upon loan, and giving security for the sums to be employed for raising and maintaining forces*.

The sea was now open and safe for Henry and his army: it was, however, warmly debated in the council, how far it was proper for the king to expose his own person in the expedition; but his vanity getting the better of all other considerations, he determined to hazard every thing in pursuit of what he called glory, the council consented, and the last orders were given for the transports to put to sea. At the same time Henry, willing to oblige his favourite, Charles Brandon, who had greatly endeared himself to his royal master by his sweetness of temper and many personal accomplishments, and who, though with all the appearance of seeking pleasure only, indulged a noble ambition, gave him a very high post in his army, created him viscount Lisle†, and raised him next year to the dignity of duke of Suffolk. Wolsey, though already jealous of the least competitorship in Henry's esteem, yet was so won by the captivating frankness of this young courtier, that, instead of opposing, he closed with Henry's bent towards him, and found a conveniency in his sovereign's having such a friend, with whom he could amuse himself during those hours which might have else been uneasy to the minister, and it was resolved that both of them should attend the king in his French expedition; Wolsey in the character of almoner of the household.

Nothing now remained but to provide for the peace of the kingdom, in case of the worst event, by putting the unfortunate earl of Suffolk, still a prisoner in the Tower, to death. His brother Richard de la Pole was at that time in the French service, which has made some historians conjecture, that Henry put the earl to death in resentment for his brother's serving against him; but it is more probable that the king was determined to prevent the succession of the crown falling to the house of York, in case of his own death during this expedition: and if we believe the French writers, it

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xiii. p. 368, 369, &c.

† On the fifteenth of May, 1513. His uncle, William Brandon, standard-bearer to Henry VII. at Bosworth-field,

was slain by king Richard III. himself. Dugdale's *Baron.* vol. ii. p. 299.

was in consequence of Henry VII's dying commands to his son. However this might be, it is certain that Henry was inexorable to all entreaties in the earl's favour, who lost his head upon Tower-hill on the twenty-ninth of April.

About the beginning of June this year, two divisions of the English troops were embarked, and safely landed at Calais, where they remained till the seventeenth of the same month, when an order came from court for their marching towards Terouenne, a town of Artois, situated on the Lys, six miles from St. Omer's. The place was at this time strongly fortified, and had in it a garrison of between two and three thousand men, under Telegni, seneschal of Rouvergne, and Anthony de Crequy. Upon the approach of the English army, on the twenty-second day of June, within cannon-shot of the place, the enemy's artillery played so furiously upon them, that the baron Carew, master of the ordnance, was killed by the lord Herbert's side. The English, however, sat down within a mile of the town; the earl of Shrewsbury on the north-west and the lord Herbert on the east. By this disposition they invested the place so as to cut off the garrison from all relief, and to maintain their posts till they were reinforced. And here it will not be improper to take a review of the number of these forces, and the names of their commanders, who were sent from England to prepare the way for Henry.

The first division consisted of eight thousand men, and was commanded by George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, and Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby, attended by Thomas Docwra, lord-prior of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, Robert Radcliff, lord Fitz Walter, the lord Hastings, the lord Cobham, and sir Rice ap Thomas, captain of the light-horse. The second division was headed by the lord Herbert*, lord-chamberlain of the household, under whom served Piercy, earl of Northumberland, the earls of Kent and Wiltshire, the lords Audley and Delewar, the barons Carew and Curson, with many other knights and gentlemen. This division consisted of six thousand men.

About the thirtieth of June Henry set sail in person for Calais, with about four hundred ships in his company, commanded by Hopton, gentleman-porter to the bed-chamber, for the lord-admiral, Thomas Howard, was then employed in the North against the Scots. Upon his arrival at Calais he was complimented by the ambassadors of the emperor, the dukes of Savoy, and the duke of Brunswick. The troops which Henry brought over with him, and which formed the third division of his army, consisted of about twelve thousand men; the vanguard was commanded by Charles Brandon, viscount Lisle, and Henry Bouchier, earl of Essex; the centre by the king himself, under whom served Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, sir Edward Poynings, and sir Henry Guilford as standard-bearer. As to the rear-guard it seemed rather for parade than use, being chiefly composed of retainers belonging to the two great churchmen who waited

upon Henry in this expedition, Fox, the old bishop of Winchester, and the rising favourite, Wolsey. The English army had also a noble train of artillery, among which the French historians mention a very fine set of cannon called the Twelve Apostles. The king, considering how far the river Thames was exposed to insults from foreign enemies, gave orders before his departure for erecting a platform of cannon at Gravesend, and another opposite to it on the Essex shore, where Tilbury Fort now stands.

Henry remained some days at Calais, attending the success of the siege of Terouenne, under the earl of Shrewsbury and lord Herbert. These generals sent advice that the duke of Longueville was on his march to relieve the place, upon which Henry hastened to the siege, and arrived before the town on the fourth of August. A few days after the emperor desired a conference with the king, between Aire and Terouenne, after which Maximilian served in the English camp as a volunteer, and even submitted to receive pay for his service, his avaricious and selfish views leading him to any means, however despicable, to compass his designs. The duke of Longueville approaching Terouenne, the king passed the Lys with the main body of his army, and an engagement ensued, which was but of short duration, for the French, without any motive to be assigned for their conduct, made a precipitate retreat, particularly the cavalry, which gave occasion to the calling this skirmish the Battle of the Spurs†. The principal officers, endeavouring in vain to rally their forces, chose to surrender themselves prisoners of war than follow this shameful example. After the battle, the besieged, despairing of succours, surrendered at discretion, and, on the twenty-fourth of August, the king entered the city, attended by the emperor and his illustrious prisoners, the duke Longueville, the chevalier Bayard, and other French officers of distinction. By some secret agreement between the king and the emperor, to whom Henry seems destined to be the eternal dupe, the city was delivered into the hands of the latter, who ordered it to be razed to the foundation; which shews that he did not submit to serve as a volunteer in the English army, but in hopes of an ample reward; and it is more than probable, that the flattering Henry's vanity at his first appearance in the field, by doing him this signal honour, procured him the cession of Terouenne, to the surprize of every one.

The next place Henry resolved to attack was Tournay, which at this time was in a weak and defenceless state; and while the preparations were making for this siege, the king went to Lisle to pay a visit to Margaret of Austria, who governed the Low Countries. He staid with her three days, and then joined his army on its march to Tournay; and soon after the emperor left the king, upon some disgust: so that what most historians have asserted, that the siege of Tournay was undertaken through the emperor's intrigues seems entirely groundless, especially as Tournay appeared to be an easy conquest, the garrison being thin and ill provided; whereas Boulogne, which they imagined he would have attacked, if he had considered his own interests

* Charles Somerset, natural son by Joan Hill, of Henry duke of Somerset (who lost his life in 3 Edward IV.) married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of William Herbert, earl of Huntingdon, by reason whereof he bore the title of lord Herbert, and as such had summons to parliament, 1 Henry VII. 3 Henry VIII. He was lord chamberlain to Henry VII. and

continued in the same office to king Henry VIII. From him are descended the present Somersets, dukes of Beaufort.

† Because the French made more use of their spurs than their swords. Rapin. It is also called the Battle of Guinegate. It was gained on the sixteenth of August, 1513.

before those of the emperor, was well fortified and had a strong garrison. Tournay surrendered in a few days after the king appeared before it; and on the fifteenth of September the king entered the city, having granted very favourable terms to the inhabitants. It being resolved in a council of war to keep this place, the king appointed sir Edward Poynings governor, and gave him a strong garrison: and, some time after, he gave the administration of the bishopric to Wolsey, the French prelate having refused to swear fealty to him.

The day after the king entered Tournay, Margaret of Austria, attended by the archduke Charles, her nephew, for whom she held the government of the Netherlands, paid a visit to the English monarch, to congratulate him on the success of his arms. For several days the king entertained his guests with the diversions of those times, as tilts, tournaments, running at the ring, &c. and, amidst all these amusements, a treaty was set on foot between Henry and the emperor, on the part of his grand-son Charles: by this treaty, which the king signed at Lille, the emperor agreed "to keep a strong force in Artois and Hainault, for the joint defence of Tournay and of the Low Countries during the winter; and Henry, on his part, agreed to pay for the maintenance of these troops the sum of two hundred thousand crowns. It was also agreed, that Henry should carry the war into Guienne, Normandy, or Picardy, before the first of June, 1514, and that the emperor should attack some other province of France: and that, before the fifteenth of May in the same year, the emperor, Margaret, Charles, the king and queen of England, and the princess Mary of England, should meet at Calais, to celebrate the nuptials of the archduke with the princess Mary, pursuant to the treaty concluded by the emperor and the late king of England."

Having thus settled the operations of the ensuing year, the king prepared to return to England. In the mean time Ferdinand, thinking his credit was still good with the king, sent an ambassador to him, with proposals for a new treaty: but he was no longer attended to; for, on the seventeenth of October, the king left Lille, and, on the twenty-fourth of the same month, arrived safely in England, highly satisfied with the success of his first campaign.

It is now necessary to take a view of the transactions of Lewis, in opposition to the dangers he was threatened with from every quarter. The misfortunes of the campaign in Italy, joined to the progress of the English arms, and an invasion of the Swiss, threw his affairs into so desperate a situation, that he was obliged to compound with the Swiss army, already entered into Burgundy, for the sum of four hundred thousand crowns, and to think of a reconciliation with the pope; as the first step towards which he renounced the council of Pisa, which was now grown very thin; and Leo X. not having any personal enmity to him, this measure soon effected a reconciliation. This renunciation was solemnly made in the tenth session of the council of Lateran, in the month of December, 1513, and effectually took away all pretext from the kings of England and Arragon for levying war against him. The pope, being reconciled to Lewis, wrote a letter to Henry, wherein he referred to one he had sent him on his accession to the pontificate, exhorting him to peace, which exhortation was now

strongly urged and enforced, as Henry had avowedly taken up arms for the defence and support of the church, which he had happily accomplished by his victories, and therefore it was reasonable he should lay down his arms. This second letter effectually undeceived Henry, who had been so long blind to his own interest; he now plainly saw that all the allies, himself excepted, having accomplished the particular designs for which they had engaged him in a war with France, were now determined to leave the whole weight of it upon him; the consequence of which was, that Henry from that instant formed a resolution to conclude a peace with France, without so much as consulting his perfidious allies.

The king's foreign affairs being thus happily settled, his next care was to put an end to the war with Scotland, which, during his absence, had declared itself against England, under pretence of an ancient alliance with France, which obliged that nation to assist France whenever the king of England should invade that country. The war with England was carried in the Scottish parliament by a great majority, but not without a warm and sensible opposition from those who had the true interest of their country at heart; but the French interest, and their money prevailed. However, to preserve some form of decency, James wrote Henry a letter, which was delivered to him at the siege of Terouenne: it contained complaints of sundry grievances, demanding immediate redress, and threatening a declaration of war if he did not desist from his designs against France. Henry's answer was delayed, on account of the siege, till the twelfth of August, and it is probable that he saw from the contents of James's letter, that it was mere matter of form, and that no answer that could be given would divert the king of Scotland from taking this favourable opportunity of invading England, for which he had been making such considerable preparations before the king passed over to France. Henry, in his answer, warmly reproached the king of Scotland for entering into a war with England on so frivolous a pretext as that of assisting France; he set before him the fate of the king of Navarre, who had just been deprived of his dominions for engaging unnecessarily in the quarrels of France; at the same time assuring him, that he had received such early intelligence of his base designs, that he had taken care to provide for the security of England against all his attempts, before he quitted it; and he concluded with vowing revenge on every occasion.

It is plain that James had no serious intention of accommodating his differences with Henry by means of the letter he wrote him; for, without waiting for an answer, he took the field in August, and entered Northumberland at the head of sixty thousand men. The first place he took of any note was Norham castle, which surrendered to him after a siege of six days. The earl of Surry, pursuant to the king's commission before he went to France, had levied an army of twenty thousand men, and was then in Yorkshire; with this army he immediately marched to meet the Scots, and on the fourth of September, having advanced near enough, he sent to offer battle to the king of Scotland, who answered the herald, that he would accept it in three days. The herald, on his return, reported, that the king of Scotland was encamped in a very advantageous

advantageous situation on the ridge of Mount Cheviot; that there was but one narrow field by which to approach him, and that all the ordnance were placed at the foot of the hill to defend this pass. On this representation, the earl of Surry changed his resolution, and determined not to give the Scots battle till they should quit this situation. The English army not appearing on the day appointed, the king held a council of war, in which an old nobleman advised him to retire to Scotland with his booty, telling him that he had done enough to fulfil his engagements with France; and that it was not prudent to hazard a battle with the English in their own country; and that, in serving France, Scotland was not to be neglected merely to please the French ambassador, who wanted others to undertake hazardous enterprizes to relieve his master from his present difficulties. This prudent advice was over-ruled, and the king determined to take the first favourable opportunity of giving battle to the English. In the mean time the earl of Surry, in order to draw the king from his advantageous post, marched his forces along a river which separated the two armies, and made a feint to enter Scotland by way of Carlisle, the river leading to that city. James, observing this motion, set fire to his camp, and marched his troops along the opposite side of the river: the wind happening to drive the smoke directly in the faces the Scots, the earl of Surry took advantage of this happy circumstance, and forded the river almost unperceived, which obliged the king of Scotland to draw up his army in great confusion, and possess himself as fast as possible of a place called Floddon Field: to add to the earl of Surry's good fortune, king James's army was greatly lessened by desertion; for many, disliking the removal of the camp, and approving the advice given by some of the nobles, and by the queen, of returning to Scotland, had absolutely followed it, with the forces under their command; of this number were the earls of Angus and Hume†. In this situation the earl of Surry attacked him, and, after a very sharp and well-fought battle, the English army gained the victory; but as the battle continued till night, and the slaughter was very great on both sides*, the English were not sensible of their success till the next morning, when they found themselves masters of the field. The circumstances of this battle are variously reported, the event alone remains indisputable; for which reason we shall only add, that on all hands it is acknowledged that king James fought with great bravery, and often refused to retire when pressed to it on account of his personal danger: whether he fell in the battle, or was slain afterwards by treachery, still remains undecided; however, a dead body, supposed to be that of the late Scottish king, was found, and conveyed to London in a leaden coffin, where it remained for some time unburied, till Henry had obtained per-

mission from the pope to have the funeral rites performed, his holiness having excommunicated him for taking part with France, in opposition to the church. James IV. had made a will before he took the field, in consequence of which, on his demise, his queen Margaret was made regent during the minority of his eldest son, who was but two years old when his father lost his life. He was immediately acknowledged king, by the name of James V. and the queen-mother, who was Henry of England's sister, wrote a letter to her brother, on his return from France, to desire him not to pursue the war during her regency; in consequence of which the king ordered the earl of Surry to withdraw his forces, and the affairs of Scotland gave him no farther trouble at this time.

It has already been observed, that Henry, towards the close of the year 1513, had taken a resolution to enter into a treaty of peace with France, and as the remainder of this year affords nothing worthy of notice in England, the time being passed away in continual rejoicings and amusements, on account of the king's late victories, it will be proper to consider the state of affairs abroad, that we may form a better idea of the peace with France, which took place in the following year.

After Lewis was reconciled to the pope, and had procured him to write a letter to the king of England, recommending an accommodation with France, renewed the negotiation which had been begun at Lisle with the emperor, concerning the marriage of his daughter Renée with Charles of Austria. This gave the pope fresh uneasiness, as by this treaty Milan must have fallen into the hands of the French; and therefore he joined with the Swiss in labouring to settle the family of the Sforzas in that duchy. The chief aim of the Venetians was to obtain an honourable peace with the emperor, which they despaired of, in this case, without the assistance of France, which was not to be expected, unless they agreed to assist Lewis in recovering Genoa and the duchy of Milan. The emperor, on his part, had no inclination for peace, the war having been carried on to his advantage against the Venetians at the expence of his allies: and as for Ferdinand, it was his desire to embroil the affairs of Italy as much as possible, that he might thereby remain in quiet possession of Navarre: with this view he was constantly changing sides, and, to gain time, equally deceiving all parties. His truce with France being expired, he renewed it for another year: and the pope, alarmed at the negotiation between the emperor and Lewis, endeavoured to reconcile the latter with the Swiss, and the emperor with the Venetians, that the French might not get footing again in Italy; but all his attempts proved unsuccessful, for, after a long negotiation, the Venetians and the emperor chose him arbiter of their disputes, and he pronounced a provisional decree, "that a truce should immediately

† Smollet says the Scottish army was diminished near one half, and that the English were now superior in number; but his whole account of this transaction widely differs from all other historians, whether English or Scottish.

* Hall says, there were fifteen hundred English, and twelve thousand Scots slain, fol. 43. According to Buchanan, there fell above five thousand Scots. In this battle the vanguard was led by the lord Thomas Howard, who had with him the lords Clifford, Conyers, Latimer, Scrope of Upsale, Lumley, Ogle; sir Nicholas Appleyard, sir William Sidney, sir William Gascoyne, sir Stephen Bull, sir Henry Shirburne, &c.

The right wing was commanded by sir Edmund Howard, and the left by sir Marmaduke Constable. The rear was brought up by the earl of Surry himself, who was attended by the lord Scrope of Bolton, sir Philip Tilney, sir George Darcy, sir Thomas Berkeley, sir John Stanley, sir John Willoughby, &c. the lord Dacres, and sir Edward Stanley, with their horse, being appointed as a reserve. On the Scots side there fell one archbishop, two bishops, four abbots, twelve earls, and seventeen barons, with eight or ten thousand common soldiers. See a description of the battle in my lord Herbert, p. 18. Hall, fol. 38, &c. Stowe, p. 492.

take place: that the emperor should, by way of deposit or security, till the final decision of their dispute, put in his hands the town of Vincenza; and that the Venetians should do the same with respect to Crema, and should pay the emperor fifty thousand ducats: but that this provisional agreement should be null, if not ratified by both parties:” and the Venetians not ratifying it, the agreement was accordingly annulled. Nearly in this situation the affairs of the belligerent powers remained till the campaign of 1514.

On the third of January, this year, the parliament of England assembled, in which nothing of importance was transacted, except that the king created several peers; and amongst the rest he created the earl of Surry duke of Norfolk, thereby restoring him, for his good services, to the title which his father had lost with his life, in the defence of Richard III. at the battle of Bosworth*: by this change Thomas Howard, son and heir of the new duke, became earl of Surry. Charles Brandon, viscount Lisle, was now created duke of Suffolk; and Charles Somerset, lord Herbert, earl of Worcester: Margaret of York, daughter of the duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV. obtained at the same time the title of countess of Salisbury, as heiress to the earl of Warwick, her brother, beheaded by Henry VII†. Wolsey was, during this session, promoted to the bishopric of Lincoln by the pope, and admitted to retain the administration of the bishopric of Tournay: so sensible was the pope of the value of such a friend in the English court.

In the mean time the negotiation with France was in great forwardness; but was carried on with great secrecy, no person being made acquainted with it but Wolsey; and the whole transaction was managed, on the part of Lewis, by the duke of Longueville, who was taken prisoner at the Battle of the Spurs, and who had a secret commission appointing him the king of France’s ambassador extraordinary on this occasion. As soon as all the preliminaries were settled, Lewis sent over two public ambassadors, and a cessation of hostilities immediately took place, and, after some little obstructions, three definitive treaties were signed on the seventh day of August.

The first treaty stipulated,

“That the peace should subsist till the demise of one of the parties; and that the successor should give notice to the survivor, within twelve months, if he intended to renew the treaty.

“That all impositions laid on the merchandize of the subjects of either crown within the preceding fifty-two years, should be abolished.

“That rebellious subjects should not be harbooured or protected by either party.

“That the peace should not be deemed violated by any private tumults or disorders that might arise on either side.

“That each should defend the dominions of the other when attacked, at the expence of the crown

that should demand assistance, provided the attack should be made in consequence of this treaty, in which Scotland was included, on condition no hostilities were committed by that kingdom against England after the twenty-fifth of November.”

The second treaty was a contract of marriage between Lewis and the princess Mary, Henry’s sister, who had been solemnly contracted to Charles of Austria, but that prince not appearing at Calais at the time appointed for the solemnization of the marriage, by the treaty of Lisle, Henry now thought proper to give her to Lewis, who had lately buried his queen. It was agreed by this treaty,

“That the marriage between Lewis and the princess Mary should be contracted by proxies, in ten days after the signing of the treaty.

“That the princess should be conducted to Abbeville at the expence of the king of England; and that Lewis should consummate the marriage in four days after her arrival.

“That the princess Mary’s dower should be four hundred thousand crowns, one half of which should be laid out in jewels; and in case of recovery, that Lewis should only be obliged to restore the jewels: the other half was to be paid by acquittal of so much of the sum of one million of crowns which Lewis agreed to pay to Henry by the third treaty, in which he acknowledged,

“That, by the treaty of Estaples, Charles VIII. was bound to pay to Henry VII. or his successors, the sum of seven hundred and forty-five thousand crowns, and that he was obliged to pay the arrears of that sum.

“Also that Charles, duke of Orleans, his father, by an obligation dated in March, 1444, appeared to be indebted to Margaret, duchess of Somerset, grand-mother to Henry VIII. wherefore these two sums remaining still unpaid, by this treaty Lewis bound himself to pay to the king of England, or his successors, a million of crowns, by half yearly payments till the whole was discharged‡.”

Thus the war between France and England was ended on very advantageous terms for Henry, who had suffered himself to be drawn into it by the superior policy of his allies. Before the second treaty was signed, it was judged necessary for the princess to declare, in presence of two notaries, that she had been betrothed to Charles of Austria without her consent; that Charles, on his part, had failed in the performance of his promise to be contracted to her by proxy, as soon as she attained the age of fourteen; and that his counsellors and confederates had lately inspired him with enmity against her brother, the king of England; on which accounts she deemed the intended marriage with him null and void, and that she was at full liberty to marry the king of France: which marriage was accordingly consummated at Abbeville, in the month of October, without so much as demanding a dispensation from the pope to absolve the princess from her former contract.

* For his memorable victory over the Scots at Flodden, he had a special grant from the king, to himself and the heirs male of his body, of an honourable augmentation to his arms; namely, to bear on the bend thereof the upper half of a red lion (painted as the arms of Scotland are) pierced through the mouth with an arrow. He was created duke of Norfolk, Feb. 1, 1514. His father derived his descent (by the heirs male of Mowbray, and Seagrave) from Thomas Brotherton, son to king Edward I. Dugdale’s Baron. vol. ii. p. 268.

† She was wife to sir Richard Pole, descended from an ancient stock of that name some where in Wales. This sir Richard was made chief-gentleman of the bed-chamber to prince Arthur, and knight of the most noble order of the garter. He had four sons by the lady Margaret; Henry, afterwards lord Montague, Geoffrey, Arthur, and Reginald, the famous cardinal Pole, archbishop of Canterbury, and one of the three that presided at the council of Trent.

‡ Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 423—439.

While Wolsey was engaged in this important negotiation, cardinal Bambridge, archbishop of York, was poisoned at Rome, by Rinaldo de Modena, his chaplain, in revenge for a blow he had given him. Notice was sent to the king of his death by cardinal Julius de Medici, afterwards pope Clement VII. acquainting him at the same time, that he had prevailed on the pope to keep the see of York vacant till the king's pleasure was known. Upon this the king demanded the archbishopric for Wolsey, which was readily granted. The remainder of this year affords little matter of any consequence, except the intrigues of the emperor and Ferdinand, who laboured to the last to prevent the peace between England and France, and to obstruct its good effects. As to domestic affairs, the king enjoyed perfect tranquility, and spent his time in his usual diversions.

On the first day of the following year, 1515, died Lewis XII. leaving behind him the glorious character of Father of his Country. But the death of this prince made no alteration in Henry's affairs, for the count d'Angoulesme, who succeeded him by the name of Francis I. plainly discovered his intention of pursuing the plan of his predecessor, by adding to his other titles that of duke of Milan. By this event Lewis's young queen was left mistress of her person, and accordingly she took care to prevent any future disposal of it to answer political ends, for she privately married Charles Brandon, the newly created duke of Suffolk. Her affection for this accomplished nobleman was so well known, even before her marriage with Lewis, that when she went over to France, the count d'Angoulesme took care to have her narrowly watched, lest she should give the king an heir to his exclusion. Henry, suspecting her design, wrote to her, in February, not to dispose of herself without his consent; but the queen, trusting to her interest with her brother, thought proper to give her hand to her beloved Brandon, and to write to the king what she had done, taking the whole blame to herself: and though Henry was displeased at first, in a short time he was reconciled, and they returned to the English court.

As England was now free from all foreign and domestic disputes, the parliament, which met on the fifth of February this year, was wholly employed in enacting some wholesome and beneficial laws respecting the civil and commercial interests of the nation, of which in their proper place.

About the middle of March this year, Francis I. sent instructions to his ambassador at London to renew the alliance with Henry, as also the bond for a million of crowns signed by Lewis. And in the month of May king Ferdinand sent an ambassador to London, to propose the renewal of his alliance with Henry, and to court his friendship; but Henry had been so often deceived by him, that the ambassador was received very coldly, and probably would never have succeeded in his negotiations, had not Wolsey been brought to favour his master's interest, and to bring about a reconciliation, which he effected in the month of October.

While these things were transacting at home, Charles, archduke of Austria, had assumed the government of the Low Countries, and had made a treaty with Francis I. which a little alarmed Henry, who had reason to fear his resenting the disposal of the princess Mary to another, when she

had been contracted to him in his minority: the king therefore sent two ambassadors to Brussels to palliate his conduct, and solicit the friendship of Charles; but they were very ill received, and no notice was taken of the subject of their embassy for several months: the young archduke prudently declined entering into any party, till he saw more of the intentions of the other powers, and particularly of Francis I. who began to make preparations for carrying on a new war in Italy. Indeed, as soon as he ascended the throne, he declared that he would expel the Sforzas from the duchy of Milan, and annex that duchy to the crown of France. As he was a prince possessed of equal valour and ambition, the eyes of all parties were turned upon him, and Ferdinand began to prepare for the defence of Naples and Navarre: but he might have been relieved from his fears for the present, by a renewal of the truce which Francis proposed to him, on condition that he would remain neuter in the affairs of Milan; however, Ferdinand was so accustomed to deceive others, that he could not rely on Francis, and therefore rejected his proposal, and made use of it to engage the emperor and the Swiss to join with him in the defence of Milan; thereby to divert Francis from any thoughts of turning his arms against Navarre, whilst he saw himself likely to be so strongly opposed in his attempt to recover Milan, that it was necessary to employ all his strength in that quarter. The emperor readily entered into a league with Ferdinand, and the Swiss were at last prevailed upon, though with much difficulty, for the French had a party amongst them; but the allies agreeing to pay them thirty thousand ducats monthly, they signed the treaty in conjunction with Ferdinand, the emperor, and Sforza, duke of Milan.

Ferdinand having gained this point, engaged them to attack Francis in his own kingdom, as the shortest way to divert him from any attempts on Milan; and he promised on his part, to make a diversion on the side of Fontarabia, while they should attack Burgundy: as for the emperor, he was to continue the war in the Venetian territories, to prevent their assisting Francis. The sole aim of Ferdinand in this confederacy being, at all events, to secure Navarre, he no sooner learned that Francis was marching his forces towards the Alps, in order to enter the duchy of Milan, than he disbanded the army he had raised for the defence of Navarre, leaving Milan to the care of the Swiss; and so very deceitful was he in this, as in all his other treaties of alliance, that even his army in Italy, under the command of the vice-roy of Naples, had no orders to assist the Swiss, while on the other hand, the emperor and the pope, who had been included in the league, remained totally inactive, and the Swiss were left alone to sustain the burden of the war, in the same manner as Henry had been served a few years before.

Francis having successfully marched his army through a defile between mount Viso and mount Cenis, which, being deemed an impracticable pass, had been left unguarded, the Swiss retired precipitately to Milan, and the French advanced to the same city: a negotiation was then set on foot for engaging the Swiss to withdraw their forces, in consideration of a certain sum of money offered them by Francis; but a reinforcement of fifteen thousand of their countrymen arriving, it was

was resolved, by the advice of cardinal Sion, to attack the French, who were encamped at Marignano, and little expected them. This resolution cost them dear, for they lost ten thousand men in the action, and were totally defeated; the remainder of the army returned home, and Francis made himself master of the duchy of Milan: as to Maximilian Sforza, the late duke, he had shut himself up in the citadel of Milan, which he was obliged to surrender on capitulation, and agree to retire to France, there to reside as a private gentleman. In the mean time Octavian Fregosa had reduced Genoa to the obedience of France, and instead of a doge declared himself governor for the king his master.

The popes, when they chanced to make leagues or undertake wars that did not prosper, could always find a way to extricate themselves in quality of head of the church and vicar of Jesus Christ. Leo X. had been in hopes that Francis would never be able to enter Italy, and joined in the league against him so privately, that Francis knew nothing of it till he came to Vercell; but his holiness no sooner received tidings of the victory of Marignano, than he made proposals of reconciliation to Francis; and though the pontiff's behaviour had been such that he deserved no favour from that victorious prince, yet he obtained however advantages which he could scarcely have expected, had he even been his friend from the beginning.

As the Scots had been comprehended in the renewal of the late treaty between Francis and Henry, it will be proper to attend the history of that people, so far as it is connected with that of England. James IV. who was slain in the battle of Flodden, had left one only son his successor, who was not as yet two years of age; but, soon after his death, his queen was delivered of a posthumous child. She had been by his will declared regent of the kingdom, and the surviving nobility had submitted to her authority, which, however, was but of short duration; for giving her hand to Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, the party which opposed that nobleman, headed by the earl of Hume, persuaded the states to bestow the regency on John Stuart, duke of Albany, son of Alexander, duke of Albany, brother to James III. who, having died in France, where he took refuge †, left his title to this son, a young nobleman of great abilities, and warmly devoted to the interests of Lewis XII. who had distinguished him with many marks of favour and regard. Lewis XII. dying during these transactions, Francis I. his successor, having great reasons not to disoblige the king of England, who violently opposed the election of the duke of Albany, would not suffer that nobleman to depart till he had compleated his treaty with Henry, so that he did not arrive in Scotland before the eighth of May this year; and the first act of his government upon record, was on the twenty-second of the same month, when, as regent and protector of Scotland, he confirmed the accession of the Scots to the late treaty between France and England †.

Francis I. from the instant of his accession to the crown of France, had formed the design of getting Tournay out of the hands of the English; for this purpose he had made some overtures to Henry, but

the English monarch demanding some places in exchange which Francis thought above an equivalent, the negociation was dropped. The truth is, that Wolsey, fearful, if this compromise should take place, he should lose the valuable administration of that bishopric, had persuaded Henry, who was wholly governed by his advice, to stand upon such terms as the minister knew must frustrate the design: and by his instigation, twelve hundred carpenters and masons were sent over this year, with three hundred other labourers, for making some additional works to the town; and orders were transmitted to the lord Mountjoy, the governor, to be in a particular manner upon his guard to prevent a surprize, which Wolsey affected to fear on the part of the French king.

Francis, nettled at this proceeding, persuaded the pope (Leo X.) who durst not disoblige him, to reinstate Guillard, the former bishop of Tournay, in that see; a bull was accordingly issued for that purpose, and obtained before Wolsey knew any thing of the matter. This mandate gave great offence both to Henry and his favourite, who thus saw himself deprived of a very lucrative office: but Francis, who had never an intention to break entirely with Wolsey, whose friendship was so necessary to him about Henry's person, endeavoured to appease the powerful prelate by promising to exert his utmost efforts to procure him a cardinal's hat, which he knew to be the principal object of his ambition.

Wolsey before this had made several advances to obtain that honour: upon the death of cardinal Bambridge, archbishop of York, he had employed Adrian de Castello, who was bishop of Bath, and collector for the pope in England, to be his agent in this affair; but de Castello, instead of promoting, had betrayed Wolsey's interest, which when the latter knew, he was so exasperated, that he threw Polydore Virgil, the historian, who was sub-collector in England to Castello, into the Tower, from whence he was with great difficulty afterwards released, though not till Wolsey had obtained the cardinal's hat, which Francis at this time actually procured him*; but the haughty prelate looked upon the favour as due to his merit, and, instead of shewing himself grateful to Francis, he still retained an implacable hatred against him, on account of the affair of Tournay, and did all he could, not only to exasperate Henry, but to promote a general league in Europe against him.

Henry's cabinet-council was at this time composed of Wolsey; Fox, the old bishop of Winchester; the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk; and Warham, archbishop of Canterbury: the four latter, though extremely devoted to the king, made the interest of their country the governing principle of all their councils, and were desirous that the king might husband both his treasure and his reputation. As Francis had hitherto behaved with seeming good faith towards England, they saw no reason for indulging so bitter a spirit against France, and accordingly opposed the cardinal in the council, when he was labouring to prove that it was the interest of England to humble the French monarch: at the same time they advised the king rather to turn his arms against Scotland, where the French

† See p. 120. of this volume.

† Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xiii. p. 508, 511.

* In September. Hall, fol. 57. He was cardinal by the

title of Sanctæ Cæcilie trans Tiberim; or, Sancti Ciriaci in terminis. Rymer's Fœd. vol. xiii. p. 529, 530.

party, under the duke of Albany, prevailed over the interest of his sister.

Wolsey, impatient of controul, and holding it for a maxim, "that those who were not with, must be against him," resented this opposition so much, that he never ceased till he had alienated the king's favour and countenance from the honest counsellors, who were not long before they perceived the change, nor much at a loss to divine the cause: they for some time, however, kept their sentiments to themselves; but at last old Winchester's patience forsook him, at beholding a creature of his own rearing, over-top himself and every one at court, and sought leave to retire to his bishopric, which was easily granted him: however, before he left the council-board, he told the king in his blunt way, "that he hoped he would not suffer the servant to be greater than the master." "Fear not, my good lord bishop (replied Henry), it shall be my care that subjects shall obey, and not command." An answer which stung Fox to the quick, who now hastened his departure for his diocese. He was followed in his resignation by the duke of Norfolk, who likewise withdrew from a court where he perceived he was looked upon as little better than a cypher. The duke of Suffolk soon after applying for the remission of a large sum of money he had borrowed from the crown, to support the great figure he had made in France, was violently opposed in his suit by Wolsey, upon which he also retired from court.

But there yet remained a formidable rival at the council-board, who must be removed before Wolsey could completely carry his point; this was Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, a prelate of approved disinterestedness and prudence, who had never indeed entered into any court intrigues, but, being possessed of the great seal as chancellor, he was often uneasy to Wolsey; but the latter not daring to push at him in a violent manner, compassed his ends in another way, and managed so as to oblige Warham to resign the great seal.

Since his promotion to the dignity of cardinal he had become more vain, proud, and imperious than ever; but the chief stress of his arrogance was levelled against Warham: to mortify whom, he this year got himself appointed legate a latere from the pope, which gave him precedency in the province of the archbishop of Canterbury; and being thus empowered to have the legatine cross borne before him, he caused that of York to be also carried erect along with it. We have spoken elsewhere of the contest between the two sees, which, after having caused violent quarrels, could not be decided but by the king's express commands to the archbishops of York not to have the cross carried before them in the other province; but Wolsey, who thought himself much above his predecessors, prepared to revive the contest in contempt of these prohibitions, and made such other encroachments upon the archbishop in his ecclesiastical capacity, as left him little better than a cypher at court. Warham, who was of a peaceable temper, seeing the most valuable rights and privileges of his primacy trampled upon by this insolent minister, and knowing that if he should attempt to oppose him, he should not succeed, by reason of the absolute sway the other had over the king, he resigned the great seal into Henry's hands, who, two days after, committed it to the custody of Wolsey, whom he en-

abled to support his increasing dignity with continual benefactions of prebends, wardships, and other perquisites. Besides the revenues of his archiepiscopal see, and the office of chancellor, he farmed at a low rate the bishoprics of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, possessed by Italians, who were allowed to reside abroad, and who were glad to purchase this indulgence by parting with a considerable share of their profits.

Wolsey being now rid of every check upon his conduct, pursued his favourite project of being revenged upon Francis I. by setting the king his master at variance with him, and causing him to enter into a league against France. Having properly prepared Henry by repeated insinuations of the danger of letting France grow too powerful, he privately acquainted the emperor Maximilian, that it would not be difficult to disengage his master from his connexion with Francis; and in the mean time he persuaded Henry to renew the alliance between Spain and England, notwithstanding the treachery and deceit with which Ferdinand of Arragon had formerly behaved.

As to Maximilian, he was overjoyed at this proposal: he had for some time been apprehensive that the balance of power must be ruined in Italy by the success of Francis, unless he could raise him up a competitor for the duchy of Milan; the present conjuncture appeared most favourable to his project, and he dispatched an ambassador to London, to solicit succours for Francis Sforza, who now resided in Germany, and had borne the title of duke of Milan ever since the captivity of his elder brother.

Notwithstanding all the arrogance of Wolsey, he saw many difficulties offer themselves to the carrying on his designs; but he obviated them all by that politic dissimulation which served him so effectually through the whole course of his administration: he desired Henry not to rely wholly on his advice, but to summon a general council, and take the opinions of the ablest statesmen of the kingdom; at the same time he was sure that his sovereign was already so prepossessed by the force of the arguments he had laid before him, that any opposition to his plan would only end in the confusion of those who should set themselves up against it.

A general council being summoned on this occasion, Wolsey opened the assembly with a long and laboured speech, in which he very roundly gave his opinion for a breach with France, and expatiated on the reasons which Henry had to be dissatisfied with that court; he in particular dwelt upon the protection which Francis had afforded to the duke of Albany, who, by French interest, had wrested the government of Scotland from a princess of the English blood; and, after many florid arguments, concluded with observing, that the daily successes of Francis, and the continual accretion of his power, were alone sufficient reasons for England to interpose to check the progress of those arms, which, in a short time, she might expect to see turned against herself. There was a strong opposition made to this belligerent scheme, drawn from the sacred nature of public faith, and of the engagements between Henry and Francis: but the bishop of Durham and some other new counsellors, introduced by the cardinal, declared themselves to be strongly of his opinion.

At last, the debate being over, Henry declared himself in favour of his minister's sentiments, but, in order to follow a middle course, added, "that he did not mean to plunge England into a war, but to raise work for France by supporting the Sforza family;" as, in all probability, had been suggested to him by his favourite and director. Agreeable to these views he empowered Richard Pace, his ambassador at the court of the emperor Maximilian, to treat with that sovereign and the duke of Milan on this subject, and in the mean time supplied them with a large sum of money.

Sforza was not ungrateful for this instance of Wolsey's friendship, as appears from an authentic note of hand given to Wolsey by Michael de Abbatis, secretary to the duke of Milan, for a pension of ten thousand ducats to the cardinal, as soon as his master should recover possession of his duchy*.

I must now, before we close the year 1515, briefly mention the affairs of Scotland, which likewise engaged the government's attention. We have already observed, that Alexander, duke of Albany, arrived in Scotland in the beginning of the year, where he found the kingdom involved in civil discord and dissention, which the king of England carefully fomented. As uncle to the infant James V. he assumed the title of Protector of the Scottish realm, and, by the connivance of the pope, filled the benefices with his own creatures.

The duke of Albany, though of Scottish extraction, was a stranger to Scotland, being born in the time of his father's banishment, nor could he so much as speak the country language: in this situation he was under a necessity to be guided by the counsels of others, natives of the kingdom; and he adopted those of Hepburn, bishop of Murray, a passionate and factious prelate, who having a dispute about his diocese with Fermor, archbishop of St. Andrew's, who was supported by the earl of Hume, he represented this nobleman so disadvantageously to the regent, that the latter treated him with manifest signs of coldness, and even contempt.

Hume, being naturally proud and haughty, was stung to the quick with Albany's behaviour, and resolved to let him see that he was not a person to be affronted with impunity: he directly reconciled himself to the queen dowager, and persuading her that the king her son was in danger, advised her to carry him over privately to England, and to throw both herself and the young monarch upon the protection of Henry. The queen, alarmed for the safety of her son, gave into the advice of Hume, and had actually got as far as Stirling with the infant king on their way southward, when Albany, having received intelligence of their design, suddenly surprized them both: however, he shewed so much regard for the queen of Scotland, as to leave her at liberty to retire into England, which she did this year, with her husband the earl of Angus; but the person of the young monarch was by Albany delivered to the care of noblemen of the greatest distinction and nearest relation to the crown. As for Hume, he, with the earl of Arran, a nobleman allied to his family, made his escape into England; whereupon the regent sent ambassadors to Henry, to justify his conduct; and at the same time so artfully treated with the fugitives, that he

prevailed with them to return into Scotland. In the mean time the queen of Scotland was delivered of a daughter at Harbottle castle, in Northumberland, who was christened by the name of Margaret.

The beginning of the year 1516 was distinguished by the death of the famous Ferdinand, king of Arragon, by which event the crown of Spain of course devolved upon prince Charles, whose mother Juanna remained still unfit for government. Wolsey, to his great mortification, now saw his measures broke, for engaging all Europe in a war with France; for a division happening in the councils of the young prince of Spain, and a dispute about the regency of Castile during his minority, de Chievres, his governor, who had a great ascendant over him, and always inclined to the French party, persuaded Charles to take no manner of concern in the affairs of Europe until those of his own territories were settled. Nothing remarkable passed in England in the beginning of the year 1516, except the birth of a princess, of whom the queen was delivered on the eighteenth day of February, at Greenwich, and who was afterwards the infamous queen Mary.

It was not without reason that Maximilian had readily embraced the opportunity offered him by cardinal Wolsey, of making war upon France: there was no more likelihood of his being able to keep his conquests in the state of Venice, since Francis I. was become master of the Milanese, and had joined forces with the Venetians; nor could he expect any farther assistance from the pope, who had lately made his peace with the French king; he therefore found he should be obliged to act alone in Italy: but first he tried to cajole Henry, by offering to invest him with the duchy of Milan, and then to resign the imperial diadem in his favour, and put him in possession of the empire. At the same time he delivered to Pace, Henry's ambassador at his court, a plan for executing his project, in which it was proposed, "that the king of England should cross the sea with two thousand horse and four thousand archers, and march through the Low Countries to Triers, where Maximilian was to meet him, with the electors and other German princes, and the resignation of the empire was to be accomplished, and the investiture of Milan granted. An army, raised in the empire, was to be there assembled, ready to enter France on that side, on being joined by one thousand English horse and three thousand archers, under the duke of Suffolk, or some other general of equal quality; whilst Henry, with a thousand horse and as many archers, and another body of German troops, should pass through the Austrian territories, and the country of the Grisons, to the lake of Como, and so to Milan; from whence, matters being thus settled, Maximilian was to attend him to Rome, where he should be crowned emperor †."

Whatever ambition Henry had in his nature, he had too good a judgment to accept of this glaring proposal: he was by this time perfectly well acquainted with Maximilian, and therefore, thanking him for his offer, he desired he would defer the execution of his scheme to a more favourable opportunity, and in the mean time gratified him with a sum of money, which was the real object of the

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xiii. p. 525.

† Fiddes, p. 120, 124.

emperor's pursuit, who was so eager for driving the French out of Italy, that he employed this money in raising an army of about twenty thousand Germans and Swiss, with which, in the month of March, he entered the state of Venice, while the Venetians, assisted by a body of French troops, commanded by Lautrec, were besieging Brescia. Upon his approach the French and Venetians raised the siege, and, after making a shew of opposing his passage of the rivers Mincio, Oglio, and Adda, retired to Milan to avoid a battle. Then the emperor approached Milan without much difficulty; but thirteen thousand Swiss arriving at the same time, on the other side of the town, to the assistance of the French, Maximilian saw his enterprize was impracticable; and having reason, from some intercepted letters, to apprehend a conspiracy was formed for seizing his person, he decamped with great precipitation, and repassed the Adda. The French, pushing the Imperialists in their retreat, cut off numbers of them, while still greater numbers were daily deserting. Maximilian, abandoning all his conquests, retired with the utmost expedition into the Trentin, and the French in a few days took Brescia. All this happened before the twenty-seventh of May, when the ambassador Pace sent advice of the successes of the French; but their career was then stopped, being repulsed with loss in several attacks upon Verona, and forced to raise the siege of that place upon the approach of count William de Roquendorf, one of Maximilian's generals.

Whilst the emperor was endeavouring to embroil the French affairs, Francis was forming a new project for the conquest of Naples, and tried to render the pope propitious to his undertaking; but Leo wished for nothing so eagerly as the expulsion of the French from Italy, and, forgetting all his obligations to Francis, laboured to make the best of the present posture of affairs, and, while he amused the king of France with vague negotiations, exerted all his endeavours in private to traverse his designs.

Maximilian still seemed determined to pursue the war, and make another expedition into Italy. It was with this view, and in the hopes of getting more money from England, that he sent the cardinal of Sion thither, to apologize for his late retreat from the Milanese, and to propose a new alliance. The cardinal acted his part so well, that he once more brought Henry to trust his court; and, on the twentieth of October this year, the plan of a new treaty was formed for the defence of holy church, and for restraining the unbounded ambition of certain princes. The young king of Spain and his mother were parties in this treaty, as were likewise the cantons of Switzerland. The heads of the treaty now concluded were as follow:

"I. That the confederates should defend one another, and bring aid by land, at their own cost, being required, within one month after complaint against the enemy.

"II. If the enemy have not port-towns, &c. then the war should also be made by sea by them both, and the fleet supplied if it be diminished, &c.

"III. That no peace shall be made with the enemy, or truce, but by mutual consent.

"IV. Place also was left for other princes what-

soever, to come into this league within eight months, by consent of all the confederates.

"V. That pope Leo X. shall be comprized in this league, if he will excommunicate the persons and states that shall molest the confederates, and that he enter within six months.

"VI. That the Swiss shall be admitted if they will, so that they bind themselves not to serve under any other princes, and on that condition to have pensions."

This last article seems to have had no effect, since the king of France made, about the same time, a league with the whole Helvetic body (styled the Treaty of Perpetual Peace), in which, upon augmenting their pensions, the Swiss engaged never to assist any potentate against France.

As nothing in this league pointed directly against France, Francis took great care not to push Henry into any open breach; he even, on the fifth day of November, this year, punctually paid fifty thousand crowns, as stipulated by the late treaty with England; and now perceiving the insincerity of the pope, he dropped all thoughts of the conquest of Naples, and applied himself to gain over Charles, the young king of Spain. This latter, wisely resolving, if possible, in the infant state of his government, to live well with all, so as to be sure of the assistance of the one state, if he should be attacked by the other, agreed to open conferences at Noyon, de Boisi acting for the king of France, and de Chievres for the king of Spain. Each of those ministers had been tutor to his master, and was zealous for his interest. The conferences lasted thirteen days, and ended in a treaty, by which it was agreed, That Charles should marry mademoiselle Louisa, the daughter of Francis, instead of madame Renée, the late king's daughter; and that he should pay one hundred thousand crowns a year for the board of the young lady, who was but a year old, until she was marriageable. In consideration of this, Francis was to resign to Charles all his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples. By another article it was agreed, that Charles should, within six months, resign the kingdom of Navarre to Henry d'Albret, son of John d'Albret and Catherine, king and queen of Navarre, who had been dispossessed by Ferdinand; and in case he should not perform this article, Francis should be allowed to assist the king of Navarre*.

Soon after, the emperor, that mean, mercenary, timid, and inconstant prince, weary of his league with England, that brought him in no money, and afraid that Francis might interrupt his grandson Charles's journey into Spain, and thereby defeat the whole scheme of his succession, did, towards the end of this year, agree that a congress should be held at Bruges, and a treaty of peace with France was signed by his ministers at Cambray, in March following, by which, for the consideration of two hundred thousand ducats, Maximilian delivered up Verona into the hands of the French general, who immediately restored it to the Venetians.

The English court was not much alarmed at the treaty of Noyon: the discerning Wolsey plainly saw that Charles, by this treaty, meant nothing more than to gain time, by granting Francis whatever he could desire, for fear of being hindered by him from going to take possession of his dominions:

* Mezerai. Guicciardin. Lord Herbert.

but the conduct of Maximilian was of a much more serious nature to England, and the cardinal now saw his whole system of politics dashed in pieces by a single blow. The emperor had, by his treaty with France, shut himself out of Italy, the promising alliance against France was vanished into smoke, and the great sums Henry had advanced appeared to have been uselessly squandered: in a word, England was obliged for some time to taste the sweets of peace, that most desirable of all states to a trading and a maritime power, such as she at this time began to be.

But it fared not so well with her sister kingdom, Scotland, where the Humes still continued to foment disturbances; and Henry, at their instigation, had, in the beginning of this year, wrote to the Scottish parliament, desiring that they would send back the duke of Albany to France, because it was not proper that the young king should be in the power of his presumptive heir; and he threatened, in case they should refuse to comply with this proposal, that he would take other measures for the preservation of his nephew. The parliament, in answer to this letter from Henry, sent a memorial, or, as they style it, "a refusal to the king of England, touching his advice to remove the duke of Albany from the government of the young king of Scotland," sealed with the seals of the chief nobility of the kingdom. In this paper, after some reasoning with Henry touching the nature of his demands, they tell him, that "the duke had been elected regent without one dissenting voice in all their parliament, whose ordinances and elections were not to be impugned by any person whatsoever*."

The Humes finding their scheme frustrated by the noble resolution of the parliament, persuaded Hamilton, earl of Arran, to claim the regency, as kinsman to the king, and in the mean time they levied troops to support his pretensions. The duke of Albany being informed of this conspiracy, marched against the earl of Arran, and in a few days reduced his castle of Hamilton; then the Humes, pulling off the mask, made themselves masters of Dunbar, which they demolished; but being defeated and taken in fight, they were brought to trial, and lost their lives and estates as traitors to their country. The regent having thus established his authority, acted with so much prudence that he preserved the affections of the Scots, and gained the esteem of Henry and his minister, notwithstanding all that the party of the queen dowager could do to hinder it; and, on the last day of December, 1516, Henry agreed to a truce with Scotland for one year.

The year 1517 affords very little business for the historian's pen in relation to affairs in England, which now enjoyed a profound peace, save that a sedition was raised by the London apprentices, on account of the great number of foreign tradesmen that had settled in England, on the great encouragement which cardinal Wolsey, who may truly be styled the father of revived learning in this country, gave to men of learning and abilities in the polite and mechanic arts. As those foreigners, at their first settlement, generally excelled the English in dexterity and application to their business, the shopkeepers and the lower set of artificers complain-

ed that their customers fell off, and that greater encouragement was given to foreigners than to the natives. From murmurings they came to acts of outrage, and many strangers were insulted and beaten upon the streets, until the government was obliged to interfere by issuing an order for all tradesmen to keep their apprentices and servants within doors from seven at night till nine in the morning: but the latter so ill brooked this restraint, that, on the evening of the thirtieth of April, they gathered in great numbers, broke open several prisons, set criminals at liberty, and pulled down the houses of foreigners. But they were suppressed in a few days, and many of them condemned to death: one Lincoln, a broker, their ringleader, with a few others, were actually executed; but all the rest, amounting to above four thousand, were pardoned at the intercession and by the advice of cardinal Wolsey.

This year England was visited with a return of that most dreadful epidemical disease, the sweating sickness. The effects were very sudden, for it proved fatal in three hours after the patient was affected. When it first began, Henry's court was extremely splendid and numerous, on account of the queen of Scotland's being in London upon a visit to her brother; but the dreadful havock which the sickness made, soon thinned it: that princess retired to Berwick with her husband; the law-terms were adjourned; and Henry, to keep as much as he could the infection from his family, reduced his officers and domestics to a very small number. It was computed, that in some towns half, and in others one third of the inhabitants, died of this dreadful distemper.

In the mean while Maximilian, finding his late conduct in Italy had reduced him very low in the esteem of the English court, sought to revive Henry's ambition by keeping him in hopes of the imperial dignity: what absurdities will not ambition and avarice lead men into! Though Henry had at first affected to decline this honour, it made an impression upon his mind; and now that the emperor had come into the Low Countries, to visit his grandson Charles, he dispatched the earl of Worcester and Dr. Cuthbert Tunstall to treat with Maximilian, and propose an interview; but when they came to press the point of resignation home to Maximilian, he shuffled in such a manner that the ambassadors plainly perceived that he had no design to part with the imperial crown, and that his proposal was no other than a plot to draw more money from the king their master. Of this they gave Henry notice, and Wolsey now dissuaded him from having any farther concern with Maximilian, or from the least trusting him, unless he should, by his actions, give some previous earnest of his sincerity; and, above all, he wisely and honestly put the king in mind of his father's maxim, "that the lesser dominion is always swallowed up in the greater," and that the dignity of an emperor of Germany must do great prejudice to the great figure which England then made.

And, indeed, it must be confessed, that Henry, through the management of the cardinal, was at this time in very high reputation all over Europe, as appears from the many letters, and other instruments, upon our public records, sent to the government of England during this pacific year, in parti-

* Rymer's Fœd. vol. xiii. p. 550, 551.

cular an application from the pope and the whole college of cardinals, imploring a subsidy against the Turks, who had just defeated the sultan of the Mamelucks* in Egypt, and who, they observed, would certainly turn their arms next against the Christians; though it afterwards appeared, that the sole design of pope Leo was to enrich himself and his family with the spoils of Christendom.

This pontiff had, in the preceding year, made use of the interest and arms of Francis I. to strip Francis Maria de la Rovera of the duchy of Urbino, which he bestowed on Laurentio de Medici, one of his own nephews; but Rovera, in this year, by the help of the Spanish forces, recovered his duchy: though Francis I. being afraid of losing Milan by the intrigues of the pope, not only supplied his holiness with troops for the war of Urbino, but likewise offered Catherine, heiress of the house of Boulogne, in marriage to Laurentio de Medici, who espoused her accordingly. The pope was so well pleased with the match, that he indulged Francis with a tenth upon his clergy, on pretence of maintaining the war against the Infidels.

At the same time, to indemnify himself for the mortification he had suffered by Rovera's success, he availed himself of the friendship he now entertained with all the princes of Europe, each of which vied with one another in giving his holiness proofs of their esteem: the season was to be improved, and the progress of the Turks gave a plausible handle for beginning the operations, and laying all the Christian world under an immense tax.

It was still taught and believed for a good while, that the pope, out of the inexhaustible treasure of the church, arising from the merits of Christ, and works of supererogation of the saints, had a power of distributing indulgencies on certain conditions prescribed by him, to the greatest and most profligate of sinners, for a plenary remission of sin (as it is practised at this day in Portugal, &c.) These indulgencies were supposed at first to reach only to relaxation of penances or ecclesiastical discipline. Urban II. in the beginning of the XIth century, was the first that granted a full remission of all sins, to those who should take up arms for the recovery of the Holy Land from the Infidels; which custom was kept up by his successors, some of whom extended the benefit of their indulgencies to such persons who, being unwilling or unable to go, maintained a soldier in their room. At length these spiritual favours were distributed to those who took the field against the enemies of holy church, or heretics. Great sums were raised by this means, but seldom applied to the ends for which they were intended. Leo X. resolved to follow so good precedents, the benefit whereof was to extend even to the dead, whose souls, upon payment of so much money, were immediately redeemed out of purgatory. People had likewise the liberty of eating eggs and white meats on fast days, and of choosing their confessor, and the like. Guicciardini says, that the powers for releasing

souls out of purgatory were openly played for in taverns.

The order of Dominicans, as being most in favour with the lower rank of people, were made the brokers of this scandalous commerce; each friar or agent was entrusted with a set of indulgencies of all prices, of all denominations, in all cases, and for all sins; and the better to collect the money arising from this market, all Christendom was divided into different departments, in each of which a certain number of those priests were commissioned to recommend and enforce the utility of indulgences.

But Leo had, in some measure, already defeated his own intention; the great encouragement he had given to learning, had awakened curiosity in those whose profession it was to be scholars, and the flagrant practices of his agents had disposed many of the common people against him: nevertheless, such was the authority of the see of Rome at this time all over Europe, that it is hard to say where this evil would have stopped, had it not been for Martin Luther, an Augustin friar, professor of divinity at Wirtemberg in Saxony, a man of great parts, learning, and spirit, who, full of zeal against these abuses and novelties, rose up to expose and refute them. He confined himself to his subject in his first writings, but having occasion afterwards to enquire into the grounds and pretences upon which such indulgences were founded, he began to call in question some of the received notions about penance, purgatory, and the papal authority: this he did in ninety-five problematical theses, which he sent this year to Albert of Brandenburg, archbishop of Mentz, which he offered to maintain against all opponents. Hence arose a controversy, in which other doctrines were disputed. And this happening at a time when the art of printing had rendered learning more easy and general than it had been in former ages, a foundation was laid for one of the most remarkable and important revolutions in the human mind that occurs in history, either ancient or modern; this was no other than the Reformation, an incident which opened the eyes of men to discover the cheats and impositions of the court of Rome, and, together with the inestimable privilege of the freedom of private judgment in religious matters, introduced the no less valuable blessing of civil and political liberty.

Had any one told Luther at that time, that he would subvert the Roman catholic religion in almost one half of Europe, he would not have believed it. He went farther than he intended; as is the case in all disputes, and in almost all transactions. It has been said, and with an air of probability, that the best method to have made this zealous reformer change his opinion, would have been to have sent him a cardinal's hat; but the contempt he was held in by the church of Rome proved fatal to her power; for Luther, seeing himself upon the brink of a great undertaking, that of a total breach with the court of Rome, and

* The word Mameluck signifies in Syriac, a hired soldier. Jovius says, they were Circassian slaves, sold by the Tartars and Podolians to the merchants, and being trained up at Cairo in military exercises, were picked out for the sultan's guard, and preferred to the highest posts, who in 1255, resolved to obtain the kingdom of Egypt for themselves. The government was elective, and the son could claim no inheritance but his father's personal estate. Every Mameluck, whose

number in all was about sixteen or eighteen thousand, had a vote in the election, and required a gold ducat of the sultan, as soon as chosen. There were in all of this race sixteen kings, from the year before-mentioned, to the present year 1517, when Tonombeius II. their last king, was conquered in the first year of his reign, by Selimus I. Thus Egypt became a province of the Turkish empire, as it still continues. Heylin, &c. Guicciard.

not receiving assurances of protection from any of the German princes, though several of them had given ear to his doctrine, he endeavoured to reconcile himself to the pope, by writing a letter to cardinal Cajetan, in which he makes an apology for his behaviour, and promises to drop his dispute concerning indulgences, provided silence was imposed upon his adversaries; but the court of Rome taking the letter as a proof that Luther was intimidated, and would soon become tractable, paid no regard to his proposal of a reconciliation: but at length the controversy arose to such an height, that Leo, though in his own mind he despised such kind of disputes, was obliged, as pope, to interfere in defence of the doctrine of indulgences, and of his own right to grant them.

Luther now saw that he had no hopes but by declaring open war against the pope himself. Not to enter into particulars, he first appealed to a general council against his holiness; he then proceeded to plead "for restoring the cup to the laity; for reforming the disorders of monasteries; and for abolishing auricular confession." Upon the pope's condemning forty-two of his articles, upon those and other heads, and ordering his books to be burned by the universities of Louvaine and Cologne, this bold reformer, in a public assembly of the university of Wirtemberg, threw into a fire, made in an open square, all the pope's bulls and decretals.

At length the old elector of Saxony, Frederick surnamed the Wise, and several other German princes, with a great body of the people, openly espoused Luther, whose writings were thereby dispersed all over Europe, and in England especially, where the dispositions of the people at this time seemed particularly favourable to the great event which soon after happened. But it is now time to resume our relation of civil transactions. The sickness, or rather plague, which still continued in England, seems, for the most part of this year, to have confined Henry to a private life; we shall therefore proceed to the more busy year 1518.

The French king, who had still greatly at heart the recovering of Tournay, thought he could not hope to succeed in that design, unless he could gain Wolsey over to his interest; and this was only to be done by indemnifying him for the loss of the administration of that bishopric: accordingly he sent a gentleman of his bed-chamber over to England in the spring of this year, in order to sound the cardinal on that subject. The messenger found Wolsey very ready to listen to the overtures he had to make: the truth is, that this minister was heartily tired of his bishopric, as he found very little regard paid to his administration, and consequently he could draw very little profit from it; and as he had no hopes that Maximilian, who was excessively poor, and Charles taken up with settling his affairs in Spain, would come up to his price, he resolved to make the best bargain he could with Francis, who agreed to give him a bond for the payment of twelve thousand crowns annually, during his (the cardinal's) life, in consideration of the loss he might sustain by the redelivery of Tournay. This private convention being settled, Wolsey on a sudden changed his strain, and represented to Henry, that the restoring of Tournay to the crown of France would be the most political measure he

could pursue, inasmuch as the citizens had, ever since it came into the possession of England, been contriving how to deliver it up to France, and the keeping it cost every year an immense sum to the king, while the nation received no return either in power or profit. This argument, however Polydore Virgil and some other prejudiced writers may have tried to misrepresent the motives of it with regard to the cardinal, was certainly just, and founded on sound policy. Henry saw it in this light, and, though it is probable that he might think his favourite had a point to gain in it for his own advantage, yet, as his interest and that of the nation happened to coincide, the king assented to the proposal; and admiral Bonivet, with the archbishop of Paris, and Villeroy, secretary of state, were sent over by Francis, in the latter part of the summer, with a retinue of no fewer than twelve hundred persons, to open the negotiation: at the same time they brought a letter, all written by the hand of Francis himself, to Henry, with the strongest professions of his friendship, and some presents.

Wolsey had now a commission given him by Henry, for settling preliminaries with Villeroy; and the generous offers of Francis had such an effect with the English minister, that in a few days four different treaties were engrossed.

The first related to the marriage between the princess Mary and the dauphin, which was to be solemnized as soon as the young prince should be full fourteen years old, each of the two kings promising to pay five hundred thousand crowns, in case it was his fault that the marriage was not completed. Mary's dower was to be three hundred thirty-three thousand crowns of gold, one half to be paid on the day of marriage, and the other within a year after. The jointure was to be as great as had ever been assigned to any queen of France, and particularly to Anne of Brittany, and Mary of England, wives to Lewis XII.

The second treaty was upon the restitution of Tournay, for which Francis I. engaged to pay Henry six hundred thousand crowns of thirty-five pence Tournois each, besides fifty thousand livres Tournois due to him from the inhabitants. But out of these two sums Francis was to keep back the princess Mary's dower. As to the payments, he obliged himself to pay fifty thousand livres upon taking possession of the place, and then twenty-five thousand livres every six months, till the whole was paid.

The third treaty concerned the outrages which might be committed for the future against the peace by the subjects of either king, and contained certain regulations to procure speedy reparation.

By the fourth, the two monarchs agreed upon an interview in the village of Sandinfelt, between Ardres and Guisnes*.

These treaties being ratified, the princess Mary was betrothed to the dauphin in St. Paul's church, at London; and the earl of Worcester (late the lord Herbert), with West, bishop of Ely, and a magnificent train, were sent over to demand the performance of Francis, who swore to the observance of the treaties, delivered hostages for the payment of the money, and, in the name of his son, fulfilled the contract of marriage.

* Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 624—679.

During these transactions, which took up the greatest part of the year, pope Leo, still intent upon the affair of the crusade (or rather the sums he proposed to raise by virtue of that holy bubble) appointed cardinal Laurentius Campeius, or Campejo, his legate a latere* to the court of England, with instructions to solicit Henry's engagement in the general league, or five years truce, amongst all the princes of Europe, in order to prosecute jointly the war against the Infidels; and an authority to demand a tenth of the English clergy for the same service.

Campejo set out from Rome in the beginning of May, on his way to England; but Wolsey, having gotten notice of his appointment, sent one of his confidants to Rome, to complain to the pope of the affront put upon him by the nomination of another legate, while he resided cardinal in England. Leo being unwilling to disoblige so powerful a favourite, joined Wolsey in the legation with Campejo, and at the same time sent the English cardinal a commission, vesting him with the sole right of visiting English monasteries. Campejo arrived in England in July; but when he came to open the points of his embassy, Wolsey, who was the pope's enemy in every one of these matters, managed it so that the English clergy gave a flat denial to the pope's demand; and as to the project of the league, he represented it to Henry in its just light, that of a stale expedient for squeezing from the crown subsidies to the see of Rome: Henry therefore declined all such engagements. There is in the Collection of Public Acts a bull of Leo X. with extraordinary powers to the two legates, authorising them to grant a plenary indulgence to the faithful of both sexes who should be present at the mass which either of the legates should celebrate in the presence of the king and queen, or at least at the Benediction, provided they confessed their sins or desired to confess, and were penitent†. Among other circumstances which this year contributed to Wolsey's greatness, we are to mention two new grants conferred on him by the king: by the first he is empowered to give letters patent of denization, under the great seal, to all who should sue unto him for the same; and by the other he had the following full powers from Henry, which we shall give in the words of the patent‡.

“To doo and make out our letters patent, under our great-sele, from time to time, of all congie d'elires, royal assentes, restitution of temporalities, as well as archbishopprickes, bishopprickes, monasteries, abbies, and priors of our foundation, as of all other houses of religion, beyng for the tyme in oure handes by any other meane, within this our royallme of England, Wales, and the Marches of the same, unto such person or persons, as hereafter shall, by due order, sue for such congie d'elires, royal assentes, and restitutions of temporalities. And also that ye, by virtue hereof, from tyme to tyme, doo cause to be made out our commissions and writtes of *Dedimus protestatem* to such as ye shall think convenient to take the omagies and

fealtise of all manner of persons, as well archbishops, bushops, or other, due unto us for our said temporalities; and that all such summes of money as from tyme to tyme shall be due unto us by reason of the said archbishopprickes, bushopprickes, monasteries, abbeyes, priories, and houses of religion, be always contented and paid to our use, in our hanaper of our Chauncerie, unto the clerke of the same for the tyme being. And theis our letters shall be to you sufficient warrant and discharge in the premisses at all tymes hereafter.”

Those, with other dignities and powers, now conferred upon the cardinal, gave him double lustre abroad, and made him respected equal to a crowned head; and such was the deference paid him by the court of Rome, who were fearful of doing the least thing to disoblige him, that, on his application, cardinal Adrian de Castello, whom, as was before observed, he had gotten removed from the office of pope's collector in England, was now deprived of the cardinalate and of the bishopric of Bath and Wells, which had been conferred on him, and the administration of which was now given to Wolsey, in order, as is there said, to enable him the better to support his dignity of cardinal and legate of the holy see.

Campejo's negociation, however, was in no wise accelerated by these concessions of the pope to his English colleague, for all he could obtain was a defensive alliance in favour of the holy see, in case it should be attacked by the infidels, to which Henry, about the end of the year, agreed, with room for the pope, the emperor, and the king of Spain to enter into the same. This cold alliance, however, was far from answering the views of his holiness, who intended to fill his coffers with the money which the more distant powers were to advance, to buy off a personal attendance upon this expedition; nevertheless, he approved and ratified the treaty, and the report of an intended invasion by the Infidels, immediately vanished.

The genius of the English was daily taking a new and more pacific turn; it was now cultivating rising arts, it was improving trade, and encouraging manufactures; and we must do cardinal Wolsey the justice to say, that he made the noblest use of his power, excepting the vanity that attended it, that any minister ever did. His post of high-chancellor placed him at the fountain of justice, and never was it better administered; he was particularly careful in punishing that most destructive of all evils, perjury: he was a great protector of the poor, and enforced several excellent laws for the protection of the mercantile and industrious part of the people. We have already observed, that he was a great promoter of the arts and sciences: the learning of the English was at this time equally useless and heavy, and their taste none; Wolsey saw this, and had the virtue to attempt to improve the one, and to introduce the other. With this view he spared no pains to find out men of literary merit, nor thought any reward too great for such merit. He employed no ministers but such as were

* There are four sorts of legates. 1. They whom the pope sends to preside at general councils. 2. The pope's perpetual vicars in countries remote from Rome; thus before the Reformation, the archbishop of Canterbury was *legatus natus apostolicæ sedis*. 3. They who for a certain time, and in certain places, are delegated to convene synods for restoring church

discipline and other emergencies. 4. The name of legate is given to the pope's extraordinary ambassadors to emperors and kings, who are called *legati a latere*. At present none but cardinals have this character.

† Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xiii. p. 609.

‡ Ibid, p. 605.

scholars; and under his administration the dignities of the law, of the church, and of the state were filled with men whose merit was their only recommendation: Dr. Clark and Dr. Knight were, through him, made bishops; Dr. Taylor was made master of the Rolls; Dr. Pace, one of the principal secretaries of state; Dr. Gardiner, who had a very fine turn for letters, was employed in several ambassies; not to mention Cromwell and Moore, who, by his means, rose to the highest offices in the state; with a vast number of other promotions, equally just and generous.

He this year laid before the king a scheme for the advancement of learning, particularly at Oxford, which he proposed to effect by founding several lectures for the furtherance of the belles lettres, and by reforming the statutes of that great seminary. Henry, whose heart was as yet good, had a regard for the prosperity of his people, and gladly lent his countenance and authority to the noble and patriotic views of his favourite. The statutes of the university were put into Wolsey's hands, and he had the new-modelling of them, which was followed by the noble institutions by him erected for the encouragement of learning, the particulars of which we have given us by a late writer of his life, and were as follow.

The first was that of theology, whereof one Blackwell, an excellent divine, was the first lecturer, of whom honourable mention is made in an epistle from the university to the cardinal, wherein they acquaint his eminency, "that they are not able to express the great benefit of his lectures in general, and more particularly the theological." Secondly, civil law; but who was the first person who read this lecture does not appear. Thirdly, of physic; the first who discharged this province was Thomas Musgrave, master of arts. Fourthly, philosophy; though we know nothing more concerning the person who was first appointed to read this lecture than that the initial letters of his name were L. B. Fifthly, for the mathematics, one Richard Crutcher was the first reader, of whom we find this character, representing his morals and learning: "Crutcher is a person of so great probity and goodness, that he deserves a better fortune than is common to mathematicians; and so great a master of his art, that he merits to be called so, by way of eminence and peculiar distinction." He was a native of Holland, and educated in the colleges of Wirtemberg and Cologne. Sixthly, for the Greek language, one Calphurnius, a native of Greece, was first appointed by the cardinal to this province, who first taught the pronunciation of that language in Oxford, as it is now read. Seventhly, for rhetoric and humanity, Clement was the first reader, who was succeeded by Thomas Luport, concerning whom More writes to his friend Erasmus, "That he read in both tongues with the greatest reputation*."

Neither must it be forgotten, that Henry, in

imitation of the best regulated cities in Italy, and at the request of the cardinal, and that of several other learned men mentioned in the preamble to the patent†, founded the College of Physicians, "to check (to use the words of the said patent) the boldness of those unskilful men, who profess physic more out of avarice, than any confidence of a safe conscience;" a salutary and undegenerating institution!

At the same time that Wolsey was giving proofs of his glorious zeal for learning, he was exerting all the painful talents of a consummate politician. The peace which Europe now enjoyed was interrupted in the beginning of the year 1519, by the death of the emperor Maximilian‡, of whose mercenary feeble character the preceding pages have furnished some lively instances. This event necessarily induced Wolsey, as an able minister, to change his party with regard to France; for, upon the emperor's death, Francis I. declared himself a candidate to succeed him; a design which, had it taken place, must have proved very injurious to the interests of England: but Wolsey found means to frustrate it, through the means of Dr. Pace, the shrewdest negociator of the court of England, who so managed matters, that Charles, king of Spain, grandson of the deceased emperor, was elected by a majority of one voice among the electors||.

The election of Charles was a terrible mortification to Francis, and the jealousy of those two potent princes occasioned the bloody wars, of which we shall have occasion to speak in the course of this reign. In the mean time, as the government of England was now free from the fears of seeing a king of France emperor of Germany, Wolsey now renewed the former negotiations with Francis, from whom he had received, while the election of an emperor was depending, a commission constituting him that prince's procurator, commissary, and deputy for settling the whole particulars of the approaching interview between him and Henry; but it may be observed, that the advances made the cardinal not only by this monarch, but likewise by the new emperor, who, soon after his election, gave him a pension of five thousand ducats upon the bishopric of Pace, in Castile, and two thousand more upon the bishopric of Pala, was not so much the effect of any personal esteem for the minister, as through the fear of losing the friendship of the king his master, whom they knew to be entirely governed by him. Francis, on his part, to give Henry a fresh mark of his respect, desired him to stand god-father to his second son, afterwards king of France by the name of Henry II. Hence we may perceive how happy Henry's situation then was, and how glorious his reign might have been, had he wisely improved it; but, unfortunately for him, by his after-conduct he forfeited all those advantages, and incurred a load of guilt and infamy.

As for Wolsey, all his fine qualities were disgraced by his insolence, pride, and rapaciousness:

* Grove's Wolsey, p. 20, 21.

† John Chamber, Thomas Lynacre, Ferdinand de Victoria, Nicholas Halsewell, John Frances, and Robert Yaxley, our physicians. Ibid. p. 45, 46.

‡ On the twelfth of January. He was king of the Romans, and called emperor, though never crowned by that title. Some say, the reason was, because he declined the charge and hazard of going into Italy, to receive the imperial crown at the pope's hands. He spent his leisure hours in poetry, and writing

the history of his own life in Dutch verse. As knight of the garter, his obsequy was solemnly kept in St. Paul's, by our king and the knights of that order. Herbert, p. 34.

|| There were then but seven electors, viz. the archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, the count Palatine, the duke of Saxony, the archbishop of Treves (or Triers), the marquis of Brandenburg, and the king of Bohemia. The electorate of Bavaria was erected in 1648, and that of Brunswick Lunenburg Hanover in 1693.

having

having lately prevailed on the pope to recal Campejo, and to vest him with the sole power of legate, he opened a new tribunal called the Legatine Court, wherein he exercised very high, if not illegal powers. It was in effect a court of conscience, that took cognizance of almost all the actions of life; and one John Allen, doctor of laws, being appointed judge of this bench, committed the most flagrant acts of violence and extortion, on pretence of reforming the manners of the people. He pretended that his jurisdiction reached to all suits arising from wills, and contracts of marriage, and tried an infinite number of causes which properly belonged to other courts; while the king's judges were afraid to oppose his encroachments. While his substitute thus harrassed the laity, the cardinal himself treated the clergy with no less rigour and severity: he bestowed all the benefices of the kingdom upon his favourites, nor durst any one complain to the king of these arbitrary and oppressive measures, until Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, ventured to inform him of the discontents of the people, and the insolence of his minister. And shortly after, John London, a priest, boldly accusing the judge of the legate's court of malversation in his office, the king resolved to take cognizance of the affair himself; and Allen being convicted of numberless misdemeanors, the king so reprimanded the cardinal for his choice of such a man, that from thenceforward he became more cautious how he acted.

The cardinal's pomp was equal to his power: he now celebrated mass with all the state and magnificence of the sovereign pontiff, being constantly served by bishops, and even earls and dukes presented him with the water and towel. In his habit he was most gorgeous: besides the richness of his vestments, which in that respect were even regal, he wore shoes of silver gilt, set with pearls and precious stones: whenever he went abroad, he caused two large crosses (the one for York, and the other as legate) of massy silver to be carried before him by two tall priests; as also two pole-axes and two pillars of silver gilt, and golden cushions; with a train of stately horses, richly caparisoned. Nor was he content with the great power, wealth, and authority he enjoyed in England, while there was one degree of ecclesiastical dignity to which he had not yet attained; accordingly he already began to concert measures for procuring the papacy, whenever the holy see should become vacant, and the king of France had actually promised him the votes of fourteen cardinals; but since Charles had been elected to the imperial dignity, Wolsey seemed to think that prince more capable of advancing him to the papal throne, and began gradually to detach his master from the interests of France, and engage him in the behalf of the house of Austria.

The news of the approaching interview between Henry and Francis alarmed Charles V. who feared it might be a means of creating a personal friend-

ship between the two monarchs, or of producing a league between them to his prejudice. These apprehensions put him upon endeavouring to gain the cardinal so far over to his interest as to try his master, king Henry, to agree that Charles, in his return from Spain to Flanders, might land in England, and confer with the king before the latter passed over to France. The cardinal, who, as we have just observed, thought it his interest to make a friend of Charles, brought Henry to consent to this proposal, by observing to him, that if Charles landed in the manner proposed, and went to the court of England, such an action could not be deemed an interview, but merely a visit to his aunt Catherine, Henry's consort. The king not only consented, but agreed to have a formal interview with Charles, after that with the king of France was over. In consequence of this private agreement, Charles set sail from Corunna, and, about the twenty fifth of May, 1520, landed at Dover, while Henry had proceeded as far as Canterbury, on his road to France, Wolsey having now settled every thing relating to the ceremonial of the interview between his master and Francis.

Upon the news of the emperor's landing, Wolsey was immediately dispatched to compliment his imperial majesty at Dover, where he was next day met by Henry in person, who conducted him to Canterbury, whither likewise the queen came, to pay her respects to her nephew, whom she had never seen before. The emperor, during his stay, laboured to dissuade the king of England from his intended interview with Francis; but Henry told him, with an air of frankness, that he had gone too far to retract, but, at the same time, assured him that nothing should pass between him and Francis to his prejudice. We have nothing besides that is material to relate concerning this visit, excepting that Charles renewed the treaty of commerce which had been concluded in 1506, and then took his leave of the English court.

Henry having made some necessary reformatations in his court, where the licentious behaviour of several young noblemen had given offence, set sail for France, on the thirty-first of May, and landed the same evening at Calais*, from whence he proceeded to Guisnes, a small town near the frontiers. Francis, attended by a like splendid retinue, repaired to Ardres, a few miles distant, and the two monarchs met, for the first time, at a place situated between these two towns, but still within Henry's French territories, Francis having agreed to pay that compliment to the English king in consideration of his having passed the sea in order to come to the interview.

The reader can scarcely exceed in his idea of the magnificence of the interview between the two kings; it was so splendid, that the place where it was held was called the Field of Cloth of Gold. Henry had caused a building, three hundred and twenty-eight feet square, to be erected, from which a private gallery reached to the castle of Guisnes;

* He was attended by his own queen, the queen dowager of France (married to the duke of Suffolk), cardinal Wolsey, the archbishop of Canterbury; the dukes of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Buckingham; the marquis of Dorset; the bishops of Durham, Ely, Armagh, Chester, Rochester, Exeter, Hereford, and Llandaff; the lord prior of England; the earls of Stafford, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Devonshire, Kent, Wiltshire, Derby, Essex, and Kildare; the lords Abergavenny, Curson, Maltravers, Montacute, Her-

bert, St. John, Ros, Fitz Walter, Hastings, Delawar, Mountjoy, Dacres, Ferrers, Cobham, Daubeney, Morley, Lumley, and Howard, with many others, knights, esquires, and gentry to the number of four thousand three hundred and thirty-four persons; and of horses one thousand six hundred and thirty-seven, besides those who attended the queen dowager of France and the duke her husband, and the cardinal's retinue. See Grove's Wolsey, p. 111. 112.

the parts of this great building were artificially framed in England, and brought over for this purpose. Its outside was covered with painted cloth, so as to have the appearance of fine hewn work, and its inside richly hung with tapestry: in the front was painted a device, being the figure of an English archer, with these words for the motto, *CVI ADHÆREOPRÆEST*, "he prevails, whom I favour," thereby expressing Henry's situation, as holding in his hands the ballance of power among the politicians of Europe.

Francis at first proposed to lodge in a rich pavilion of cloth of gold; but the wind having thrown it down, he caused a large house, no wise sumptuous, but built of such materials as could be got in haste, to be erected near Ardres. Wolsey was sent thither to him on the fifth of June, to settle every thing for the final ratification of the late treaties between him and Henry. This was done next day, with only two additional articles; "one referring all matters in dispute to the judgment and award of the countess d'Angoulesme (mother to Francis) and cardinal Wolley; the other, providing, that when the million of crowns, stipulated by the treaty of May, 1513, was satisfied, the king of France should pay one hundred thousand livres Tournois yearly to Henry, till the marriage of the dauphin with the princess Mary of England should be solemnized in the face of the church."

The intelligent reader, who is sensible upon what small incidents the greatest events of life turn, cannot be offended if we subjoin some particulars of this famous interview, which strongly mark the dispositions of the two kings. When Henry, at their first meeting, was reading the draught of the proposed treaty, instead of pronouncing his own titles of "I, Henry, king of France and England," he stopped short, and very handsomely told Francis, that he had almost been hurried into a breach of good manners, and went on with the simple appellation of, "I, king Henry." Francis, charmed with this delicacy, returned him the compliment by an obliging bow; and observing in Henry a frankness of disposition, and a kind of willingness to shake off the restraints of formality, he resolved to hold conversation with him in a more friendly manner.

It had been agreed that Francis should visit the queen of England at Guisnes, while Henry was visiting the queen of France at Ardres; and that neither visit should continue longer than an appointed signal. Both accordingly withdrew to their respective lodgings; and Francis took that opportunity of slipping from all his guards, and going with only two gentlemen and a page to Guisnes, where he found the commanding officer for the day, with two hundred archers, posted on the bridge: the officer knew Francis, who addressed him with an air of frankness: "Gentlemen (said he) you are all my prisoners; and I order you to conduct me to the apartment of my brother the king of England." The officer instantly obeyed, and Henry was astonished on seeing his brother of

France enter his chamber single; but instantly recovered himself, and, embracing Francis, "Brother (said he) you have served me as shrewd a turn as ever one man did another; you have instructed me with what confidence to behave towards you: I yield myself your prisoner from this hour." Upon this Henry immediately made Francis a present of a rich collar which he wore about his own neck, to the value of fifty thousand angels: and Francis presented Henry with a bracelet from his own arm of double the value. A conversation then ensued, to the mutual satisfaction of both kings, who laid aside the formalities of state in their ensuing conversations*.

The emperor had daily information from the cardinal, and even from Henry himself, concerning what passed at the interview; but still he was extremely uneasy about the event. Having occasion soon after to come to Gravelines, Henry went, on the tenth of July, with a noble train, to visit him there; and being met on the way by his imperial majesty in person, was entertained with as much magnificence as the place would admit. This meeting gave Francis great disquiet: he ordered la Pluche, one of his ministers at the imperial court, to require Charles's accession to the triple league, in his new quality of emperor; but the latter waved the demand, saying, that as he had already signed it by the name of Charles, he deemed that sufficient; Henry at the same time declaring himself of the like opinion. This left Francis no farther room to doubt of an intimate connection subsisting between his rival and the court of England. The interview between these princes did not last above three days; Henry returning to England about the middle of July, and Charles, after passing some time in Flanders, proceeded to Aix la Chapelle, where he was crowned emperor, on the twenty-third of October, with great solemnity; and, to crown his good fortune, he about this time received an incredible accession of wealth by the bravery and conduct of Hernando Cortez, who subdued the Mexican empire*, by whose treasures both this prince and his successor, Philip II. were afterwards enabled to aspire to universal monarchy.

The posture of affairs in the beginning of the year 1521 seemed to threaten Europe with a fatal war. The violent personal emulation and political jealousy which subsisted between the new emperor and the French king soon broke forth into action. These two princes invaded the dominions of each other with numerous armies; and, after they had gratified their ambition by some petty conquests, and glutted their revenge by committing the most terrible ravages and devastations, they preferred their complaints to the king of England, as the most proper person to decide the difference between them.

Henry, influenced by the cardinal, affected to lay the blame of this rupture upon Francis; nevertheless, professing to observe an exact neutrality, he prevailed on the contending princes to send their ambassadors to Calais, where they should find

† Guicciardin. Lord Herbert.

* Hernando Cortez, undertaker of the expedition to America, going, in the year 1518, with about four hundred foot, and fifteen horse, and seven little field pieces, into many populous but diversly affected kingdoms, did so dexterously behave himself, that playing the part sometimes of an ambassa-

dor, and sometimes of a soldier, he availed himself of all. And in conclusion, notwithstanding the opposition of his countrymen and enemies, laid a foundation of a greater dominion than any man before him did. Herbert, p. 34. See Don Ant. de Solis, Hist. of Mexico.

cardinal Wolsey, vested with full powers to act in his (Henry's) name as mediator. Charles willingly embraced this proposal, because he knew himself sure of the favourite's interest; and Francis durst not reject it, lest he should furnish Henry with a colour to declare openly for his enemy: it was therefore agreed, that the plenipotentiaries of the two monarchs, the pope's nuncio, and the cardinal of York, should meet at Calais on the fourth day of August.

The time appointed for the congress of Calais being come, Wolsey repaired thither, attended by a most splendid retinue of noblemen, prelates, and gentlemen; in the mean time a six weeks truce was appointed between the emperor and the king of France*. According to the lord Herbert, the cardinal mediator had given the emperor a hint not to agree, whatever seeming advances were made, to any peace with France: it is certain, from the whole tenor of his conduct, that Wolsey entered upon this his high office with very partial sentiments, and a firm resolution to make his master declare against Francis, whom he thought not so able to serve him in his great design of obtaining the papal dignity as the emperor. The consequence of these underhand dealings was, that Charles insisted on such high and unreasonable terms, that Francis absolutely refused to agree to the conditions he offered.

This refusal furnished Wolsey with a pretext to undertake a journey to Bruges, in order to confer personally with the emperor, and find out some expedient to procure a peace between the two monarchs: accordingly, on the twentieth of August, he set out, attended by four hundred and sixty horse, and was met by the emperor himself, a mile out of the town of Bruges. Here he concluded a league between Henry and the emperor, against France, by which the king of England obliged himself, in case of Francis's noncompliance with the terms offered him by the emperor, to invade France with an army of forty thousand men, and to bestow upon Charles the princess Mary, his only child, who had now some prospect of succeeding to the throne, notwithstanding that the emperor had already agreed to espouse the king of France's daughter, and that the English princess was already affianced to the dauphin of France†.

Thus ended this secret negotiation, for it can be called no other, between Wolsey and Charles, and thus was Henry wrought upon by his minister to declare himself the enemy of Francis I. without the least provocation, and contrary to all the rules of sound policy, considering the vast and continually increasing power of the emperor, which it was his interest to ballance.

Wolsey having now placed matters on such a footing as he thought most for his own interest, and having nothing more to do in the quality of mediator, he returned to England about the latter end of the year, and presented Henry a most magnificent bull from the pope, conferring upon him the title of Defender of the Faith, in consideration of a book which Henry had written against Luther, and which shall be farther taken notice of, in the ecclesiastical part of this history. But it is now

now time to take a view of what passed in England during this year.

The cardinal had long borne a grudge to the duke of Buckingham, on account of that nobleman having not only made free with his character in public conversation, but having offered him some personal affronts; in particular it is said, that the duke one day holding the bason to the king, soon after his return from France, the cardinal, when the king had washed, dipped his hands in the same water, upon which the duke, enraged at his insolence, threw the water into his shoes: the cardinal, ready to burst with rage, told him, in a threatening tone, that he would sit upon his skirts. The duke, in order to expose the cardinal's malice to the king, came the next day to court richly dressed, but without any skirts to his coat: the king asking what he meant by appearing in that strange fashion? he repeated the cardinal's threats, with the occasion of them, adding, that he thus equipped himself to baulk the cardinal of his intention, for that now he could not sit upon his skirts.

This jest, however, did the duke no service, for from that instant Wolsey vowed his destruction. He began by depriving him of his two best friends, the earl of Northumberland, his father-in-law, and the earl of Surry, his son-in-law; the former of whom he caused to be put under arrest, on account of some matter in law concerning a wardship; and the latter he sent into an honourable banishment, by making him lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The duke of Buckingham thus standing alone, the cardinal gained over one Knevet, a retainer of the duke's, but who, upon being discharged his service for some misdemeanor, was now his mortal enemy: this fellow gave information against his master, that he should say in private company, that, should the king die without issue, he would lay claim to the crown, as the descendant of Anne of Gloucester, grand-daughter of Edward III. and that, should he ever ascend the throne, he would punish Wolsey in the most exemplary manner; also that the said duke corresponded with one Hopkins, a monk in the priory of Hinton, who pretended to the gift of prophecy, and flattered the duke with assurances of his succeeding to the crown of England.

The cardinal now thought he had gotten sufficient matter for an accusation, which he so aggravated to the king, that orders were instantly issued for apprehending the duke, who, on the fifteenth of April, was committed to the Tower, and shortly after was arraigned in Westminster-hall, before the duke of Norfolk (who was, for the time, constituted lord high-steward) of divers points of high-treason: the substance of the charge against him was, "that, in the second year of the king's reign, and at divers times before and after, he had imagined and compassed the king's death, at London, and at Thornbury, in Gloucestershire; and that, in the sixth year of the king's reign, he went in person to the priory of Hinton, and there had conference with the aforesaid Nicholas Hopkins, who told him that he should be king; and that he had often said to the lord Abergavenny, who had married one of his daughters, that if king Henry died

* The plenipotentiary on the part of the emperor was Galinara, his chancellor, an able politician and complete courtier. The chancellor du Prat, de Silva the first president, and the marshal de Chabannes acted for the king of France;

while Genutio, bishop of Ascotio and nuncio from the pope, appeared in behalf of his holiness. Hall, Rymer.

† Lord Herbert. Fiddes.

without issue, he would make sure of the rule of the realm, in spite of whosoever said the contrary; swearing, that if the lord Abergavenny ever revealed this, he would fight with him to death."

The duke made a long and vigorous defence; but, after a full hearing, he was, by his peers, found guilty, and condemned; and, on Friday the seventeenth of May, was beheaded on Tower-hill†. Thus fell Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, who was descended from Edmund, earl of Stafford, who married Anne, daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, and son of Edward III. He was also earl of Hereford, Stafford, and Northampton. He married Eleanor, daughter of Henry Piercy, earl of Northumberland; and had issue Henry, lord Stafford; Elizabeth, married to Thomas Howard, earl of Surry (son to the duke of Norfolk); Catherine, married to Ralph Neville, earl of Westmoreland; and Mary, married to George Neville, lord Abergavenny. In this duke the office of hereditary high-constable, which he inherited from the Bohuns, earls of Hereford (and which was the greatest post in the kingdom, its power extending, in some cases, even to controul the crown), became forfeited, and was never afterwards revived‡. His son Henry was, by an act of parliament, in the year following, restored in blood, though not to his father's honours or estates; but some of these were afterwards granted him: and George, lord Abergavenny, his son-in-law, was imprisoned for misprision of treason, but soon restored to favour.

We are now, after a long interval, to enter upon some review of the affairs of Ireland, as they stand connected with the affairs of England. In the late reign, the earl of Kildare, and the ministers of state, who had favoured Simnel, had received their pardon; and sir Richard Edgcombe was sent over, with five hundred men, to take a fresh oath of allegiance from the Irish nobility to Henry's government. We have already seen what share these people had in supporting Perkin Warbeck, and the earl of Kildare, for that and several other reasons, was detained prisoner in England in the year 1496. Henry VII. however, saw within this nobleman such great sentiments of honour and valour, that he soon after gave him his liberty, and even raised him to the dignity of lord-lieutenant, in which station he acquitted himself with great loyalty and honour: and in the year 1499, he acted as lord-deputy under Henry, then the second son of the king, who was made lord lieutenant. In year 1504, he, with great courage and resolution, quelled a conspiracy of some of the chief nobility in

Ireland, who had brought a great army into the field, which he totally defeated with very little loss to himself. All the rest of Henry VII's reign was free from any commotions in Ireland, and Kildare was continued in that government till his death, which happened in 1513, the fifth year of the present reign, when he was succeeded, as well in his posts as estates, by his son, who in no wise degenerated from the virtues of his father||.

He began his administration with great success against the turbulent Irish; but Wolsey finding it necessary to remove the earl of Surry to a greater distance from the court, on account of the duke of Buckingham's affair, Kildare was called to England, to answer some frivolous complaints, and Surry was sent over in his room, though with powers so greatly circumscribed, that he found he could not maintain his character with any degree of dignity, and soon after had interest enough to get himself recalled from this troublesome post, and was succeeded by Pierce, earl of Ormond. Under him the Irish again took arms against the English government, encouraged by the earl of Surry's carrying away with him all the English forces. The truth is, the Irish, without the pale of the English government, seem as yet to have considered themselves as an independent and unconquered people: each clan had its own head, who made war and peace, as he was provoked or satisfied; so that Henry found the best measures he could take in respect to Ireland, was to support the principal chiefs one against another: and in this situation stood the affairs of Ireland towards the end of this year.

On the first day of December, this year, died pope Leo X. (John de Medici) in the forty-sixth year of his age and the ninth of his pontificate. He had, a little before his death, granted to cardinal Wolsey, for life, the administration of the abbey of St. Alban's, which, being authorized by the king of England, was afterwards confirmed, and the cardinal's dignity of legate renewed by Adrian VI. Leo's successor in the papacy.

Wolsey was not without hopes of being chosen at this time to fill the vacant see, and had actually in different scrutinies nine, twelve, and nineteen voices, this last number being more than half the number of cardinals assembled in the conclave*. He applied to the emperor for his interest; and Henry, zealous for the elevation of his favourite, sent Dr. Pace to Rome, with instructions to promote his election; but these measures proved in vain: Charles V. though he had engaged to assist Wolsey with all his interest, had no inclination to

† Baker's Chron. p. 267.

‡ Dugdale's Baron. vol. i. p. 171.

|| Cox's Hist. of Ireland, p. 190, 191.

* The conclave is in the Vatican, where there is a long gallery full of cells, which are chosen by the cardinals by lot. The funeral of the deceased pope lasting nine days, on the tenth each cardinal goes to his cell, and are shut up in the conclave with one servant, called a conclavist, with each a secretary and gentleman to attend them, carry their messages, and manage their intrigues. The conclave is guarded by the militia of the city, to prevent their receiving any letters; and the dishes of meat (which are received in at a window by the conclavist) are searched by the master of the ceremonies for the same reason. The cardinals meet every morning and evening in the chapel for a scrutiny, which is done by writing their suffrages in the billets done up in two folds, and sealed with two seals. In the first fold, the conclavist writes the name of the cardinal his

master votes for, because the cardinal's hand would be known. In the second the cardinal writes his own name; and on the outside, the conclavist writes any motto the cardinal pleases, as Deo volente, by which they know their own billets when they are read, for the fold containing the elector's name is not opened till the pope is chosen, and then he opens all to know who elected him. When the billets are ready, they put them, after a short prayer, into a chalice upon the altar, and appoint two of their number to read the names of the cardinals aloud, and keep account of the votes for each. And this they do till two thirds of the votes fall upon one person; and if they do not, the billets are all burnt. The court of Rome consists at present of the pope and seventy cardinals; viz. fifty cardinal-priests, fourteen cardinal-deacons, and six cardinal-bishops, who are for the most part of the pope's privy-council. See Puffendorf's Introduction to the History of Europe; and Relig. Customs, vol. i.

perform his promise; he wanted to have a pope who should be entirely at his devotion, and he was too well acquainted with the imperious temper of Wolsey to think that he could ever manage such a pontiff; he therefore determined to advance cardinal Adrian Florentio, bishop of Tortosa, who acted as his prime minister in Spain, to the papal chair, and proceeded so artfully therein, that this prelate was unanimously elected pope before the arrival of Pace at Rome, and thereby his imperial majesty was furnished with a plausible excuse for the failure of Wolsey's application; and as he was desirous to maintain a friendly correspondence with this favourite, on whose pleasure he knew in a great measure depended whether or not he should live on good terms with Henry, he granted him a pension of twenty-five thousand ducats a year, in lieu of the administration of the see of Paca, granted him by the late pope, besides another of nine thousand thousand crowns a year, in lieu of that of Tournay, the payment whereof Charles undertook, since, after the league above-mentioned, it could not be expected from Francis.

This prince had by this time gotten intelligence of the private league made at Bruges, which he doubted not would be followed by a war with England; he therefore, in order to oblige Henry to declare himself one way or the other, on the twenty-third of February, 1522, sent a letter to the king of England, putting him in mind of the treaty of October, 1518, between them and the late pope and the present emperor, whereby the contracting parties obliged themselves, upon notice of any of their territories being invaded, to require the invader to desist and make satisfaction for what he had done, and in failure thereof to declare war against him, requiring Henry accordingly to declare himself an enemy to the emperor, whose troops had taken Mouzan, in Champagne, and joined those of the late pope in an invasion of the Milanese.

This seems to have made Henry declare himself sooner than he intended; and accordingly, about the latter end of March, he sent Clarendieux king of arms to the French court, with a declaration, that he looked upon Francis as the breaker of the common peace, and therefore found himself under a necessity of taking part with the emperor against him. Nothing but war was now to be looked for; the ambassadors on both sides were recalled, the effects of merchants were seized in both countries, and Henry fitted out a strong fleet for making prizes of the French ships, and protecting the English commerce. The command of this fleet was given to the earl of Surry, who was now in high favour, and made lord high-admiral of England.

Besides the other motives which induced the king of England to side openly with the emperor, he pretended great cause of complaint against Francis in regard to some transactions of his, relating to the affairs of Scotland, of which it will be necessary here to take a cursory review.

Towards the latter end of the preceding year, the duke of Albany had returned to Scotland from France, where he had been detained some time at the instances of Henry, who wanted to avail himself of the regent's absence to procure an ascendant in the Scottish council; besides, he suspected the duke of a design to marry his sister, the queen dowager of Scotland, who, having a dispute with

her husband, the earl of Angus, had applied to the pope for a divorce, and in the mean time not only refused to cohabit with the earl, but gave all her interest to Albany. Henry upon this complained that Francis had deceived him, in suffering the duke to return to Scotland: he likewise revived his complaints against the duke to the Scottish parliament, in the beginning of this year 1522, accusing him of procuring a dissention between the queen dowager and her husband, and of an intention to procure a divorce that he might marry her himself; and concluded with insisting that the duke might be removed from the regency and the custody of the young king. The parliament of Scotland replied to this letter with so much spirit and firmness that Henry plainly saw they were resolved to stand by the duke. He also now learned, that, upon the return of the cardinal, without communicating any result of his conferences at Bruges to Francis or his ministers, the latter, suspecting what was indeed the truth, had thought it necessary to strengthen himself by a strict alliance with Scotland, through the means of the duke of Albany, with whom he had, on the twenty-eighth of December, in the foregoing year, concluded a treaty at Edinburgh, by which, in case of a war between Francis and Henry, the Scots were to send six thousand men to the assistance of the former; and if Scotland was attacked, which Henry seemed to threaten, if the duke was not removed from the regency, Francis was to aid the Scots with a powerful force: and to bind this treaty, a marriage was stipulated between one of the daughters of France and the young king of Scotland. These considerations, partly real and partly pretended, were by Henry made use of as his reasons for preparing for a double war against France and Scotland.

Such was the situation of affairs when Charles V. paid a new visit to England, with a view to strengthen his interest with Henry and the cardinal, whom he was fearful of having disobligeed by what had passed at the late conclave, and also to confirm the articles agreed upon at Bruges. He landed, on the twenty-sixth of May, this year, at Dover, whither the cardinal went to receive him with a magnificent train, and was followed by Henry himself two days afterwards, who conducted the emperor to his court at Greenwich. As Wolsey did not think this a proper juncture to shew any resentment, the emperor had reason to be satisfied with his reception, and found a ready compliance with all his desires. After some days were passed in the customary diversions of those times, the king carried the emperor to Windsor, where he was installed of the order of the Garter. This done, the two monarchs received the sacrament from the hands of the cardinal (who omitted nothing to display his grandeur on the occasion), and swore to the treaty of Bruges, to which some new articles were now added. The preamble to this treaty, as containing the grounds of the war which afterwards happened, we shall here give.

"Whereas there was lately war begun between us, Charles, and the king of France; and, by virtue of a league between us king Henry, and the said king of France, both we and Francis, by our letters, required aid of the said king Henry, one against the other, and the said king of England, in the beginning of this year, to compass these differences, sent to Calais the most reverend father

in God, Thomas, cardinal of York, as his lieutenant, before whom, when many disputes had been on both sides who first began the war, and it was found that the fault was in the French king, and that he first began with us, not in Luxemburg only, but by his captains also in Navarre, and hired foreign soldiers which were not his own subjects, to break the public peace, contrary to the treaty of London; wherefore, when the most reverend father could not effect at Calais neither peace nor truce, under any honourable conditions, the king of England understanding, as well by the relation of the most reverend father, as by the letter of Francis king of France, written by his orators and captains, which were shewed to the king of England, that the said Francis had broken both the treaty of London, and all other treaties and agreements of affinity concluded between them, not only by sending the duke of Albany into Scotland (which was against his oath given), but also denying the king of England his pension, and violating his subjects, against the league; the said king of England hath resolved thereupon to send us aid against him, accordingly as he is bound by the treaty of London: and therefore, upon treaty of a perpetual and stricter confederacy between us and the said king Henry, and also of a marriage with the princess Mary, we being on both sides free from all agreement made heretofore in this kind with the French, have concluded both league and alliance in manner following."

As the treaty itself is too long, we shall only give its principal clauses, which are as follow.

"That Henry shall give with the princess Mary four hundred thousand crowns; the same to be restored to the king of England's executors, in case that the said princess should succeed to the crown of England; but subject to the deduction of such sums as Maximilian the late emperor borrowed of Henry VII. and that the marriage shall be consummated as soon as the princess shall be twelve years of age: her fortune to be made a million of crowns in case of Henry's having a son; and she to be invested with a jointure of fifty thousand crowns a year."

The chief articles of the treaty of alliance were as follow.

"That before the end of May, 1524, or sooner, the emperor shall declare war, in all his dominions, against the king of France, and invade France on the side of Spain, with thirty thousand foot and ten thousand horse; while Henry was to enter France, with the like force on what side he found most convenient. In like manner each was to furnish three thousand marines, for investing the coast of France by sea; and likewise a competent number of soldiers to harraßs the frontiers of France on the side of Artois and Picardy; the emperor obliging himself to do his best to recal all German mercenaries out of the French pay.

"The emperor was to assist Henry, should the latter think proper to attempt to annex the crown of Scotland to England, or entirely to reduce Ireland: and Henry was to assist the emperor if he should attempt to reduce the dukes of Gueldres or Friesland, or any of the rebel feudatories of the empire: and that neither prince shall make peace, nor diminish their contingencies, without consent of the other; and that both should declare their pretensions to the places to be recovered from France,

before the first of May, 1524, that proper restitution may be made. The whole of the treaty to be kept secret from the French.

It was agreed also, "That this treaty shall be signified to pope Adrian VI. and he be intreated to enter into it, and held as a principal contrahent if he accept it within three months. The Venetians, if they will accept this treaty within three months, so as, according as they ought by the treaty of London, they will forsake the French and declare themselves against him, shall be comprehended. The Swiss shall have this treaty signified to them, and be practised to renounce the French, or at least to be neutral. None shall be comprized in this treaty which is enemy to either of the two principal contrahents; for the rest, each may have his friends."

We must not forget that there was in this treaty a clause, by which both contracting parties obliged themselves to appear before Wolley as judge, in what place he should chuse, and voluntarily submit to his jurisdiction as legate; and confessing themselves to be bound to observe this treaty, shall require the said legate to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against them, if they violate the articles thereof.

At the same time that this treaty was concluded, Charles gave Henry an indemnification, by which he bound himself to save Henry harmless for all the sums of money and pensions, which were or should be due to king Henry from Francis, upon former agreements, and now were or should be withheld by the said Francis, upon denunciation of war against him.

In the mean time, to ingratiate himself with Henry and the English nation, the emperor, during his stay here (which was but five weeks) presented the earl of Surry, high-admiral of England, with a commission for being admiral of his dominions likewise: and the English fleet being now joined by a great number of Flemish ships, and some Venetian gallies, the whole amounting to one hundred and eighty sail, the earl of Surry, as lord high-admiral of both kingdoms, took command thereof; and the emperor going on board on the third of July, landed, on the sixteenth of the same month, at St. Andero, on the coast of Biscay, in Spain; after which, cruising off the French coast, he made a descent near Cherbourg, and, after having destroyed the adjacent country, sailed for Morlaix, in Brittany, and burnt and plundered that town, from whence he brought a great booty; but the season advancing, and his men growing sickly, he returned home.

The war being thoroughly resolved upon, Henry's next concern was how to get money for its support. He did not chuse to call a parliament to demand a subsidy, seeing that he could allege no just cause for undertaking a war so detrimental to the trade and commerce of his subjects: however, money must be raised, and it was the cardinal's business, who had embarked his master in the war, to find means. His first step was to borrow twenty thousand pounds of the citizens of London, and other sums of other persons capable of advancing them. A general loan was then demanded, in the king's name, of the tenth of all the estates of the temporality, and a fourth of the clergy, requiring the Londoners to give in the value of their estates upon oath; but they opposed this method of taxation

tion in the most strenuous manner, alleging, with great justice, the impossibility of giving an exact account of their effects, seeing that, as a trading people, the greatest part of their properties were in the hands of their correspondents in foreign parts. This argument bore so much conviction with it, that the king contented himself with a sum barely sufficient to bear his expences until a parliament should be called, to which at last he was obliged to have recourse.

The moneys thus raised falling far short of the king's necessity, a general muster and valuation was appointed, by means of a new Domesday book, to be formed in a very peculiar manner. Stowe gives us an account of this survey from the original warrant, dated at Brentwood, in Essex, March 27, 1522. It was by appointing commissioners throughout all the counties of England; and these commissioners were to issue warrants to the constable of every hundred, who was commanded to charge the constables of every parish within the said hundred to appear personally before certain commissioners, and to bring with them the names of all persons above sixteen years old, dwelling within the said hundred, and to enjoin them to repair to a certain place assigned, with their arms, and declare what their names are, and to whom they belong, and who is lord of every town or hamlet, and who stewards, and who persons of the town, and what their benefice is worth, and who owners of every parcel of land within the said precincts, and what is the yearly value of every man's land, what stock on the lands, and who the owner thereof; also what strangers dwell there, and what business they follow; also the value and substance of every person above sixteen years of age; also what pensions go thence to religious and spiritual men*.

Henry resolved to apply some part of the money his favourite had thus squeezed from the people, in chastising the Scots for the little regard they had shewn to his demands in the case of the duke of Albany. In the spring of the year sir William Fitz Williams, vice-admiral of England, had put to sea with his squadron, and sailed up the Firth of Forth; but the Scots had so well secured their shipping, that he was obliged to return without effecting any thing to their detriment. On the thirtieth of July, George, earl of Shrewsbury, was appointed to command as the king's lieutenant against the Scots, and had a commission for making a general array of the northern counties, in order to enter Scotland; but the duke of Albany had by this time raised a strong army, and advanced as far as the river Esk, near Carlisle, with an intention to invade England; but when he gave orders for passing the borders, many of the principal nobility refused to advance, alleging that it would be extremely impolitic to involve their country in an unnecessary war with England, since they had no quarrel with Henry, nor he with them, but on account of their adhering to the duke as regent. This latter, finding it impossible to engage the Scots in a war on his account, and seeing no remedy, made a short truce with the lord Dacres of the North, who had been detached by the earl of Shrewsbury, and had burnt the town of Kelso: and, under favour of this suspension of hostilities the duke retreated to

Edinburgh, where he dismissed his army, and sailed, the twenty-fifth of October, for France, to get a body of foreign troops from Francis, his ally, by the help of whom he hoped, at his return, to make the Scots more tractable. Here we shall have time to take a short view of the state of affairs in Italy, where the events of the war proved very unfavourable to Francis.

The new pope was entirely in the interest of Spain, and consequently an enemy to France. A little before the death of the late pontiff, Leo X. the crafty cardinal of Sion, finding means to corrupt the Swiss in the French pay, had brought them over to the allies, who were thereby vastly superior to the French army. The consequence of this was, that Prosper Colonna, the pope's general, passed the Adda, and surprized Milan, where he had a correspondence. This was followed by the reduction of Pavia, Lodi, Parma, and Placentia, and many other places in the Milanese; and this year Cremona and Genoa fell into the hands of the Imperialists. The Venetians, who had hitherto been the friends and confederates of France, afraid of the resentment of the allies, began to treat with the emperor, and civilly desired Lautrec, who commanded for the French in Italy, to retire out of their territories, where he had taken refuge with his troops after a defeat he had suffered in attacking the Imperialists at Bicocque; and, about the latter end of this year, Henry and the emperor prevailed on them, partly by threats, and partly by fair promises, to engage to observe a neutrality. They were chiefly induced to do this from the dreadful apprehensions they were under from the Turks, who had this year taken Belgrade from the king of Hungary, and the island of Rhodes from the knights of St. John of Jerusalem; besides, the new pope, the devoted servant of the emperor, had found means to gain over the dukes of Ferrara and Urbino, and thereby terribly weakened the French interest in Italy. In Navarre the French kept their ground with good success, under the marshal de Chavennes, who compelled the Spaniards to raise the siege of Fontarabia†.

Such was the state of England and of English concerns on the continent in the beginning of the year 1523, when the cardinal, finding how disagreeable his late method of raising money had been to the nation, advised the king to convoke a parliament, which accordingly met on the fifteenth of April, at Black-friars, in London: the clergy meeting in convocation at the same time, Wolsey, to convince the laity that he did not intend to burthen their shoulders only, in what he had lately done, began the plan of his operations with his reverend brethren, of whom he demanded a subsidy of one half of their annual revenues, payable in five years. This unreasonable demand was strongly opposed by Fox and Fisher, bishops of Winchester and Rochester; but the cardinal, incensed, at their hesitation, rated them so roundly in a speech he made on the occasion, that the rest of the clergy were discouraged from supporting them, and the subsidy was agreed to.

Having thus succeeded in the convocation, he repaired to the house of commons, where he made a very long and copious speech on the state of affairs, setting forth the faithlessness and ambition of the

* Stowe's Annals, p. 515.

† Guicciardin. Mezerai.

French king, and the necessity of England's taking part with the emperor, concluding his harangue with a demand of eight hundred thousand pounds, to be raised by the fifth (or four shillings in the pound) of every man's goods and lands, payable in four years †.

This demand was enforced the day after by sir Thomas Moore, a creature of the cardinal's: but the members objecting to the extravagance of the sum required, occasioned many and warm debates, which at length ended in an offer of granting the king two shillings in the pound from those possessing twenty pounds and upwards per annum, and one shilling in the pound for all who had above forty shillings per annum; and for those under forty shillings, and above the age of sixteen, two pence per head, to be paid in three years.

The cardinal, impatient of the least controul, when he had a point to gain, was much offended at this backwardness of the commons, and accordingly, returning to the house, by an insinuating speech prevailed on them to resume the debates on a more extensive plan; at the same time he had recourse to a notorious falsehood to win them over to his will, by telling the house that the lords had agreed to four shillings in the pound; whereas the lords had granted nothing, but waited to see what the commons would do. We are told farther, by some of our oldest historians, that when several members of the house begged Wolsey to prevail with the king to moderate his demand, he peremptorily replied, "that rather than attempt to persuade the king to abate one shilling, he would have his tongue plucked out of his head with hot pinchers."

The debate was then revived, and lasted fourteen or fifteen days, and at last it was agreed, upon the motion of sir John Hussey, which was seconded by Mr. Montague, a lawyer of great credit in the house, and of great weight in the debates*, that those of fifty pounds a year should pay three shillings in the pound for two years; which, saith the lord Herbert, being at length continued to the fourth year, and extended to such as were worth five pounds in goods, was all that could be obtained; and the parliament was, on the thirty-first of July, adjourned to Westminster, where it sat till the thirty-first of August, when it was dissolved. For the statutes made in this parliament, we refer the reader to their proper head.

About this time the bishop of Durham died, and the king gave that bishopric to the cardinal, who resigned the bishopric of Bath and Wells to Dr. John Clark, master of the Rolls; and sir Henry Marney, who was vice-chamberlain, was made lord privy-seal, and shortly after created a baron. Also, during this parliament, Arthur Plantagenet, bastard son to king Edward IV. was created viscount Lisle in right of his wife, who was widow to Edmund Dudley, the wicked minister of Henry VII.

In the summer of this year, Christiern, king of Denmark and Sweden, who had married the emperor's sister, and had been driven out of his dominions by his own subjects, on account of his in-

sufferable cruelty, came into England with his queen, and was honourably received by Henry, who made him many valuable presents: he then went to Flanders, where he remained as a banished man. Some years after, king Henry sent ambassadors, to persuade his people to receive him again; but they could not prevail, so great was the hatred of his subjects against this tyrannical king.

Henry being thus, by the timidity or the venality of parliament, furnished with an immense sum, prepared to put in execution his great engagements. The Venetians had been strongly solicited by the Imperial and English ambassadors to renounce their alliance with Francis: the senate was for a good while irresolute what party to take, but finding, by advices from their ambassador at Paris, that Francis, through want of money, disturbances in his court, and the necessity of defending his frontier against the attempts of the Spaniards, the English, and the Flemings, was not in a condition to send over an army into Italy, they agreed, on the twenty-eighth of June, to a league with the emperor, Ferdinand, archduke of Austria, and Sforza, duke of Milan, by which they engaged to furnish six hundred men at arms, with as many light horse, and six thousand foot, for the defence as well of the Milanese as of the kingdom of Naples, against all powers whatever, except the Turks, with whom they durst not break; and the emperor was to assist them with the same force, if any of their territories should be invaded. The pope, at the request of the contracting parties, entered into this league, and was followed by the republics of Florence, Genoa, Lucca, and Sienna ||: the marquis of Mantua was appointed general of the Ecclesiastical and Florentine troops, a separate army of observation was formed, and Prosper Colonna was made generalissimo of the grand alliance.

Francis behaved on this occasion with an intrepidity truly heroic; and it is more than probable that he might have been able to have withstood all the efforts of his enemies, had it not been for the injustice he was guilty of towards Charles, constable of Bourbon, to whom he had been indebted for the success of his arms in Italy. It was not thought sufficient to mortify him on all occasions, but Louisa of Savoy, countess of Angoulesme, the king's mother, being desirous of marrying the constable, who was lately become a widower, and having been refused by him, resolved to ruin the man she could not wed, and preferred a suit against him, which was deemed highly unjust by all the lawyers of those times, and which no other but a powerful queen-mother could have gained. This suit was for no less than all the possessions of the family of Bourbon. The judges suffered themselves to be prevailed on by the queen's solicitations; and, by a sentence of sequestration, stripped the constable at once of all his estates; who thereupon sent his friend, the bishop of Autun, to request the king at least to put a stop to the proceedings: but the king would not even see the bishop. Upon this the constable, who had already

† Hall, p. 109. Lord Herbert. p. 55.

* It is said, that when Henry was informed of the commons having refused to grant the required supply, he was so incensed that he sent for this Mr. Montague, and addressed himself to him in the following manner: "Ho! man! will they not suffer my bill to pass?" and laying his hand on Montague's head,

who was then on his knees before him: "Get my bill passed by to-morrow (said he), or else to-morrow this head of yours shall be off." Such was the haughty and tyrannical style employed by this arbitrary king, to the free-born natives of England; and such the oppressive practices of his imperious minister!

|| Peter Martyris Ep. 781. Belcar. lib. xii.

been strongly solicited by Charles V. to enter into his service, now, in a fit of despair and anger, accepted the offer. It would have been truly heroic in him, to have continued to do his duty to his country, though ill treated; but there is another kind of heroism, that of revenge: unfortunately, Charles of Bourbon, made choice of the latter, quitted France, and entered into the emperor's service. Few men ever tasted the fatal pleasure of revenge more fully than himself.

The emperor received him with open arms, and immediately made Henry acquainted with the affair, who sent sir John Russel, an able negociator, over to Calais, to treat with the constable, whom he brought to enter into a league offensive and defensive with the emperor and the king of England, by which he obliged himself to act against Francis in the heart of his dominions with an army of his own vassals, reinforced by seven thousand Imperialists, while Charles and Henry should attack the French in Bearne and Picardy. It was also stipulated in this treaty, that, after they should have conquered France, the constable was to have for his share Provence, erected into a kingdom, and espouse the emperor's sister Eleonora, widow of don Emanuel, king of Portugal*.

In the mean time, as the affairs of Italy pressed, and the emperor was sensible of the great advantages a general must have, who knew the strength and weakness of all the French troops, he constituted the constable his lieutenant-general in Italy, and the latter repaired to Milan; which was now in the hands of the French admiral Bonnevét, Bourbon's greatest enemy.

But about this time Henry was greatly chagrined by the news of the duke of Albany being ready to sail from France, with a reinforcement of foreign troops, for Scotland. Upon this the earl of Surry was appointed general of the army to act against the Scots; and sir William FitzWilliams was sent, with a squadron of thirty-six ships, to cruize off the French coast, and prevent the duke's getting out; but being obliged by severe gales of wind to return to the Downs, the duke took the advantage of his absence to put to sea, and, sailing west-about, landed in Scotland about the middle of September, which country the earl of Surry had by this time entered and most miserably ravaged, burning the town of Jedburgh and several villages and castles.

The duke of Albany, upon his arrival, called a parliament at Edinburgh, when, after some debate, it was resolved to march against the English. Accordingly, the duke, taking the field with a numerous army, approached the English borders, where he heard that the earl of Surry was then lying at Newcastle; upon which he sent a herald to him, promising him, if he would come forth to meet him, he would give him battle; and if he took him prisoner, grant him good quarter. To this defiance the earl replied, that he should in no wise decline meeting the duke in the field; but, if he took him prisoner, all the quarter he would give him should be to cut off his head and send it to his master, the king of England.

The last day of October, the duke of Albany crossing a wooden bridge over the Tweed, which divided England from Scotland, with a part of his army, laid siege to the castle of Werk, which was

very near capitulating, when sir William Lisle, the commander, making a sudden sally at the head of his garrison, drove the enemy from before the place, with the loss of three hundred men, most of them French. By this time the earl of Surry's army being reinforced, for which purpose he had returned back out of Scotland, amounted to upwards of forty thousand men; but having received orders from court to act only upon the defensive (lest by pressing the Scots too much they might be brought to unite among themselves), he did not follow the enemy into their own country. Shortly after, the queen dowager of Scotland sent to her brother, the king of England, desiring him to refrain from farther hostilities, and agree to a twelve-month's truce, which proposal Henry readily consented to, as it left him more at leisure to prosecute his designs against France. Accordingly orders were sent to the earl of Surry, to disband his army, and that nobleman returned to court, where he soon after took the title of duke of Norfolk, fallen to him by the death of his father, the old duke.

Henry had been so taken up with attending to the affairs of Scotland, that it was the twenty-fourth of August this year before the English army could be carried over to Calais. It was commanded by the duke of Suffolk, under whom served several valiant noblemen, and other persons of distinction. On his arrival at St. Omer's, in September, he was joined by three thousand foot and five hundred horse in the Imperial service; and a council of war being held, it was resolved to coast along the Somme, and, if possible, draw the French to a battle: but these latter not daring to hazard an engagement, contented themselves with harrassing the enemy by flying parties, and depended on the strength of their frontier garrisons, and the advanced season of the year, to prevent the English taking winter-quarters in their country.

The duke of Suffolk coming before Bray, a town on the Somme garrisoned by sixteen hundred men, took it by assault on the twentieth of October, and, passing the river, made himself master of Montdidier, Roye, and other considerable places. He thus continued to advance till he came to the Oyse, within eleven leagues of Paris, which put that city in the utmost consternation: however, the arrival of the duke de Vendôme with a large body of troops re-animated the inhabitants, and filled the English, in their turn, with apprehensions, lest their provisions should be cut off, and themselves enclosed between this army, and one which was forming by marshal Tremouille, from draughts out of the garrisons of Picardy. The English were masters of no strong towns to maintain themselves in, during the winter, which now set in so severe that numbers of the soldiers died by the extremity of the cold, and Suffolk found himself obliged to retire to Calais, to put his army into winter-quarters. The necessary effect of this treaty was, that almost all the places he had taken during the campaign fell again into the hands of the French.

The emperor was not more successful in the attempt he made at the same time upon Gascony, though he had come in person into Navarre, in order to hasten the enterprize. His troops, making a feint of laying liege to Fontarabia, passed the

mountains the next day, encamped at St. John de Luz, and on the eighth of September invested Bayonne.

The city was nobly defended by Lautrec, the French general, and the attack was as obstinate as the defence. The Spaniards had invested it on all sides by sea and land, and incessantly battered the walls with great fury; but Lautrec animating not only the small number of soldiers that were in the garrison, but even the women and children, to defend the place, the Spaniards, after ravaging all the country round, and finding the rigour of the season increase, were obliged to draw off their troops, and return to their own country, leaving a sufficient number however to renew the siege of Fontarabia. Thus ended the operations of the two expeditions designed against France: we are now to attend the third, which the reader may remember was to be attempted by the constable of Bourbon, with his own vassals and a body of German troops, in the very heart of the kingdom.

It was September before these troops, commanded by general Furstemberg in the constable's absence in Italy, entered Burgundy through the Franche Comté, who, after taking Coiffi, passed the Meuse, and made himself master of Montclair; but being surprized by the count de Guise, and having no horse to oppose to the French cavalry, he resolved to retire into Lorraine: he could not, however, make his retreat so safely but that Guise, falling upon his rear near Neufchatel, cut in pieces the best part of his troops.

As to Francis, the rebellion and flight of the constable of Bourbon threw him into the greatest perplexities. He was just setting out from Lyons, to head his army in Italy, when he heard of the treaty this revengeful subject had made with his enemies, and fearing he might have interest enough to foment a rebellion in France, he committed the care of the Italian war to admiral Bonnivet, to whom he gave the sole command of his army there, amounting to thirty-three thousand men, and who passed the Alps about the end of August or the beginning of September. Bonnivet was but an indifferent soldier, and a worse statesman: he took, however, Novara and some other places of no great consequence in Italy; and had he marched directly to Milan, he might have recovered it for his master; but he lost so much time in treating with the inhabitants, at four leagues distance from the city, that the constable of Bourbon had an opportunity to put it in a state of defence. The rest of the campaign was spent in several fruitless attempts made by the admiral upon Cremona and Milan, in all which he was disappointed. At last, after being in danger of his army starving in camp, and daily threatened with a mutiny from the Swiss troops, he sent his forces into winter-quarters in Piedmont.

While these things were transacting, pope Adrian VI. died, and the conclave was split into two different factions, one of which favoured cardinal Colonna, and the other Julio de Medici, a natural son of Julio de Medici, uncle to pope Leo X. the latter of whom, after a debate of fifty days, was chosen pope, and assumed the name of Clement VII.

Wolsey was no sooner informed of Adrian's death, than he persuaded Henry to write a letter with his own hand to the emperor, recommending him in the strongest terms to the papal throne;

but Charles had already espoused the cause of Julio, and the English cardinal affected to bear his disappointment with all the resignation of an hermit, though, in all likelihood, his heart was inflamed with revenge against the emperor, who had twice deceived him in a point which he, from his inmost soul, so much coveted to gain: however, his ambition was in some measure gratified by the new pope, who bestowed on him a grant of the legatine power for life, which had never been conferred upon any other person.

Before we close the transactions of this busy year, it will be necessary to mention a word or two concerning the state of affairs in Scotland towards the end of it.

The duke of Albany, upon his return to Edinburgh from his unsuccessful attempt against England, did not find the estates of the realm so obsequious to him as they used to be: James V. was now in the thirteenth year of his age, and many of the nobility thought it was high time that he should be taken out of wardship and initiated into the affairs of government. This was the general sense of the nation; and the duke of Albany, seeing it difficult to stem the tide, desired leave to return to France: he was taken at his word, and going over in the following year, his post of governor was abolished, and the queen, in her son's name, assuming the government of the kingdom, had, jointly with eight lords, the custody of the royal person. The truce lately concluded was soon after followed by a treaty for a perpetual peace, and for the marriage of the young king of Scotland with the princess Mary, Henry's only child, and as yet the heir of his dominions. As for the duke of Albany, he never again returned to Scotland; and the Scottish nobles, distracted by their own intestine dissensions, were not able, for a number of years, to give any more disturbance to England.

The year 1524 opened with some military operations on the frontiers of Spain, that made the emperor amends for the ill success of his arms in the preceding campaign, for his troops, under the command of the constable of Castile, having entered Bearne in January, and taken Mueillan, St. Palais, and Sauveterre, and cut off all communication between Bayonne and Fontarabia, they invested this last place on the first of February, and on the twenty-seventh Frangel, the French governor, capitulated for a surrender; for which he was soon after condemned by a council of war, and degraded: however, the Spanish army suffered so much by the severity of the weather during this siege, and the toil of the operations, that it was not fit for any farther business for some time.

The emperor's arms were no less successful in Italy, where the confederate generals, at the head of whom was the constable of Bourbon, having taken Marignano, resolved to attack admiral Bonnivet before he should receive the reinforcement he expected from France. The operations of the allies, who took the field as early as the beginning of March this year, were so quick, that they actually drove the French quite out of the Milanese, and forced Bonnivet to repass the Alps. But this great success of the Imperialists alarmed not only the pope, but the duke of Milan and the Venetians, who now began to cool greatly in their ardour to the cause of the league, seeing themselves ready to be swallowed up by the Imperial power; and

and the Venetians actually withdrew their troops out of the Milanese.

The evacuation of Italy left the emperor now at liberty to carry the war into the heart of France; and, agreeable to this scheme, which had been concerted between Charles, Henry, and the constable of Bourbon, the latter passed the Alps, and entered Provence about the end of July, with fifteen thousand foot, two thousand horse, and a train of eighteen pieces of cannon; and, after having made an easy conquest of the almost defenceless towns of Antibes, Frejus, Vignolles, and Aix, the imperial army, on the nineteenth day of August, sat down before Marseilles, which was defended by a garrison of three thousand foot and two hundred men at arms, besides nine thousand inhabitants, who took arms on the occasion. In the mean time don Hugh de Mençada, the Spanish admiral, who had been sent with a stout fleet from Genoa, to assist the operations of the land-forces, took Toulon. The siege continued to be vigorously, but ineffectually, pressed for almost a month; but on the approach of Francis, with an army of forty thousand men to its relief, the constable was obliged to rise from before the place and retreat with some precipitation into the Italian territories.

Francis hereupon resolved to march immediately into the Milanese by a shorter route; and the constable, being apprized of his design, redoubled his diligence in order to prevent it: thus the two armies, marching by different routes, arrived the same day, the one at Alba the other at Vercelli, both in that duchy; then the constable being joined by the vice-roy of Naples, at Pavia, they consulted upon what was to be done in this unlucky juncture, when finding money and provisions grow scarce, it was resolved to abandon Milan, where a terrible plague now raged, and having strongly reinforced the garrisons of Pavia and Alexandria, they retired to Socino. Thus Francis took possession of Milan without opposition, and undertook the siege of Pavia, one of the strongest fortresses in Italy, in the beginning of November.

The arrival of the French in Italy, and the success they had hitherto met with, determined the Venetians and Florentines to abandon the party of the emperor; and at the same time pope Clement VII. forgetful of the obligations he owed to Charles, or considering himself as the guardian of Italy, engaged privately to support Francis against the powerful confederacy which had been made to overwhelm him, and made a secret treaty with that monarch, by which he promised to give a free passage through his dominions to a body of French troops that were to march under the duke of Albany, now returned from Scotland, for the conquest of Naples, and who was accordingly sent thither early in the ensuing spring; and the pope published his accommodation with the French king, which he wanted the world to consider as the effect of compulsion. The emperor, however, saw through the trick, and even threatened to take severe vengeance on the treacherous pontiff; though, in truth, this league of Clement with Francis was in a great measure the cause of the success of Charles's arms, as it induced Francis to divide his forces, by which his army was greatly weakened.

Mean while the court of England seemed to adopt new maxims. By the agreement between the allied parties, while the emperor was making

an attack upon Gascony with a powerful army, Henry was to have fallen with another, in conjunction with the Flemings, into Picardy; but this he had neglected to do, by which means Francis had been enabled to draw down in a manner the whole force of his kingdom to Avignon, and march to the relief of Marseilles, as has been already related. Not only so, but the king of England had discontinued the payment of a subsidy he had granted to the duke of Bourbon, and even demanded reimbursement of a sum of money he had lent Charles when he was last in England. These concurring proofs of a coolness to the general cause, alarmed the emperor not a little; and his suspicions were still farther increased by hearing from his ambassador in England, that a person sent by Louisa, countess of Angoulesme, mother of Francis, whom her son had left regent of his kingdom during his expedition into Italy, had been some time at Henry's court, where he had long and frequent conferences with cardinal Wolsey. In a word, Charles foresaw that the king of England intended no less than to abandon his cause, and engage in a league with his enemy, and doubted not that this alteration in the sentiments of Henry was owing to the instigation of Wolsey, out of revenge for his (Charles's) having twice disobliged him in the affair of the papacy; and the behaviour of pope Clement plainly shewed that he would second the endeavours of the cardinal.

That pontiff now shewed the greatest deference and respect to the court of England: he confirmed the title of Defender of the Faith, which his predecessor Leo had granted to Henry; he issued a bull, impowering the cardinal to suppress as many monasteries as he should think proper, to raise the yearly rent of three thousand ducats, to endow a college which he was about to found; and, in the month of December, he, with the king's consent, appointed cardinal Laurentius Campejo bishop of Salisbury.

We must now return to the siege of Pavia, to behold an event which made a very great alteration in the affairs of Europe, wherein England was deeply concerned.

Francis had weakened his army by the detachment he had sent off, under the duke of Albany, towards Naples; and Pavia, to which he had laid siege, being extremely well provided for a defence, the Imperial generals had some hopes of attacking the French at a disadvantage. The arrival of the duke of Bourbon, who joined Lannoy, vice-roy of Naples, with twelve thousand Germans, on February 9, 1525, determined the Imperialists to attempt to raise the siege of Pavia: with this view they marched within a mile of the French camp. They were not yet so strong as the enemy; but having no money to pay their forces, it was necessary for them to come to an action, lest their men should disband, which would have proved full as fatal as the loss of a battle. Had Francis raised the siege, the Imperial troops would doubtless have dispersed, and he might have reduced the Milanese without any difficulty; but thinking his honour concerned, he resolved either to make himself master of Pavia, or lose his life before the place.

As the French camp was very strongly entrenched, the constable was obliged to wait above a fortnight before he could put his resolves of attacking Francis in execution. Mean while however, the

Swiss having recalled their six thousand men from the French service, and these troops departing notwithstanding all the king's endeavours to detain them, besides the desertion of three thousand Italians under John de Medici, who disbanded themselves, the constable thought he should no longer neglect an opportunity so favourable to his purpose; and on the eve of St. Matthias, February 24, being the emperor's birth-day, he attacked the French camp in the dead of the night.

Upon the first alarm being given, Francis put himself at the head of two thousand gens d'armes within the camp, and fell with such impetuosity upon a body of troops, commanded by the marquis of Pescara, that this general was unhorsed and dangerously wounded, and the entire body he commanded must have been ruined, had not he been succoured by the duke of Bourbon, who had already made a terrible carnage in another quarter of the camp, and now returning, fell upon the French gens d'armes with irresistible fury: all that the great officers now surviving could do, was to assemble and defend the person of their sovereign, who fought like a knight-errant, sword in hand: la Pelisse, la Tremouille, Galeas de San Severino, and admiral Bonnivet fell by his side, and he was surrounded by the Imperial cavalry, the officers of which perceiving, by his armour, that he was some person of great rank, resolved to take him alive, and for that purpose slew his horse: in his fall he received a wound in the leg, notwithstanding which he started up, and still fought on foot with surprising prowess.

It happened that Pomperant, an officer of some distinction, who had accompanied the duke of Bourbon in his revolt, came up at that instant, who seeing the king in such a dangerous situation, drew his sword, and, placing himself by the side of Francis, assisted him in keeping off the soldiers who pressed upon him in order to take him alive; at the same time he desired that the duke of Bourbon might be called to receive the king as a prisoner: Francis, transported with rage, declared that he would rather die than deliver his sword to a traitor; then, turning to Pomperant, "Send for Lannoy, viceroy of Naples (said he), to him I will surrender." That officer accordingly approaching, the king said to him, in the Italian language, "Mr. de Lannoy, there is the sword of a king, who deserves some commendation, seeing, before he parts with it, he has made use of it in shedding the blood of many of your army, and who is not a prisoner through cowardice, but the accidents of fortune." Lannoy received the sword upon his knee, and respectfully kissed the king's hand, to whom he then presented his own sword, saying, "I beg your majesty will be so good as to receive mine, which hath this day spared the lives of many Frenchmen; it

does not become the emperor's officer to leave a king disarmed, though a prisoner."

Francis was now conveyed to the viceroy's tent, where his wounds were dressed, and he was treated with all possible respect. Lannoy is said to have begged his majesty would see the constable of Bourbon, who, at his request, was admitted, and, kissed his hand: but some historians assert, that he positively refused to admit the duke into his presence. He ought not to have provoked the duke's resentment by acts of tyranny and injustice, which, by the law of nature, cancel the obligation of allegiance, for the duties of allegiance and protection are reciprocal. Next day Francis was conducted to the strong fortress of Pizighitoni, where he remained for some time under the guard of Alva-zon, the Spanish governor of the place, who preserved to him all the punctilios of decorum. On the fourteenth of August, the royal captive was, by the emperor's order, conducted to Madrid.

Never was letter more true than that which this prince wrote to the queen regent, his mother, the night after the battle: "Madam, all is lost, save our honour." Every thing seemed to foretel his inevitable ruin. His frontiers were unguarded, his treasury exhausted, a general consternation prevailed throughout all orders of the state, and violent dissensions in the council of the queen, who governed the kingdom during his absence; lastly, the king of England threatened France with an invasion, and to revive the fatal times of Edward III. and Henry V.

Charles V. without having as yet unsheathed his sword, kept a great king prisoner in his capital of Madrid: and here Charles for once seems to have neglected to make the utmost of his good fortune; for, instead of entering France in person, to take advantage of the victory his generals had gained in Italy, he remained idle in Spain; and in room of seizing Milan for himself, he thought it necessary to bestow the investiture of that duchy on Francis Sforza, that he might not give umbrage to the rest of Italy. Henry of England likewise, instead of joining with Charles to dismember France, became jealous of his rising greatness, and resolved to support France against the emperor; for which purpose he, on the ninth of June, entered into treaty with the queen regent, for procuring the liberty of her son; and this negotiation was carried on so heartily, that, on the third of August, a treaty of peace and alliance was actually signed between John Joachim de Passau, lord of Vaux, and John Brinon, president of Rouen, ambassadors from the queen mother of France, at London; and the archbishop of Canterbury, the duke of Norfolk, treasurer of England, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Worcester, the bishop of Ely, and sir Thomas Moore, sub-treasurer of England, on the other*. In a word,

* The principal articles of this treaty (as we find them in the *Fœdera*, vol. xiv. p. 39) were as follow:

"That all transactions of the late war should be forgot and forgiven on both sides, and that the subjects of the two crowns should live together in good correspondence.

"That they should furnish succours to one another in case of an attack from a third power; which succours were to be in proportion to their several abilities.

"That the intercourse of commerce should be again opened between the two nations; neither side to harbour the rebels of the other.

"That prisoners on both sides should be released; and that their several allies should be comprehended in the treaty. But

that neither of the contracting powers should maintain or protect those allies in any usurpations which they have made since the date of the treaty of London in 1518.

"That Francis should, within three months after he is at liberty, ratify the present treaty.

"That the constable of Bourbon, the duke of Vendosme and Longueville, the count de St. Paul de Lautrec, the count de Sevelles, the lords of Montmorency and Breslay, with the counts Maufurier and Brunne, and nine of the chief cities in the kingdom of France should engage for Francis's ratifying and fulfilling the said treaty."

By another treaty, which is dated at Tours, the sixteenth of August, and ratified the thirtieth of the same month, at

word, the captivity of Francis, which to all appearance should have occasioned such great revolutions, produced nothing of any consequence or advantage to England or the empire.

The court of France had too much sense; if not gratitude, to forget the good offices of cardinal Wolsey on this occasion, to whose management Henry committed this, as he did almost every other affair of state: the cardinal was promised the arrears of the pension which had been granted to him in lieu of the administration of the bishopric of Tournay, which amounted to the sum of twenty-nine thousand seven hundred and ninety-three crowns of gold, and furthermore gratified with the additional sum of one hundred thousand crowns of gold. And now Henry finding his treasury was almost emptied, he committed the care of recruiting it to Wolsey.

That minister, instead of applying to parliament, from which he had already received a repulse, issued a decree, in the king's name, to levy through the whole realm one sixth of all lay revenues, and a fourth of the clergy's effects. This impost was considered as such a violent encroachment on the liberty of the subject, and such a flagrant violation of Magna Charta, that it produced a general clamour over the whole nation, and almost caused a rebellion; which being represented to the king, he disowned the measure, saying that "no necessities of his, though ever so great, should make him attempt the raising money in any other way than by the people's consent in parliament." Thus this illegal project of the cardinal was defeated, though it has left an indelible stain upon his memory: however, he soon fell upon another method of fleecing the subject, which he thought would not appear altogether so odious; this was by way of benevolence: and to carry that through, he sent for the lord-mayor and aldermen of London, and told them, that he had prevailed with the king to recal his commission for the heavy tax, and to throw himself on their free-gifts. But in this he was likewise disappointed, for the magistrates of London refused to submit to the imposition, alleging, that the practice of raising money by benevolence had been abolished by Richard III. In short, the court finding that they could not carry their point in any way, it was laid aside, and a general pardon was issued for all delinquents, on account either of the loan or the benevolence.

Henry seems to have been hitherto unacquainted with the arbitrary measures of the cardinal, and to have imagined that the people were happy and contented under his mild and gentle administration; but the clamours and frequent insurrections which had happened in consequence of the late attempts to oppress the subject having satisfied him to the contrary, he was highly incensed against the favourite, who could not appease his master's wrath without the most humble and abject submission: he produced his will, in which he had left all his substance to the king; and at length found means to convince him, that all he did was for his honour, and should turn out for his profit. To confirm his protestations by deeds, he made Henry, about this time, a present of his stately palace at Hamp-

ton-court; and in return the king granted him this year letters patent for the founding of his college at Oxford, of which farther notice will be taken in the ecclesiastical part of this history.

Before the close of this year, several promotions were made: among others, Henry Fitzroy, the king's natural son, by the lady Elizabeth Blunt, daughter of sir John Blunt, and widow of sir Gilbert Talbois, was made duke of Richmond and Somerset, earl of Nottingham, and lord high-admiral of all the king's dominions, English, French, and Irish. This young nobleman, though he died before he attained his eighteenth year, is much celebrated by the writers of that time for his accomplishments both of body and mind.

Towards the end of this year almost all the powers of Europe interested themselves in procuring the liberty of Francis; but the emperor insisted upon such harsh terms, that Francis declared he was resolved to suffer any extremity rather than give way to them, and actually sent into France, by the duchess of Alençon, his sister, who had come to visit him in his confinement at Madrid, a public act signed by his own hand, consenting that his son, the dauphin, should be crowned king of France, while he himself would remain a captive for the rest of his days.

This appearance of resolution in Francis had so great an effect on Charles, together with the generous advice and remonstrance of Guatimara, the Imperial chancellor, that the former began to abate considerably in his demands, and to treat in earnest of Francis's liberty, and a treaty was accordingly signed on the fourteenth of January, 1526, at Madrid, the principal articles of which are as follow.

"That Francis should give up to the emperor all the duchy of Burgundy, with its dependencies, with full sovereignty, within six weeks after the king's return to France, without any regard to the decrees of parliament, the Salique law, or any other claim.

"That Francis should be set at liberty, in his own kingdom, by the tenth of March ensuing, at which time the dauphin and the duke of Orleans, his two eldest sons, were to be put into the emperor's hands as hostages; or, instead of the duke of Orleans, the duke of Vendosme and Albany, with ten other of the chief nobility of France: but this last alternative was at the option of the duchess regent. It was likewise agreed, that upon the return of those hostages to France, the duke of Angoulême, third son to Francis, should be given to Charles, to be kept and brought up in his court; and with him Francis likewise obliged himself, in case the restitution of Burgundy should not be made in six weeks, to return prisoner to Charles.

"Francis gives up all his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, the lordship of Genoa, the county of Asti, Arras, Tournay, Mortaigne, St. Amand, Lisle, Douay, Orchies, Hedin, and also all sovereignty which he could pretend to over the countries of Flanders and Artois, and all other territories which the emperor was actually in possession of.

"That the emperor should resign all his rights and pretensions to the cities and lordships of Pe-

More (a house of king Henry's) a state is formed of all the arrears and demands which Henry had upon France, amounting in the whole to two millions of crowns; and the manner in

which they were to be paid is settled; and the same cautioners as before, were bound to see it discharged.

ronne, Montdidier, Roan, Boulogne, Guisnes, Ponthieu, and all the cities and territories lying upon the river Somme.

“That there shall be between the two powers a league offensive and defensive; and that the king shall be obliged to furnish troops to the emperor, for completing the conquest of the duchy of Milan.

“That Francis should marry the emperor’s sister, the queen dowager of Portugal; who was to have from the emperor two hundred thousand crowns, with several lordships in dispute between the two powers; but upon condition of her renouncing all other pretensions and demands upon the house of Austria, unless the emperor and his brother should die without children. The dauphin was likewise to marry Mary, infanta of Portugal, and daughter to the late king Emanuel, and to the queen dowager, who was to be Francis’s wife.

“Francis was to do all he could to engage Henry d’Albret, king of Navarre, to renounce his pretensions upon that crown: and if he could not prevail in this, he was to give him no assistance. He was likewise to withdraw all support from the dukes of Gueldres and Wirtemberg, and the house of la Mark; and to lend his fleet, fitted out at his own expence for three months, to carry the emperor, when he had a mind to go to Italy for his coronation.

“The duke of Bourbon was to re-enter into possession of all his estates, as were all his followers; and they were to be left at liberty without ransom: he was likewise to indemnify the Castilians, and other Spaniards, for what they had suffered in the late war, to the amount of three hundred thousand ducats: and the governess of the Low Countries was to be indemnified for Francis’s keeping her out of the possession of the county of Charolois*.”

Such, with some other private stipulations, was the famous treaty of Madrid, which Francis bound himself by oath to ratify at the first town he should enter upon his arrival in his own dominions; but the ceremonies of exchanging Francis for the hostages could not be performed till the eighteenth of March, when he was set at liberty; and arriving at Bayonne, he immediately dispatched a letter to Henry of England, thanking him for the great share he had in his deliverance; but when the Imperial minister waited on him, requiring him to ratify the treaty, he made such evasions as plainly shewed that he was resolved not to be bound to the performance. This double-dealing gave rise to mutual reproaches between the emperor and him; the lye given on each side, challenges in consequence of that, and a thousand idle actions, which threw a kind of ridicule on the most important events, and seemed to degrade the two chief personages in Christendom.

As soon as Francis arrived at Bourdeaux, he ratified the treaty concluded at More with the king of England. From Bourdeaux he came to Cognac, where he made some stay with the viceroy of Naples, still in his train, pressing him to ratify and execute the treaty of Madrid, or return to Spain, as he had sworn to do when he signed that treaty; but all in vain, for the French monarch at length told the viceroy in plain terms, that as the treaty did not concern himself alone, but all his realm, particularly his subjects of Burgundy, he could not there-

fore ratify it before he had assembled the states of his kingdom, especially those of that duchy.” But he offered to give the emperor two millions of crowns as an equivalent for Burgundy; but Charles would not consent to the least alteration in the treaty.

The pope, the Venetians, and the duke of Milan, had readily foreseen that Francis would act in this manner, as the treaty of Madrid had been extorted from him, while under confinement, and therefore they sent private agents to Cognac, who having found Dr. Taylor there, who had been sent by Wolsey from the court of England, they, on conferring together, soon found out that their dispositions were the same, namely, to curb the rising power of the emperor; and having sounded Francis on this head, they likewise found him perfectly ready to concur with them therein, and in a short time they concluded a treaty with Francis, at Cognac, on the twenty-second of May, which was christened by the name of the Most Holy League, and was entirely the effect of that great ascendancy which England had then in the affairs of Europe, for the terms were in a manner dictated by Wolsey, and were as follow.

“The allies were, at their common expence, to levy an army of thirty thousand foot, two thousand five hundred men at arms, and three thousand light horse, the particular number which each power was to furnish being specified: and the like agreement made with regard to the ships and galleys they were respectively to equip. They were immediately to levy Swiss troops, and Francis was to assist them therein by his credit with the cantons, whom he was to engage, if possible, to undertake the defence of the Milanese, on the same conditions they had done formerly. The king of France engaged never to disturb Francis Sforza in the enjoyment of the duchy of Milan, upon his paying him an annuity not exceeding fifty thousand crowns a year, in lieu of his pretensions, and providing for his brother Maximilian, who had for some years had a large pension in France for his subsistence. The duke was likewise to marry a princess of the blood of France, chosen by the pope; and the county of Asti was to be restored to the king as having been the estate of his ancestors; or at least, the government thereof be given to his son, the duke of Orleans. The sovereignty and title of lord of Genoa were to be restored to the king: and if the emperor rejected the common request of all the allies, for setting the two sons of France at liberty; for leaving all the Italian princes in quiet possession of their territories; for being attended, when he came to Italy to be crowned, with no greater a train than the pope, the duke of Milan, and the Venetians should think consistent with the safety of the country, and suitable to his imperial dignity; and for paying the sums he owed to the king of England, by several treaties; they were, when they had driven his troops out of the Milanese, to invade Naples. If this kingdom was reduced, the pope was to dispose of it; but whoever should be placed on the throne was to pay the king of France an annuity not less than seventy-five thousand crowns a year; otherwise this prince was to reclaim all his rights, and might enter thereon. The family of Medici was to be maintained at Florence, with all their rights and prerogatives.

And the king of England, being declared protector of the league, was, in gratitude for his services, to have a duchy or principality in Naples, worth thirty-six thousand ducats a year; and the cardinal of York, for his good services, was to have another of ten thousand; to themselves and successors*."

Such were the principal articles of this league, which was made while the Imperial ambassadors were at Cognac, though they knew nothing of it till the next month. In the mean time they represented to Francis, that, notwithstanding the states of Burgundy might refuse to comply with the promised cession of that duchy, his majesty might still keep his word by returning to his prison in Spain, as his ancestor, king John, had done with regard to England. But Francis complained of the ill treatment he had met with in his captivity, and repeated his offer of two millions of crowns in lieu of Burgundy, and the like sum for the ransom of his two sons. The ambassadors upon this sent another express to their court, who returned with the emperor's ultimate resolution, to run all hazards rather than suffer the least abatement in the articles stipulated by the treaty of Madrid.

The ambassadors returning this answer from their master, were surprized with the league above-mentioned being published in their presence; upon this they took their leave of the French court immediately, and returned to Spain.

The chief view of the French king in entering into the league of Cognac, seems to have been to frighten the emperor, hoping that the open declaration of the court of England to assist him with all its forces, would give weight to the instances that Henry was at this time actually making at the Imperial court for delivering him back his children; and accordingly he was not very forward in drawing the sword, because willing to leave room for an accommodation. But this conduct had almost proved the ruin of the Italian states; for the pope and the Venetians, relying upon the assistance of France and England, sent their troops into the field, under the command of the duke of Urbino; but the Swiss forces, who were paid by France, and the marquis de Saluces, who commanded the French troops in Italy, were so slow in their motions, that Sforza, duke of Milan, who still remained shut up in the castle of that city, was obliged, on the twenty-fourth of July, to surrender to the duke of Bourbon, the emperor's general, and retire to Lodi, which had been taken by the pope's troops.

And now Charles resolved to chastize those allies who had deserted him in the time of danger: of these the most considerable was the Roman pontiff, who, though he had chiefly owed his election to the good offices of the emperor, had been so ungrateful as to abandon the interest of his benefactor, and espouse the cause of the French monarch. In order to punish his holiness for this instance of perfidy and ingratitude, Charles commanded the duke of Burgundy to advance towards the city of Rome, and attack Clement VII. in his capital, Bourbon executed his commission with equal bravery and conduct; and, though he lost his life in the attempt†, the prince of Orange, who succeeded

him in the command, continued the assault with so much vigour and resolution, that the city was at length stormed and sacked, and the pope himself made prisoner.

The kings of France and England were so greatly alarmed at the rapid run of success which constantly attended the emperor's arms, that they now engaged in a fresh league to oppose the growing power of that formidable monarch. Accordingly, Francis having sent a solemn embassy to London, in the spring of the year 1527, the negotiators made so good use of their time, that, on the last day of April, according to the lord Herbert, three treaties were concluded. The contents of the first were,

"That the two kings should jointly send ambassadors to the emperor, with offers concerning the ransom of the two hostages, and to demand the payment of what was due to the king of England.

"That if he rejected the offers, or gave no answer within twenty days, the two kings should proclaim war against him.

"Another article of this treaty contained a mutual engagement for the marriage of Francis, or his son the duke of Orleans, with the princess Mary, at the king of France's choice, and upon such terms as should be agreed on when the time came‡." Probably, this treaty was to be made public, in order to induce the emperor to desist from his claim to Burgundy and be satisfied with the offered equivalent.

By the second, it was agreed,

"That in case the emperor rejected their proposals or deferred his answer, all commerce should be forbidden with his subjects by the two kings, allowing them however forty days to withdraw their effects.

"That the two kings should make war upon the emperor in the Low Countries, with an army of thirty thousand foot and fifteen hundred men at arms, and that two thirds of the foot and all the horse || should be furnished by the king of France.

"That they should equip a fleet with fifteen thousand men, whereof the king of France should find ten thousand.

"That if the king of Portugal or any other prince or state should join with the emperor, they should be declared enemies to both the kings.

"That the pope and Venetians should be deemed included in the league, provided they continued the war in Italy.

"That the king of France should endeavour to persuade the king of Navarre, the duke of Gueldres, and Robert de la Mark, to make war upon the emperor.

"That the two kings should use their joint endeavours to encourage John de Zapol to prosecute his right to the crown of Hungary, in case he had not already made an alliance with the Turk, in order to keep the emperor's brother Ferdinand employed in those parts.

"That the league should be notified to the princes of Germany, and the two kings endeavour to prevent their assisting the emperor."

The substance of the third treaty was:

* Guicciardin. Belcar. lib. xviii. n. 54.

† He was shot dead, as he was planting a ladder with his own hand against a bastion. Guicciardini.

‡ Hall says, the people were very much against this match, because the princess Mary being Henry's presumptive heir, if

he died without sons, she would of course succeed to the throne; and, on account of her marriage, it was feared she would be too much under the influence of France. Fol. 155.

|| Twenty thousand foot, and fifteen hundred men at arms. Lord Herbert, p. 81.

"I. That this treaty should not derogate from that of More, which remained in force.

"II. That there should be perpetual peace between Francis and Henry and their respective subjects.

"III. That neither of them should give aid or advice to any person whatever that should attack the dominions of the other.

"IV. Henry renounced for himself and successors all right and title to the kingdom of France, and in general, whatever Francis now possessed.

"V. In consideration whereof, Francis bound himself and successors to pay to Henry's successors an annual pension for ever, of fifty thousand crowns, at two payments; namely, on the first of May and the first of November, and that the payment of the pension should commence, on the first of those two days which should happen after Henry's death, without deduction of what should remain to be paid after Henry's decease of the two millions stipulated by the treaty of More.

"VI. Moreover Francis bound himself to give yearly to Henry fifteen thousand crowns worth of salt of Bruage[¶], besides the fore-mentioned fifty thousand crowns.

"VII. That to prevent the objection which might hereafter be made, that a king cannot bind his successors, the two kings should cause the treaty to be confirmed by the states of their realms, and held as a perpetual and inviolable law.

"VIII. That the treaty should be approved and confirmed by the archbishops, bishops, princes, dukes, earls, barons, and other great men of the two kingdoms, whose names were inserted in this article, under forfeiture of all their goods; and by the parliaments of Paris, Toulouse, Roan, Bourdeaux, as well as by all the courts of justice in England."

The news of the pope's captivity arriving soon after the conclusion of these treaties, the parties agreed, that, instead of carrying the war on in the Low Countries, they should act solely in Italy; and as English troops could not be transported into that country without great trouble, time, and expence, the French king took upon himself the maintenance of the war, on condition of Henry's paying him a certain monthly subsidy. And now, as a mutual earnest of friendship, Francis bestowed upon Henry the order of a knight of St. Michael; while Henry, in return, chose Francis a knight of the Garter.

The pope's imprisonment affording reason to suspect that the emperor might force him to some improper use of his ecclesiastical authority, cardinal Wolsey was sent over to Francis about the measures fit to be taken on the subject. They met at Amiens, and, on the eighteenth of August, agreed, "that neither king should allow a general council (the liberty of which constituted its principal authority) to be either called or sit, nor admit any bull to be issued to the prejudice of either realms, whilst the pope continued in captivity; and that the method of government in spiritual matters, in both realms, during that time, should be settled for England by the cardinal of York, with the concurrence of a convocation; and in France, by the king and an

assembly of the French clergy: at the same time it was agreed, that the princess Mary of England should be given to the duke of Orleans (instead of Francis), as of a more suitable age for her; and that this young prince should be brought up in the court of England*.

The emperor was extremely perplexed at these negotiations, and sought to break their force by seeming to comply with the propositions which Francis had made to the viceroy of Naples, when the latter required him to ratify the treaty of Madrid: but he paid all the compliment of this compliance to Henry, whose ambassadors at his court were daily pressing for the enlargement of the pope; and he now published a kind of manifesto, as from himself, addressed to the English ambassadors, dated at Valladolid, in which he specifies not only his own concessions, but the offers of Francis: a copy of these articles were also transmitted to Wolsey, who was acquainted that Charles had signified he was willing to have them moderated by the king of England. At the same time, to bring that monarch, if possible, off from the allies of the Clementine or Most Holy League, Charles offered by one of his ministers, to give the daughter of Portugal, with the Milanese for her dowry, to the duke of Richmond, Henry's beloved natural son; but matters had now taken a new turn, and very little attention was paid to what Charles proposed, who next endeavoured to gain over the cardinal, by advantageous offers; but Wolsey was too far engaged with Francis to retreat, or he was determined at all events to be revenged on the emperor, by whom he had been twice deceived; and perhaps the king's divorce from Catherine was already resolved upon, in which case he could not possibly espouse the interest of Charles. Certain it is, the cardinal, in a letter to the king, dated on the thirty-first of August, told him it was already reported in Spain, that his majesty intended to obtain a divorce; and counselled him to send orders to his ambassadors in that country to stifle the rumour as soon possible, by alleging it had no other foundation than some scruples expressed by the bishop of Tarbe, one of the plenipotentiaries from the French king to the court of England, on the subject of the proposed match between the duke of Orleans and the princess Mary, as if there had been some room to doubt her legitimacy.

At the same time the cardinal shewed himself resolved to compass his ends by arms, if he could not by treaty; at least he continued to act as if arms were the most effectual means to give success to negotiations, for he persuaded Francis to send orders to marshal Lautrec, his general for Italy, to advance into that country, in support of the Clementine league, at the head of the French army, which was to join that of the Italian princes.

Accordingly, on the first of August, Lautrec, entering the Milanese, took Alexandria; and soon after, assisted by Doria, who commanded a squadron of fourteen galleys for the king of France, he invested Genoa by sea and land, and obliged that city to capitulate, and the marshal de Trevulcé was appointed to command the garrison. The Lomeline, Vigninano, Bragassa, and Pavia were his next

¶ Jus, titulum, & verum dominium in regno Franciæ. Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 220.

¶ A town in Saintonge, famous for its salt-pits, about eight

leagues from Rochelle. The salt in this district brings in the king of France fourteen millions of livres per annum.

* Lord Herbert, p. 85.

conquests; and Antonio de Legna, who commanded in Milan, not having a sufficient force to resist him, he might easily have made himself master of that capital; but by his affected delays he plainly shewed that he had private orders not to be too much in earnest. The king of France was as yet uncertain of the issue of the treaty for the ransom of his sons; and if the emperor could be prevailed upon to accept of the cession of the Milanese instead of Burgundy, rather than run the hazard of losing both, that project would have been obstructed by the putting of Francis Sforza in possession of the capital of his duchy.

These were not reasons to be urged to the princes of the league; but Wolsey having given the pope, who entirely depended upon the friendship of the English court, the strongest assurances that he should be set at liberty, cardinal Cibo was sent to summon Lautrec to march directly to Rome for the pope's relief, in consequence of the treaties lately concluded between the courts of England and France. Lautrec took a middle way between the solicitations of the duke of Milan and the Venetians, who pressed him to make himself sure of the Milanese, the applications of the pope, and the secret views of his own court. He left the conquest of Milan to be completed by the forces of the Venetians and Sforza; and, passing the Po, on the eighteenth of October, he took possession of Parma and Placentia, which opened their gates to him, and at the same time he found means to draw off the dukes of Ferrara and Mantua from the emperor's interest.

That prince, seeing the ill effects of his detaining the pope a captive in the storm that was raising against him, came to a resolution of setting his holiness at liberty, and had sent an order to the viceroy of Naples for that purpose; but as the security he exacted from the pope for his ransom was greater than the pontiff could grant, the negotiation proceeded very slowly; but the march of Lautrec for the ecclesiastical dominions hastened the treaty, which was at length concluded to this effect: "That the pope should not oppose the emperor with regard either to Milan or Naples; that his holiness should grant to Charles the tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues within his dominions; that he should pay ninety-five thousand ducats before he left the castle of St. Angelo (where he was detained prisoner), and thrice that sum afterwards; that, till the two first payments should be made, the pope should be conducted to some place of safety, out of Rome, and give hostages."

The treaty being signed, and the cardinals of Cessis and Orfino delivered in hostage, it was agreed, that, on the tenth of December, the pope should be taken out of the castle of St. Angelo, and conducted to a place appointed; but, as he was afraid of being detained a good while longer, as he was not in a condition to perform the pecuniary stipulations, he made his escape in disguise the night before, and was escorted by Lewis Gonzaga to Orvieto.

As soon as Lautrec heard that the pope was at liberty, he restored to him the city of Parma, and marched to Bologna, where he staid three weeks, expecting fresh orders from the king his master. Some days after, he received a letter from the pope, acknowledging himself indebted to the marshal for his liberty; at the same time acquainting him, that having been forced to grant the Imperialists whatever they were pleased to demand of him, he did not think himself bound to keep his word.

During these transactions on the continent, Henry's attention was engaged by an affair of a more domestic, and to him of a more important, nature: this was no other than a divorce from his queen Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Spain, and aunt to Charles V. This affair is the most remarkable we meet with in the history of almost any country, whether we consider it in itself, with respect to the parties concerned, or, for the consequences it was attended with.

Henry VIII. was, by nature, sensual, violent, and obstinate in his desires: he had lately cast his eyes on Anne Boleyn*, a young lady of his court, who at this juncture was one of the maids of honour to the queen; her free and sprightly carriage seemed to promise very little resistance, nevertheless she had still the prudence not to yield to the king's solicitations, by which she so inflamed his passion that he resolved to make her his wife.

But how was he to procure a divorce, or annul his marriage with a person like queen Catherine, whom he could not reproach with harshness, ill conduct, nor even that morose humour which is so frequently found in women of strict virtue? Add to this, that he had lived with her upwards of eighteen years, during which time she had brought him three children, of which there was one still living, viz. the princess Mary, afterwards queen of England. Catherine was a princess of the highest quality, powerful in her family, relations, and friends; her title to be his wife had been confirmed by all the sanction which could be given by that religion to which he and all the greatest princes of

* Anna, or Anne Boleyn was of a good though not a noble family. Sir Thomas Boleyn, her father, married a sister of the duke of Norfolk, and had by her this Anne, who was born, according to Camden, in 1507, about two years before Henry VIII. mounted the throne. Her father was twice ambassador to Francis I. in 1515, and again in 1517. He was made viscount Rochford in 1525; and afterwards earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, in right of his mother. Anne, his daughter, when only seven years of age, was carried over to France, in 1514, when Mary, the king's sister, went and consummated her marriage, at Abbeville, with Lewis XII. and after that king's decease she continued in the French court, in the same post about Claude, consort of Francis I. till that queen's decease, when she was taken into the family of Margaret, duchess of Alençon. Coming from France in 1525, her father brought her to court, where Henry's queen Catherine took such a liking to her, that she made her one of her maids of honour. Her fine person, lively wit, and pleasant

and agreeable conversation, accompanied with all the ease, politeness, accomplishments, and graces, which an education in the court of France could give her, naturally procured her many admirers; among these, Henry, lord Percy, son and heir to the earl of Northumberland, gained so much upon her affections, that solemn promises of marriage were made between them, in the presence of witnesses. This coming to the king's ears, who was by this time deeply smitten himself, he employed Wolsey, whose pupil the young nobleman was, to break off the match. Both parties were obliged to release each other from their promises; but retained ever after a violent resentment against the cardinal. As for the lord Percy, he was, by his father, soon after married to the daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury: and we shall see Anne mount the royal bed, and from thence be conducted to the scaffold. Sir Roger Twissden's Account of Anne Boleyn, from an authentic MS. T. Sebright, No. 9.

Europe were devoted. This princess, as we have already seen, was first married to prince Arthur, eldest son to Henry VII. who died a few months after the nuptials. Henry procured a dispensation from pope Julius II. and made a contract of marriage between her and his second son, this Henry VIII. who, as soon as he came to the crown by his father's death, was solemnly espoused to her. A considerable time afterwards he had a natural son by one of his mistresses, whom he created duke of Richmond, and of whom he was remarkably fond; but he had then only conceived a dislike to his marriage, and no scruples of conscience: but as soon as he fell so passionately in love with Anne Boleyn, and found that he could not obtain her without marriage, he instantly began to feel a remorse of conscience, and shuddered to think how much he had offended God by having lived eighteen years with Catherine of Arragon as his wife.

He was not long before he opened to Wolsey the great secret of his heart; and this artful minister, affecting to believe that those sentiments did not spring from the distaste of an old, nor the love of a new object, but purely from scruples of conscience, fell in with his master's designs about the divorce, and thought he could not have found a time more favourable than the present to his wishes: France depended on the friendship of England, and the pope could be relieved only by Henry's support; and Wolsey doubted not, by his address, his authority, and the force of his money (he being then about to set out for France, whither he was to carry with him twenty four thousand pounds in specie) that he should be able to procure powers to himself from the pope for determining the matter of the divorce in Henry's favour.

As the pope was at this time in captivity, and no suits could be regularly carried on in the court of Rome, two methods were proposed for getting the affair dispatched: one was, to engage the cardinals, not imprisoned with the pope, to meet at Avignon, and take upon them the administration of ecclesiastical affairs during Clement's detention: the other was, to obtain from the pope a commission, constituting Wolsey his vicar-general in all countries on this side the Alps*. But the latter of these methods was disagreeable to the French, and the former was deemed very difficult, if not impracticable.

However, as the pope's compliance with any request of the court of England was not doubted, under his present circumstances, the king sent Dr. Knight as his envoy to Rome, ordering him to pass by Compeigne, in France, where the cardinal then was, and to receive his eminency's instructions for his conduct. Knight did so; and having received them, proceeded on his journey, being furnished with two instruments, drawn up in England and revised by the cardinal, which the pope was to be requested to sign, viz. a commission to Wolsey, empowering him to call in whom he pleased to his assistance, to enquire into the validity of pope Julius's bull; to proceed in the cause, and to give sentence with regard to the divorce and subsequent marriage: for which last the pope was likewise desired to grant a dispensation. He was also to bind himself never to repeal these acts. At the same time Knight was furnished with ten thousand du-

cats, to be employed in getting the chief cardinals over to favour his solicitations. But as the pope was prisoner, and guarded by a Spanish captain, it was impossible for Knight to have an audience; he found means, however, to convey to his holiness a memorial, containing the sum of his commission, to which the pope returned a favourable answer: but as it was impracticable for the English envoy to have access to the pontiff's person, the matter was carried no farther at that time.

This seems to have occasioned Henry's recalling the cardinal from France, in order to consult him again on the difficulties attending this affair: Wolsey accordingly arrived on the thirtieth of September, bringing back with him the great-seal of England, which, by an unprecedented strain of power, he had carried over to France, and left at Calais.

Upon the pope's escaping from Rome to Orvieto, on the ninth of December, Knight followed him thither, as did also sir Gregory Cassali, the king's agent in Italy, and renewed their instances for the acts being forthwith expedited. Clement's circumstances were now such that he was greatly perplexed how to act. To have annulled the marriage under the present circumstances of its being contracted and consummated contrary to a law which was morally irreversible, and eternally binding, would have given a mortal blow to the high claim of the dispensing power in popes: to grant the acts in his then situation, while the French army was at a distance from his relief, and while he was surrounded by the troops of his inveterate enemy, appeared to him certain destruction. On the other hand, he knew of what great service the court of England had been, and could be, to him, and dreaded every thing from its resentment, should he disoblige Henry in this favourite point. He therefore endeavoured to find a medium between throwing himself entirely into the arms of the emperor, and making him his irreconcilable enemy; he therefore set all his wits to work to spin out the affair by ways and means the king mistrusted not: to that end he told the English envoys, that, before he signed the acts, he should be glad to consult the cardinal de Santi Quatro.

Knight and Cassali, on hearing this, immediately repaired to that cardinal, and offered him four thousand crowns down, if he would befriend them in their suit, with other promises more than sufficient to bias a needy and plundered Italian: he promised them all the good offices in his power; but his eminency and the pope seem to have understood each other perfectly well, for the cardinal having examined the instruments drawn up by Wolsey, found very great faults in them, particularly in the affair of the commission, and took upon him to draw up one more perfect: which done, Knight and Cassali went to the pope, and pressed him to sign.

His holiness finding himself so much pressed, put into their hands the commission for cardinal Wolsey to try the marriage, and the dispensation for the king; but with this express provision, that Henry should not proceed to any process upon them before his holiness was delivered from all apprehensions from the Imperialists; at the same time he persuaded the envoys to accept of the acts with

* Bishop Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. iii. Collect. 12, 13.

a post-date, viz. April 13, 1528; by which he had it in his power, as the commission could not operate before this date, to revoke it, in case the emperor was successful; or deliberate upon the confirmation of it, if the allies should prevail. As for the bull of decretal, to annul the marriage of Henry with Catherine, he promised to send it to England after the agents. Thus, however urgent Henry was to have this affair terminated, he found, at the close of the year 1527, that he was but just where he began.

While this affair was thus warmly soliciting at the court of Rome, a very strong spirit was working at the English court against cardinal Wolsey, by means of the new favourite, Anne Boleyn, who, being in her heart a great favourer of the reformation began in religion by Luther and his followers, and knowing Wolsey to be a professed enemy to that sect, and to possess all Henry's esteem, she used all her endeavours to estrange that prince from him. Something of this kind seems to have been effected about this time, for Knight having set out for England with the commission and dispensation, left Cassali behind at Orvietto, who received a dispatch, dated December 27, but from whence it does not appear, requiring him to apply to the pope for a legate to be sent over to England for determining the matter of a divorce. It is certain that Wolsey does not appear to have been actuated in his proceedings in this affair, by any regard he had for Anne Boleyn; it rather seems that he had winked at the king's growing passion for her, but had never thought it would have terminated in matrimony; and that when he found this likely to be the case, he cooled in the zeal he had before expressed for the divorce; and this might occasion the sending for a legate, who might be tempted by advantageous offers to stir more heartily in favour of the king's desires.

Be that as it may, Cassali, on receiving this dispatch, waited on the pope, and communicated the contents thereof to him. Clement was extremely alarmed at the demand, which could not, as the former acts had been, be granted without throwing off the mask, and declaring to the Imperialists, who were still masters of Rome, that he was resolved to proceed in the matter of the divorce: his holiness, in this dilemma, ordered the cardinals de Santi Quatro and Simonetta, two of the most able of that venerable body remaining about him, to attend while the demand of the English court should be debated before sir Gregory Cassali. After mature consultation and deliberation, the pope gave it as his opinion, "That if the queen should, as she certainly would, protest against the proceedings so carried on in an incompetent place, and by judges who had it not in their power to be impartial, and appeal to his tribunal, he could not help avocating the thing to himself, which would give such advantages to the Imperialists, as might disappoint all Henry's wishes. That this being the unavoidable consequence of any judicial proceeding, he thought Henry's best way, if he really was convinced in consciousness of the unlawfulness of his marriage, was to proceed upon the commission sent to Wolsey by secretary Knight, or upon his legatine capacity, and for the king immediately, without any manner of noise, to marry another wife, and

then to send for a legate in full form to confirm the sentence." The two cardinals were strongly of the same opinion; and told Cassali, "That in case the queen should appeal, his holiness could not, without flying in the face of all justice and decency, refuse an inhibition to the Imperialists, and an avocation of the whole process to the court of Rome: but that if the king went so far as an actual marriage, the pope could not be solicited for any inhibition, and would take care to confirm all the proceedings, so as that there should be no manner of dispute upon it." His holiness, at the same time, charged Cassali, who was an Italian, to signify to the English court, that these were only the sentiments of the two cardinals, Santi Quatro and Simonetta. As to the proposal of sending a legate, he said, "there were but six cardinals of all the conclave qualified in point of abilities to be sent, five of whom were very improper, on account of their bodily infirmities; and that Campejo, who was very ill of the gout at Rome, was the only proper person to be trusted: his holiness concluded with desiring Cassali to acquaint the English court of his earnest dispositions to oblige Henry in the affair, saying, that he was sure the emperor never would forgive him for what he had done, and that he threw himself into his majesty's arms; that he had but very faint hopes of relief from the French, or from any but the king of England and the cardinal of York*."

Henry looked upon this as a snare of the pope's. He considered, that it was not possible to have such a cause tried without noise, since it was necessary the queen should be heard, otherwise the sentence would be evidently void: in the next place, should he do what the pope proposed, he would have been entirely at the pontiff's mercy, who, according to the opinion of the canonists, would have had it in his power to refuse to confirm the cardinal's sentence, as well as the marriage that should be contracted in consequence thereof. It was therefore determined to apply directly to the pope, and require new bulls, on pretence that the cardinal of York found his commission insufficient. Pursuant to this resolution the king sent Stephen Gardiner, Wolsey's secretary, and Edward Fox, both of them able men, the first one of the best canonists, the latter one of the deepest theologists in the age, to manage the affair. They were instructed to declare to the pope, that the king, conceiving the dispensation to be insufficient to his purpose, they were come to have all impediments removed, in a more full and less exceptionable manner. Here we shall leave them, as we are now to attend the progress of the war and differences among the three great powers of Europe, which had so great an influence in forwarding or retarding Henry's solicitations with the pope.

The French and English ambassadors had in vain exerted their utmost endeavours with the emperor to moderate the articles of the treaty of Madrid; but, after an infinite number of memorials, propositions, and replies, the emperor could only be brought to relax in the point of Burgundy, consenting that his right to that duchy should be determined in a way of justice; upon which both French and English ambassadors desired leave to depart, which was very readily granted them: and,

* Burnet. Lord Herbert. Le Grand, tom. iii. p. 36, &c.

after they were gone, two persons, who had come with them in their train, and whose characters were hitherto unknown, desired an audience of Charles, and appeared to be the one Clarencieux and the other Guienne king at arms, who, being admitted into the Imperial presence, on the twenty-second day of January, 1528, at Burgos, Guienne defied Charles, in the name of Francis, on the following accounts: for not agreeing to a just and honourable peace, and for detaining the two royal hostages; for not paying to the king of England the money due to him; for having detained the pope a prisoner; and for kindling a war in Italy. It was next the turn of Clarencieux, who spoke like the herald of him who was arbiter of the Christian world, requiring Charles instantly to accept of the terms of peace which had been offered, or to receive his declaration of war, which he then pronounced. But both heralds, before they finished their speeches, declared they had orders to offer forty days notice to the subjects of Charles, for withdrawing their persons and effects out of the dominions of the kings their masters.

A few days after, Charles ordered a long laboured reply to be given to Clarencieux: it consisted, in the first place, of a gentle reproach to Henry, who seemed to seek for a quarrel: Charles said, "That, upon his brother of England's account, he had abated in the demands he could have made by the treaty of Madrid, even so far as to be contented to accept of the same proposals which Francis, when at liberty, had made to the viceroy of Naples: he disclaimed having had any hand in the captivity of the pope, who he declared was now free: and he laid the non-payment of the just debts he owed to Henry, upon the ambassadors of the latter not being furnished with the original bonds and contracts, without which he could, as he said, have no full acquittance: the matter of indemnification was, he said, not without its difficulties, which would require commissioners on both sides to remove: as to the penalty upon the marriage, he said, the civilians and canonists were agreed, that all penal stipulations, whereby the free power of marrying in a proper place, are, ipso facto, void: that Henry could not make it appear, that he had fulfilled on his part the treaty of Windsor, of which he sought to avail himself: that he had required the princess Mary to be sent to him, but had been refused; and that he had sufficient proofs in his hands of a marriage-treaty between her and the king of Scotland, even while the contract between her and him (Charles) was supposed to be in full force; and this, as he conceived, turned the penalty upon Henry: he next took notice of the treatment de Praet, his ambassador, met with at the court of England, only for doing his duty; of the same court's entertaining Joachim, a declared French agent, in direct violation of the treaties between himself and Henry: he complained of Henry rising in his demands, in proportion as he abated in his; and of the gross affront offered to the imperial house, if, as fame reported, Henry was soliciting a divorce from his queen: he next proceeds to reproach him with endeavouring to palm upon him a bastard (as Henry must imply the princess Mary to be), if he was soliciting such a divorce: he concludes with a bitter invective

against the cardinal, whose insatiable ambition, he says, led him to be his implacable enemy, because he would not employ his army in Italy to make him pope, as he (the cardinal) had desired, and procured his master to write to him (Charles) to the like effect."

But the emperor dealt not so complaisantly with the king of France's herald, whom he ordered to tell his master, that he had acted like a knave and a villain, and that he would maintain it body to body; adding, that Francis ought not to have forgot the last conversation they had together. It seems, before Francis left Spain, the emperor asking him one day, whether he did really and truly intend to perform all the articles capitulated between them? the latter answered, "Yes; and when you find that I do not keep my word with you, I wish and consent that you hold me and publish me for a knave and a villain*." Francis, however, though conscious of his having made this solemn protestation, was so incensed at the use the emperor had made of it, that, in an instrument drawn up by his own hand, and read on the twenty-eighth of March before the Imperial ambassador at Paris, he gave the lye direct to the emperor, accepted his challenge, and required Charles to appoint the field, which he did in the very place where Francis had been exchanged with his two sons; but some difficulties arising thereon, and Francis affecting delays, these ebullitions of a violent resentment passed over without any great effects.

The declaration of war was not agreeable either to the English or the Flemings, as it put a stop to the commerce, wherein both found great advantages, and being followed by a seizure of the English merchants and their effects in Spain, which produced a like seizure in England and the Low Countries. The pope's being set at liberty had cooled the resentment which the English had conceived against the emperor on account of his holding him captive, and their animosities against France revived. The clothiers, spinners, carders, and other manufacturers in the country, suffered by the merchants not buying the cloths sent to Blackwell-hall, under pretence they had no vend for any commodities: this gave occasion to a general uneasiness, and Wolsey was blamed for precipitating the declaration of war, though agreeable, in the main, to the king's intentions, and the stipulations with France for acting jointly in that matter: but the Flemings, on their side, making the like complaints, Margaret of Austria sent ambassadors to London to propose a truce for eight months with regard to all the countries under her government. This was signed on the fifteenth of June, by her's and the English plenipotentiaries, and confirmed afterwards by the king of France and the emperor. This treaty put a stop to the war in all parts but Italy, the affairs of which country now claim a part of our attention.

As soon as it was known that the negotiations in Spain had ended in a declaration of war, the marshal de Lautrec entered Romagna, and, having reduced Imola and Rimini to the pope's obedience, advanced, in the beginning of February, this year, 1528, towards Rome, which the Imperialists, whose forces were by this time reduced to fifteen thousand, immediately quitted, and retired into the

* Lord Herbert, p. 75.

kingdom of Naples, whither Lautrec followed them; and, after having reduced several strong towns in that kingdom to his obedience, he, on the ninth of May, sat down before the city of Naples itself; but as the viceroy, Moncada, had thrown himself into the place with the greatest part of the Imperial forces, the marshal would not venture to take it by force, but resolved to reduce it by famine. With this view he posted his army, amounting to thirty thousand men, round the city by land, while Philippino Doria blocked it up on the sea side with two men of war and eight galleys, belonging to his uncle Andrew Doria: by this disposition the besieged were reduced to great straits, and the French general thought himself at the eve of reducing the capital of Naples, when Andrew Doria, having taken some disgust against the French king, recalled his nephew Philippino with his galleys, and declared for the emperor; so that the French army, having no longer a communication by sea, suffered as much as the besieged from a scarcity of provisions. At length, to add to their misfortunes, their camp was infected by the plague, which carried off the greatest part of the officers and soldiers; and the marshal de Lautrec himself being seized with the distemper, he died of it on the sixteenth of August. He was succeeded in the command by the marquis de Saluces, who immediately abandoned the enterprize, and retreated to Averfa, where he was besieged in his turn by the Imperialists, and obliged to surrender at discretion. Much about the same time Andrew Doria, having taken Genoa in the emperor's name, restored his country to liberty, establishing that form of government which the inhabitants still retain*. Thus the affairs of Italy, which, in the beginning of this year, had so promising an aspect for Francis, were so entirely altered, that he had hardly any thing left in that country.

The war in Italy raised fresh obstacles to Henry's divorce from Catherine. Gardiner and Fox arriving at Orvieto when Lautrec was on his march towards Naples, pope Clement wanted to protract the discussion of this affair until he should see the success of the campaign, and for this purpose endeavoured to amuse Henry with a letter written in cypher, which nobody could explain. This behaviour was greatly resented by Henry, who sent orders to his envoys to insist upon his former demands, and at the same time to represent to his holiness, that the king was unalterably determined never to bed more with Catherine, on account of the scruples which troubled his conscience, "when he considered how expressly it was forbidden by the Levitical law, to uncover the nakedness of his brother's wife, or go in to his wife's sister. They were at the same time ordered to represent how much Henry was affected by the untimely deaths of several of his children, which he considered as a divine judgment upon him for his breach of the above sacred law, especially when he had no valid dispensation in the case, as several learned canonists had agreed that pope Julius's bull of dispensation being granted on the false suggestion of the marriage being necessary to preserve the peace between the crowns of England and Spain, and at the request of Henry (VIII.) then not above twelve

years of age, and not only incapable of making such a request, but absolutely ignorant of the whole transaction; and being afterwards extinguished by a secret protestation against this marriage, which this prince made when he came to age of puberty, and by the death of Henry VII. was for these reasons invalid, and the marriage consequent thereupon illegal†."

Clement thus importuned, and animated by the hopes of seeing Naples soon reduced by the French (whose king strongly supported Henry's cause with the pope, both as his brother-in-law and ally, and likewise as the enemy of Charles V.) granted, on the twenty-eighth of June this year, a bull, appointing the cardinals Campejo and Wolsey his legates a latere, constituting them his vicegerents in the affair of the divorce, and for that purpose vesting them with his whole authority; he also consented to furnish Campejo with a decretal, annulling the king's marriage. These concessions were made at different periods, to protract the time; and when he was at last prevailed upon to sign the decretal, he did it very privately, without the knowledge of any of his council, and insisted that no other use should be made of it, but barely to shew it to the king and cardinal Wolsey. This last, considering it as an honourable testimony as well of his own merit and the pope's favour to him, as of his own zeal for the divorce, used afterwards very strong instances with Clement for leave that it might be shewn to the privy-council of England; but the Imperialists being by that time masters of Italy, the pope absolutely refused his consent; and (according to Burnet's Collection of Records) sent orders to Campejo, who had carried it over with him, to burn it, that he might be no more teased on the subject.

As this decretal was not to be made public, Gardiner laboured to get the intent of it answered, in some degree, by another instrument that might be shewed, and engaged the pope, on the third of July, to sign a promise, or, as it is termed, pollicitation, importing, "that he would not, on any pretence whatever, grant any bull, brief, or other writ for inhibiting or revoking the commission granted to the two legates, for delaying the process or for interrupting them in proceeding to the full and final execution of that commission: but if he should (which God forbid) do any thing of that kind, he declared every such act or attempt to be void, and adjudged it to be of no force or efficacy‡."

This seems to be the last act of compliance which the pope did in favour of Henry; for, notwithstanding all this prince's instances, supported by the strongest reasons of his envoys, Gardiner and Fox, for preventing all delays, Campejo, waiting the event of the siege of Naples, was so slow in his motions, that he did not reach London till the beginning of October. Upon his arrival in England, he began his legation by exhorting the king to live in good understanding with Catherine, and desist from his solicitation of the divorce: this advice being very ill received, he endeavoured to persuade the queen to consent to the separation; but his counsel was rejected by Catherine, who told

* Guicciardin. lib. xviii. Du Bellay, lib. iii.

† Coll. Records, in Burnet, vol. ii. n° 26.

‡ Lord Herbert. Collier's Eccles. Hist.

him, she was the king's lawful wife, and so would continue until she should be declared otherwise by the sentence of the pope himself, for that she was resolved not to admit such partial judges as he and Wolsey were, to give sentence in the cause. Then the legate declared he could proceed no farther, till he sent to his holiness for fresh instructions.

Henry, vexed at these tedious and dilatory proceedings, sent, in December, sir Francis Bryan, cousin-german to Anne Boleyn, and Peter Vannes, his Latin secretary, to the court of Rome, to discover, if possible, the real sentiments of his holiness, to search the pope's chancery for a pretended brief*, which, as the queen's friends alleged, confirmed the dispensation of her marriage, granted by pope Julius II. and to propose some plausible expedients for facilitating the determination of the divorce. These agents, however, found it impossible to dive into the real designs of Clement. That subtle pontiff was at this time treating with the emperor, who made him very advantageous proposals to gain him over to his interest, which Clement, incensed at the Venetians for detaining Ravenna and Cerva from him, was not disinclined to accept; and he found means to protract the cause of the divorce by all the arts of delays, promises, and denials, in hopes that Henry's passion would not last so long as an Italian negotiation; but herein he was deceived, for the English monarch growing more and more impatient to enjoy the object of his amorous wishes, sent orders to his envoys to tell the pope plainly, in his name, that, should he refuse granting the satisfaction demanded, England would certainly renounce him and all the popes his successors; and that, as the king of England had engaged in the war merely with a view to deliver his holiness from imprisonment, all Christendom would look with horror upon his ingratitude, should he engage in any league against his deliverer, of which a report currently prevailed. These remonstrances, however, produced no effect upon the pope, who answered only in general terms, and pretended to think himself in a very dangerous situation, from which he could be relieved by nothing but the signal interposition of Heaven.

Although the pope seemed resolved to thwart the king, yet his holiness did not chuse to lose the only friend about Henry's person, who could preserve him firm with France, and break any views he might have of connections with the protestant princes, and therefore he still continued to heap favours upon Wolsey: he granted him several bulls for suppressing divers small monasteries, and many other grants towards the establishment of his two colleges, which he knew the cardinal had very much at heart; he also collated him to the rich bishopric of Winchester, vacant by the death of old Fox, which happened about this time.

Before we close the transactions of this year, it will be necessary to mention something concerning the affairs of Scotland. Henry, in the course of this year, sent ambassadors to the court of his nephew, James V. with proposals of peace; but as this could not be effected, on account of the distractions of that kingdom, which was divided into two factions, headed by the queen-dowager and the family of Douglas, a truce was concluded, at Berwick, for five years; in a separate article of which it was stipulated, "that the earl of Angus, his brother George, and uncle Archibald, might be received and protected in England, on condition that they should deliver up to their sovereign the places they held in Scotland; and that, in case they should make inroads into their own country, the king of England should repair the damages, as if it had been done by his own subjects†."

But now a violent distemper which seized the pope, in the beginning of the year 1529, seemed to be the forerunner of a very great change in the face of affairs. Gardiner communicating this intelligence to Wolsey, it revived in the latter all his ambition for the popedom: he again prevailed with Henry (though that monarch appears for some time to have entertained but an indifferent opinion of him) to send instructions, or rather he sent instructions in Henry's name, to his ambassadors at Rome, ordering them to do all that they could, either by promises, threats, or bribes, to engage the cardinals to elect him pope. But all his hopes were again blasted by the recovery of Clement, who from that time began to look upon the cardinal with an evil eye, and to regard him as a dangerous rival, who might one day supplant him on pretence of his bastardy, for which he had been already reproached, and even threatened with deposition by the emperor. In these sentiments he resolved to perplex both the cardinal and his master to the utmost of his power, and all the instances of the English ambassadors could not procure an explanation of the sollicitation formerly mentioned, which appeared very ambiguously worded, or an enlargement of the legate's commission, which was earnestly solicited, as necessary for a speedy determination of the cause, and for preventing its avocation during the process. The emperor's agents were indefatigable as well in opposing those motions, as in pressing for a revocation of the commission already given to the legates; and the pope was now so far engaged with the emperor, that he refused every thing the king desired.

Henry having nothing farther to expect from the court of Rome, recalled his ambassadors, and in their place dispatched William Benner, doctor of laws, with a letter to his holiness from the two legates, wherein, as it afterwards appeared, they alleged that the chief difficulty in the cause of the

* While Campejo was on the road for England, the emperor's ministers at Rome started a fresh obstacle to the divorce, by the pretended discovery of a brief of Julius II. confirming the bull of dispensation for Henry's marriage with Catherine; but there was this difference between the bull and the brief, that the pope said in the bull "the marriage was perhaps consummated;" whereas in the brief the word *perhaps* was left out: they inferred from thence, that Julius II. was not surprised, since he looked upon Catherine's first marriage as consummated. But this brief, of which they only gave an authentic copy, without shewing the original to the king's ministers, was, probably, proposed solely to cause time to be lost in examining it. For, there were two reasons, among many others, which mani-

festly proved it to be a forgery. The first was, that this brief, granted at Catherine's request, supposed that princess's marriage with Arthur to have been consummated, and yet she had sworn the contrary; and upon that her agents had grounded the validity of Julius's dispensation. The second reason was still more strong, namely, that the brief was dated the 26th of December, 1503. Now, as in the date of the briefs, the court of Rome begins the year the 25th of December, being Christ-mas-day, this date answered to the 26th of December, 1502, of the vulgar year, that is, ten months before Julius II. was pope.

† Rymer's Fœd. vol. xiv. p. 246, &c.

divorce, was to determine how far the authority of the head of the church extended; and as this was a matter far above their cognizance, they persuaded his holiness to evoke the cause before his own tribunal, not doubting that the king would agree to this evocation, provided he might be previously assured that the cause would be determined in his favour. It is extremely difficult to account for the conduct of Wolsey on this occasion in joining in an advice so contrary to the interest and inclination of the king, with whom he must by such a step be for ever ruined; unless we suppose that he was either duped by his colleague, or actually betrayed the cause of his master. It may, perhaps, be no improbable conjecture, that Wolsey, finding his enemies at court had greatly estranged the king's mind from him, and that his interest was also ruined with the pope, he thought he had now no other chance for safety, but by doing somewhat that might make his party once more good with the emperor, who was now preparing to make matters up with France and England, that he might fall upon some expedient to prevent his disgrace with Henry.

Mean while Henry had such excellent intelligence abroad, that he intercepted most of the queen's correspondence, and at last came to the knowledge of a treaty which was upon the point of being concluded between the pope and the emperor. In short, every thing appeared as if there was a necessity of bringing matters to a sudden crisis. As there was no question that the pope, as soon as he had obtained his ends of the emperor, would recall the commission, and advocate the cause to Rome, Henry therefore importuned the legates to execute their commissions; and for that purpose he granted them, on the thirtieth of May, a licence, under the great seal, authorizing them to proceed with all freedom to the trial of the cause: and the next day they opened the court in the parliament-chamber at Black-friars, where their commission being read, an order was made for summoning the king and queen to appear there on Friday the eighteenth of June. Wolsey, as a proof of his impartiality, allowed Campejo to preside, though he himself was a senior cardinal.

The king and queen removed to their palace of Bridewell, to be nearer to the court; and, on the day appointed, they both made their appearance in court, having two seats placed under canopies of state, and raised somewhat higher than the legates, at whose feet sat the secretaries and other officers, the court being framed in the manner of a consistory, there being present divers bishops, doctors, lawyers, and learned counsellors: the counsel for the king were Dr. Sangton, dean of the chapel, and Dr. Bell; for the queen, Fisher, bishop of Rochester, Standish, bishop of St. Asaph, and Dr. Ridley, the last an eminent divine.

The court being opened by proclamation, the queen in person read an instrument, by which she refused the judges as partial and incompetent, and appealed to the pope, alleging that the cause was actually evoked, and depending before his holiness, and desiring to be allowed competent time for the proof of her allegation. The court then appointed the twenty-first for giving their opinion whether they would have any regard to the protest: and, upon the twenty-first both she and the king appeared again personally in court, to hear

the determination of the legates upon the head, when the judges giving their opinion against admitting the protest and for proceeding, and the queen being called upon, rose, and, falling upon her knees before the king, without taking any notice of the court, addressed him in the following pathetic speech:

"Sir, I desire you to take some pity upon me, and do me justice and right: I am a poor woman, a stranger, born out of your dominions, having here no indifferent counsel, and less assurance of friendship. Alas! wherein have I offended, or what cause of displeasure have I given, that you intend thus to put me away? I take God to my judge, I have been to you a true and humble wife, ever conformable to your will and pleasure; never gainfaying any thing in which you took delight; without all grudge, or discontented countenance, I have loved all them that loved you, howsoever their affections have been to me-ward: I have borne you children, and have been your wife now these twenty years of my virginity and marriage-bed: I make God and your own conscience the judge: and if it otherwise be proved, I am content to be put from you with shame. The king your father, in his time, for wisdom was known to be a second Solomon; and Ferdinando of Spain, my father, accounted the wisest among their kings could they, in this match, be so far overseen; or are there now wiser and more learned men than at that time were? Surely it seemeth wonderful to me, that my marriage after twenty years should be thus called in question, with new invention against me, who never intended but honestly. Alas! sir, I see I am wronged, having no counsel to speak for me, but such as are your subjects, and cannot be indifferent upon my part. Therefore, I most humbly beseech you, even in charity, to stay this course, until I may have advice and council from Spain: if not, your grace's pleasure be done."

Having thus spoke, she arose, and, making the king a low reverence, departed out of the court, and never would appear in it more, or suffer any person to plead for her.

After her departure, Henry spoke extremely well of her personal behaviour and virtue, declaring, that in suing for a divorce from her, he acted purely from a motive of religion and conscience. Wolsey then standing up, made an humble request to the king, that his highness would be pleased to declare before that honourable assembly, whether he had been the cause of this his intended divorce, wherewith he was charged in the opinion of the people? Upon which Henry, in very strong terms, cleared the cardinal of that imputation, and laid the whole originally upon the objections started against the legitimacy of the princess Mary by the bishop of Tarbe, when sent to conclude a marriage between the duke of Orleans and that lady. He likewise said, that he had mentioned the same in confession to the bishop of Lincoln; at the same time he challenged the archbishop of Canterbury, whether he had not applied to him for the opinion of the bishop; and then produced an instrument, under their hand and seals, declaring, "that it was their opinion, that there were weighty reasons of conscience for the king's applying to the pope, for judging of the validity of the marriage."

Mean while the queen was cited to appear again, on the twenty-fifth of June; but, instead of complying,

plying, she sent in her appeal in form, from whatever had been done, or should be done hereafter: upon which the court declared her contumacious; and the bishop of Bath was commanded to give her the same day a fresh and peremptory citation, certifying her, that if she did not appear, they would proceed in their business. But Catherine persisting in her resolution to pay no regard to the power of the court, on the twenty-eighth of the same month, twelve articles, containing the heads of what the legates were to proceed upon, relating to the queen's two marriages, and other matters of the divorce, were exhibited in the court, to be discussed by the examination of witnesses, which took up the best part of three weeks. The principal articles insisted upon, were, that prince Arthur and the king were brothers; that prince Arthur had married Catherine, and consummated the marriage; that, upon the death of prince Arthur, Henry, by virtue of a dispensation, had married the widow; that this marriage with his brother's wife was forbidden both by divine and human laws. The king's counsel insisted principally on the consummation of Arthur's marriage with Catherine, which the queen had denied with an oath, and which, notwithstanding, was proved by the testimony of several persons, as

far as any thing of that nature can be proved*. It is therefore hard to conceive by what charm of bigotry and infatuation so wise and so virtuous a woman as queen Catherine confessedly was, could be deluded in persisting as she did, that she was a virgin at the time of her second marriage.

On the twenty-first of July, the king's protestation that he made against his marriage with Catherine, when prince of Wales, at the age of fourteen†, was read in the court; and his council closing their evidence, and demanding judgment, Friday the twenty-third of that month was assigned for the said purpose, and his court was now filled with expectation of the decisive sentence that was to crown his passion; but that happy moment was at a greater distance than they could possibly foresee, for Campejo had by this time received his final instructions from Rome, that every thing had been adjusted between the pope and the emperor, while a fresh proposal of accommodation had taken place between the emperor and Francis, and that the pope was resolved no longer to delay the avocation, concerning which the legates themselves had written to him, and for which he was receiving daily instances from the queen and the emperor. But it seems the avocation was not yet come, and

* Robert, viscount Fitz Walter, deposed, the prince was then about fifteen, and queen Catherine elder; and that the next day after being in bed together (which he remembered after they entered to be solemnly blessed), he waited at breakfast on prince Arthur, where Maurice St. John did carve, and the lord Fitz Walter gave drink; at which time the said Maurice demanding of the prince how he had done that night, the prince answered, "I have been in Spain this night."

Charles, duke of Suffolk deposed, that he was in the bishop of London's palace the morrow next following the day of marriage, and that he waited there upon the prince at breakfast; confirming however in effect the words of Maurice St. John, before set down. Farthermore he added, that the Shrove-tide following the marriage (which was in November preceding) the said prince began to decay and grow feeble in body; which grew, as the said St. John related, by reason the said prince lay with the lady.

Thomas, duke of Norfolk, lord-treasurer of England, deposed, that he being, the day after the marriage, in the bishop of London's palace, and the morrow after, at the prince's breakfast, heard the prince's words to Maurice St. John, when he said, he had been that night in the midst of Spain: by which words, and because prince Arthur was a gentleman of a good complexion and nature, and above fifteen, he believed that he carnally knew his lady; because himself, at the same age, did carnally know and use; and he believed this the rather, that he heard from credible witnesses, that the said prince Arthur did lie with the said lady Catherine five or six nights afterwards.

Anthony Willoughby, knight, deposed, that, being the morrow after the marriage, in the prince's privy-chamber, the said prince spoke, afore divers witnesses, these words, "Willoughby, give me a cup of ale, for I have been this night in the midst of Spain." After which he said, "Masters, it is a good pastime to have a wife." Which words he also repeated divers other times. Moreover, he heard say, they lay at Ludlow together the Shrove-tide following.

Thomas, viscount Rochford, deposed, that he heard divers of prince Arthur's followers confirm the words he used of having been in Spain. Moreover, he heard say, that the king, Henry VIII. was persuaded by his confessor, about two years since, to abstain from the bed of the lady Catherine, lest he should offend his conscience.

† This protestation, copied from the original deed written with his own hand, is here inserted, for the satisfaction of the curious reader.

"In the name of God, Amen. In the presence of you, reverend father in Christ, lord Richard, and apostolic bishop of Winchester, I, Henry, prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester, do say, affirm, and by these writings declare, that although in the time of my minority, and when I was under the years of marriage, I absolutely contracted matrimony with the virtuous lady Catherine, daughter of the king of Spain; and although also, the said contract, by

reason of my being under age, doth appear now of itself insufficient, weak, and of no force, vigour, or efficacy; yet forasmuch as that I am come to perfect years, and that thereby the said contract may, peradventure, be thought and seem, by silent consent, mutual abode in one house, by giving gifts and tokens, or by any other way whatsoever, to be apparently sufficient and confirmed: therefore, I, Henry, prince of Wales, do hereby protest and make known to all men, that I intend not to prove, ratify, or confirm in any sort, this pretended contract, by any thing that I have said or shall say, have done or shall do; but I do at this present renounce the same freely of my own accord, unconstrained either by force, fraud, intreaty, or any way else; and I deny it, and wholly propose and intend quite to relinquish this pretended contract of matrimony, by the best ways and means that by law more fully, effectually, and sufficiently I may or shall be able to do; and expressly do disavow the same, according as by these presents I do disclaim it and disavow it; and so protest that I neither will, nor intend to consent unto the contract, or unto the said lady Catherine as my espousal wife, by any word, or deed, act, or gesture, to be spoke, done, performed, or acted by me, or in my name, by any whomsoever, whensoever, or howsoever, for the time to come. In witness whereof I desire, require, intreat, and adjure you all to give testimony hereunto. By me, HENRY, prince of Wales.

The above-written protestation was read and made by the aforesaid noble prince, lord Henry, in the presence of the right reverend father and lord in Christ, the lord Richard, by divine permission bishop of Winchester, sitting judicially in his court; and I the writer of this act in his behalf appointed, and in the presence of the under-named witnesses, in the year of our Lord God 1505, the eighth indiction of the most holy see of our father and lord in Christ, by divine providence, pope Julius II. in his second year, and the twenty-seventh of the month of June; in which day the said worthy prince was of perfect years of marriage, as then he did there affirm in a certain outward court within the royal palace of Richmond, situate in the west part of the said palace aforesaid, concerning all and singular which things the most noble prince aforesaid instantly required and intreated me, the aforesaid notary, to frame an instrument; and likewise the witnesses, underwritten, to give testimony in justification of all and singular the premises, the aforesaid most noble prince, hath subscribed his name; and witnesses, aforesaid intreated and required, have subscribed their names with their own hands.

Miles Daubeney.
C. Somerset.
Thomas Routhafe.
Nicholas West.
Harry Marny.

So it is as above said, which I, John Read, do witness, by my hand and seal.

The second protestation, when he came to years of marriage.

Campejo

Campejo had now no remedy left for preserving Henry's friendship and following the secret orders of the pope, than by pretending, that, as he and his brother legate sat there as a part of the consistory of Rome, they were obliged to observe the same days of vacation which were observed at Rome; and accordingly, when the twenty-third of July came, instead of proceeding to give judgment, he solemnly adjourned the court to the twenty-eighth of September following.

Henry was thunderstruck when he heard the adjournment pronounced, and that on the very day when he thought himself sure of a sentence in his favour, the hopes whereof had induced him to bear the affected delays of the court of Rome through all this process. The nation in general was as much offended at this dilatoriness of the legatine court in determining a cause of the utmost consequence to the peace and welfare of the kingdom.

It was but a few days after the adjournment of the legatine court, when the evocation arrived from Rome, by a courier, furnished with a bull summoning Henry to appear at Rome in forty days, on pain of incurring the highest censures of the church. Henry was now in the utmost perplexity; but, though extremely provoked with the pope, he yet thought proper to suppress his resentment; he would not, indeed, suffer the bull to be notified to him in form, but he told the legates that they were at full liberty to obey the pope's order. From this period we may justly date the commencement of Wolsey's fall; and, indeed, he had acted, during the whole course of this proceeding, with such a coldness and indifference as seemed to be altogether inconsistent with that zealous concern, which, on all other occasions, he ever manifested for the interest of his master: but we have already offered a conjecture to explain this ambiguity of conduct.

The case of this great minister was now very deplorable. The emperor and queen Catherine exerted their utmost efforts to ruin him in the king's opinion: they were at great pains to propagate reports, contrived on purpose to accomplish his destruction, and, by means of their agents, Henry received copies of letters condemning the divorce, which it was said the cardinal had sent privately to his holiness. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with a strong party under their direction, laboured with all their influence to supplant him as the engrosser of the royal favour, and embraced all opportunities of misrepresenting his actions. But in all appearance neither their endeavours, nor those of the queen's faction, nor the envy and malignity of the world would have effected his disgrace without the support they received from Anne Boleyn's ascendancy over the mind of her royal lover. The cardinal had advised Henry not to marry her, wishing rather he would take to wife the duchess of Alençon, the princess Renée of France, or some other more suitable match; therefore she had declared herself an open and irreconcilable enemy, and used all her arts with Henry to compass his ruin. It was expected by every body, that Henry would have disgraced the cardinal immediately after the arrival of the bull of evocation from the court of Rome, but they were deceived; Henry had so much command of himself as not to take any manner of notice of his dislike to his proceedings; but, having given Campejo his audience

of leave, in order to dispel the chagrin his disappointment had given him, and revive his spirits, he made a progress through some of the counties of England, but left Wolsey behind him, who from this time began to think he should not long continue in power, but still went on in his usual manner, and observing no alteration in the looks and behaviour of the courtiers towards him, did not imagine that his disgrace was so near as it proved. For his enemies, with Anne Boleyn at their head, who accompanied the king in his progress, had so effectually worked up that prince's mind, that, on his return from his journey, he resolved to gratify their revenge and his own resentment; and the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, Wolsey's foes, went by Henry's order to York Place, now Whitehall, and demanded of him the great-seal of England, which he at first refused to deliver, saying, he held it by patent during life; but next day they returned with their orders in writing under the king's hand, and required the cardinal at the same time to retire to Ashur, now Elsher, a house in Surry, on the banks of the Thames, which he held as bishop of Winchester. Wolsey, seeing Henry's hand to the paper, immediately delivered up the seal; and we shall leave him in his melancholy retreat, to take a view of the great affairs which were transacting during the course of this year on the continent.

The ill success of the French arms in Italy during the two last campaigns had disposed that court sincerely to peace; and on the other hand, the emperor, finding that he should reap little advantage from his conquests, so long as the pope continued the head of the Clementine League, resolved to make than pontiff his friend at all events, who, for the reasons we have already given, was no less desirous of being upon good terms with his Imperial majesty; in this mutual reconciliatory disposition they both went heartily to work by their plenipotentiaries, and, on the twenty-ninth of June this year, a treaty was signed at Barcelona, on the following terms:

“That the emperor should restore the family of the Medici to Florence, on the same foot as formerly: that he should cause Ravenna and Cervia to be delivered to the pope: that he should put him in possession of Modena and Reggio, saving the rights of the empire: that he should aid him to become master of Ferrara: that Francisco Sforza should be restored to Milan, if innocent, but if guilty, the emperor should not dispose of the duchy to any prince the pope should dislike: that the pope and emperor should employ their temporal and spiritual arms against the heretics of Germany: that Alexander de Medici should espouse Margaret, the emperor's natural daughter: that the pope should grant the emperor a fourth of the ecclesiastical revenues in his dominions, to wage war with the Turks: that he should absolve all that were any way concerned in the taking and sacking of Rome.”

Such were the terms of the treaty, which the emperor, notwithstanding his late success against the pope's allies, thought it his interest to accede to, and solemnly ratified them at Barcelona.

Mean while Francis I. seeing no other prospect of retrieving his children out of the hands of the emperor, resolved to effect an accommodation with him; but as they were not on such terms that ei-

ther of them could make advances to, or treat with the other, Louisa, Francis's mother, and Margaret of Savoy, governante of the Netherlands, undertook the negociation, and Cambray was appointed to be the place of meeting; while Francis, in the interim, amused the Venetians, the Florentines, and the duke of Ferrara with the promise of marching into Italy at the head of a powerful army. However, Charles and Francis being both heartily inclined to a peace, the two ladies, who had undertaken the negociation for them, being joined by ambassadors from all the powers concerned in the Clementine League (those of England, which were bishop Tunstal and sir Thomas More, included), on the thirtieth day of August a treaty was concluded, upon the basis of the treaty of Madrid.

By the treaty of Cambray, the emperor agreed "to wave for the present his claim upon Burgundy: Francis, on his side engaged to pay two millions of gold crowns for the ransom of his children; to withdraw his troops from Italy; cede to Charles the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois; restore the county of Asti, with all that he still retained in the duchy of Milan; renounce all pretensions to the kingdom of Naples; espouse Eleanor, queen dowager of Portugal, the emperor's sister; and re-establish the heirs of the late duke of Bourbon in possession of all the estates of that family, which had been confiscated."

By this treaty Francis left all his allies to shift for themselves. The Florentines were obliged to make their peace with the emperor within four months after the ratification of the treaty; and the Venetians to give up all the sea-ports they had made themselves masters of, within the kingdom of Naples: as to the other allies of the French in Italy, no mention was made of them, and consequently they were left to the emperor's mercy.

It is not a little surprizing, that Henry having proclaimed war with the emperor by a herald, there was, however, no particular treaty between them, Henry on this occasion satisfying himself with a single article inserted in this treaty, whereby the king of France bound himself to pay the two hundred and ninety thousand crowns which the emperor owed him, and to redeem the rich fleur de lis which Maximilian had pawned to Henry VII. for fifty thousand crowns. He did yet more, he generously forgave Francis the first sum, and made a present to his godson Henry, the second son of the French king, of the other sum. This is a clear evidence, that in making this peace Francis I. had not dealt with Henry as he had done with the princes of Italy, but had convinced him of the necessity he was under of concluding it.

It is now time to return to that setting star, Wolsey, who still continued fluctuating between hope and despair, the only support he had to grasp at being the king's private affection, which he imagined would not suffer him to be given up now that his hair had grown grey in his service; but

his enemies having gotten the king in the mind to chastize this overgrown favourite, omitted nothing that could keep him in that disposition. Anne Boleyn dreaded nothing so much as that Henry should admit him to a personal interview, in which case she was afraid he might reinstate himself in his former favour.

The great-seal had, upon Wolsey's dismissal from the office of chancellor, been given to sir Thomas More, a person universally esteemed on the score of his integrity. Soon after, viz. on the ninth of October, Christopher Hales, the attorney-general, presented an information in the King's Bench against the cardinal, accusing him of having violated the statute of *Præmunire*, "in that he had obtained certain bulls from Clement VII. (who in this bill is treated with no other title than that of the bishop of Rome), by which he exercised jurisdiction and authority legatine, to the deprivation of the king's power established in the courts of justice, to the contempt of the king and his crown, and contrary to the statutes of 16 Richard II. against provisions;" with other charges of the like import.

Wolsey, finding that he was totally abandoned by the king, thought proper not to set up any defence, which he might very justly have done, arising from the king's assent to his exercising his legatine power; but by his attorney he confessed the facts as laid in the indictment, but pleaded ignorance of the statutes of *Provision*. Upon which the court gave sentence, "that he was out of the king's protection, and his lands, goods, and chattels forfeited, and that his person might be seized upon." In consequence of this sentence, which was founded on several additional articles*, amazingly weak and absurd, sir William Gascoyne, the cardinal's treasurer, delivered the whole of Wolsey's effects to Henry's officers, and, according to the authority of Cavendish, who was an eye-witness, they amounted to an immense value.

Thus fell the ablest minister England ever had seen, the victim of his master's resentment, not of his justice; and by this stroke of severity he saw himself on a sudden reduced from a state of more than princely affluence to the absolute want, for some days, of the common necessities of life, which so affected him, that he became abjectly disconsolate, and at length sickened in consequence of such repeated mortifications. Henry's tenderness seemed to revive when he heard of the cardinal's wretched condition, and he did, as it were by stealth, give him several assurances and marks of his kindness. It is true, his passion for Anne Boleyn would not suffer him fully to follow the dictates of his own heart, which must have told him, that, of all men, Wolsey merited not such treatment from him: however, he sent him a ruby as a present by his physician, Dr. Butts, who assured him that his highness was not angry with him in his heart, and that he should, in a little time, be convinced of his affec-

* These articles were forty-four, in number, importing, "That he had abused his legatine power; acted tyrannically in the office of chancellor, expedited divers orders of the utmost importance, and executed treaties, without the king's knowledge and concurrence; behaved despotically on many occasions, more like an Eastern sovereign than an English minister; practised extortion, bribery, and all manner of corruption; sought to equal, and even to prefer himself to his majesty, by writing in orders and instructions "Ego & rex meus"—I and my king;" and endangering his sovereign's health

by breathing upon him, and whispering in his ear, when he knew himself deeply infected with the venereal distemper."

Nothing could be more absurd, than to accuse a man of high-treason for using the words "Ego & rex meus," which manner of expression is fully justified by the idiom of the Latin language, which requires, that the first person, though applied to a peasant, should always be preferred to the second and third, though denoting people in the most exalted station.

tion. This kind message contributed in a great measure to the recovery of the cardinal, who supplicated and obtained the king's permission to live for the benefit of the air at Richmond-house, which he had formerly received in exchange for Hampton-court.

The adjournment of the legatine court, and the removal of Wolsey, made Henry resolve to push his divorce with double vigour. He had been advised by Thomas Cranmer, a doctor of divinity, with whom he accidentally fell in company in his late progress, and who was a man of acknowledged piety, learning, and moderation, and withal a secret friend of the doctrine of Luther, to consult all the universities of Europe, with regard to this controverted point; alleging, that if they agreed to approve the king's marriage with Catherine, his majesty's scruples would cease of course; if they condemned it, the pope, he said, could not resist the opinion of all the learned men, nor longer run the risque of rejecting the solicitations of so great a monarch. Henry was delighted at this proposal, which to him seemed the oracle of peace, and he forthwith dispatched his agents to collect the opinions of all the universities of Europe*, and they were enjoined to spare neither money nor solicitations for obtaining a favourable decision.

It afforded an extraordinary and curious spectacle (says Mr. de Voltaire, in his *Essay on General History* †), to behold the king of England, on one side soliciting the several universities of Europe to be favourable to his passion; and the emperor on the other, pressing them as warmly for their decision in favour of his aunt; and the king of France between both, standing up for the Levitical law against that of Deuteronomy, in order to make the breach irreparable between Henry of England and Charles V. The emperor lavished benefices upon those Italian doctors, who wrote for the validity of Catherine's marriage; and Henry paid those as bountifully as gave their opinion in his favour.

At length the universities of France, particularly the Sorbonne, came to a resolution, that the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catherine of Arragon was unlawful, and that Julius had not power to dispense with the Levitical law.

Henry's agents went so far as to call in to their assistance the opinions of the Jewish rabbins, who acknowledged, that by the Deuteronomical law a man was commanded to marry his brother's widow; but, said they, this law related only to the country of Palestine, and it is the Levitical law which ought to be observed in England. The universities and rabbins of the Austrian territories were of a quite different opinion; but these, however, were not consulted. In short, Henry had the pleasure to find that, before the end of the ensuing year, 1530, it was unanimously agreed by all the learned bodies he had sent to consult, "that the king's marriage with Catherine of Arragon, being contrary to all laws divine and human, could never be rendered valid by the dispensation of pope Julius II."

Whilst the king was applying to foreign universities, he did not neglect asking the opinion of those in England; and in the beginning of the year

1530, he wrote a letter with his own hand to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, which he sent by Longland, bishop of Lincoln, to the former, and by secretary Gardiner and Dr. Edward Fox to the latter, requesting them to satisfy him, whether the marriage of a brother's relict was forbidden or not by the law of God and nature? After a violent opposition from the masters of arts at Oxford, and a keen contest at Cambridge between those who were on each side of the question, both those learned bodies agreed in determining, "that marrying the wife of a brother deceased without issue, after the consummation of his marriage, was forbidden Christians by the law of God and nature;" and it was in congregation ordered by each respective university, that its common-seal should be put to this determination. The opposition which had been made in these two great seminaries, and to combat which Henry had recourse to threats of a most irreligious and tyrannical import, and such as in effect took away the freedom of debate, was owing to those who hated the Lutheran reformers, who, they were afraid, would find too much countenance and protection under the influence of Anne Boleyn and Cranmer, which latter was now growing very fast into favour with the king.

Henry having overcome these obstacles, and perceiving that the court of Rome still continued to turn a deaf ear to all his remonstrances, persuaded his chief prelates and nobility to write a sharp and spirited letter to the pope, in which, after mentioning the many good offices which the king had formerly done to his holiness, the judgment of so many learned universities, and the little regard he had paid to so many weighty considerations, they plainly told him, that should he continue to amuse and deceive them in the affair of the divorce, they would renounce their connection with the see of Rome, and do themselves that justice which, whatever right they had to expect, they had so long in vain demanded from his holiness ‡.

Lord Herbert says this letter was drawn up in parliament, but that must be a mistake, the letter being dated the thirteenth of July; it appears by the records there could be no session at that time, the houses being prorogued from the twenty-first of June to the first of October. The letter it seems was first sent about to the chief members for their hands; and Cavendish tells us, that cardinal Wolsey himself signed it with the greatest apparent cheerfulness. It was subscribed by the two archbishops, four bishops, two dukes, two marquises, thirteen earls, two viscounts, twenty-three barons, twenty-two abbots, and eleven commoners; most of them in immediate dependence on, or expectation of, the king's favour.

The answer which Clement returned to this letter was so far from being satisfactory to Henry, that he plainly perceived he had nothing to expect but from his own power, assisted by the affections of his people; and, in order to prevent any step which Clement might take in favour of Catherine, or of the disgraced cardinal, he published a proclamation, forbidding all persons whatever to procure or receive any thing from Rome, or elsewhere, that

* To Orleans and Thoulouse were sent sir Francis Brian, Fox, afterwards bishop of Hereford, and Mr. William Paget; to Paris, Reginald Pole, of the blood royal; in Italy the king's agents were Dr. Richard Crooke, at Padua; Hieronimo de Genucci, bishop of Worcester, and sir Gregory Cassali, at

Rome; Dr. Stokesly, at Venice; Dr. Cranmer, Andrew and John Cassali were likewise employed in Italy.

† Vol. iv. chap. 114.

‡ Lord Herbert, p. 142. Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xiv. p. 405.

might be prejudicial to his majesty's prerogative, or to promulgate any thing of that nature, upon pain of incurring the penalties mentioned in the statute of Provisors and Præmunire. He then appointed several learned men to compare all that had been written on the subject of the divorce, and out of all the transcripts of fathers and councils, to collect whatsoever might strengthen his cause. All these, and many more, were summed up in a short book, and printed, first in Latin and then in English, with the determinations of the universities before it*; and a particular answer to a book which Fisher, bishop of Rochester, had composed in defence of the marriage.

The parliament, while it continued sitting, was as favourable to Henry as he could possibly wish, taking into their consideration a great number of ecclesiastical grievances, and providing means of redress for the same; and even went so far that the commons sent Audley, their speaker, with thirty of their most considerable members, to complain to the house of peers against the bishop of Rochester, for reflecting upon the representatives of the English commons, by an expression he made use of, in the upper house, importing, "that nothing would satisfy the commons but the total ruin of the church." The charge, however, not being properly supported, the bishop, by some concessional interpretations, extricated himself from this troublesome affair.

Nevertheless, the commons proceeded to pass several bills for the reformation of the clergy, which had the assent of the lords. The contents of these bills will be found under their proper heads, at the end of this centennial period.

While these things were in agitation, cardinal Wolsey remained at his country-house at Richmond, living betwixt hope and fear, without being able to form any probable conjecture of the king's behaviour towards him; for at the same time that the compassion which the king expressed for him somewhat revived his drooping spirits, it made his enemies apprehensive of his return to court; and therefore they never ceased to alienate the king's mind from him, and, thinking him too near the court at Richmond, they prevailed on Henry to send him an order for retiring to his archbishopric of York. The cardinal obeyed this command, though not without great reluctance, and retired, by slow journeys, to Cawood, a castle about twelve miles from York, attended by a retinue of one hundred and twenty horsemen. He had, during the sitting of the parliament, the mortification to see a bill pass, ratifying the forfeiture of his effects and estates to the king, and, among others, his college at Oxford, which he had nearly completed, the loss of which, as he himself declared, gave him more heart-felt concern than that of all his pomp and riches: however, Henry afterwards founded it in his own name.

Wolsey, notwithstanding the disgrace he laboured under, had not entirely laid aside the thoughts

of worldly grandeur; he intended to be installed, according to the ancient custom, with great solemnity, in the cathedral of York, which ceremony was to be performed on the seventh of November, with a magnificence little suitable to his circumstances. The king, indeed, had, in the beginning of the year, reinstated him in the possession of the revenues of his archbishopric, and those of the see of Winchester, with about six thousand pounds in plate, money, and furniture, part of his former great effects; and these, with some other marks of the royal favour, bestowed on him, made it thought that Henry's intention was rather to mortify the pride, than totally ruin the fortune of his old minister.

But his enemies did not allow him to remain long unmolested in his new retreat. He had, after he came to his diocese, applied himself strictly to the duties of his charge: and his assiduity in the pastoral care, his charity to the poor, his hospitality and obliging reception of all persons, had gained him the love and esteem of all orders of men in the country, and now, for the first time in his life, he began to be popular, the people crowding to see him and ask his benediction, wheresoever he passed. This popularity, with the great concourse of gentry expected on occasion of his installment, were made use of by Anne Boleyn and her party as a pretence to charge him with treasonable designs, which the jealousy of Henry disposed him too readily to suspect; and, on the fourth of November, the earl of Northumberland was sent down, with sir Walter Walsh, to arrest him for high-treason; which was done on the Friday before the designed solemnity of his installation: but the earl not producing his warrant, Wolsey refused to obey the arrest, at the same time insisting upon his privilege as cardinal; till sir Walter coming into the room, he readily submitted to him, as being sufficiently authorized by his post of gentleman of the king's privy-chamber.

The cardinal, still trusting to the repeated promises of Henry, set out with some degree of cheerfulness with his keeper towards London, who had the king's express command to allow him as much time as he should demand. Upon the road sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower, met him, with a party of guards, and told him that he was ordered by Henry to attend him to London, where he was to take his trial. At the sight of Kingston, Wolsey gave himself up for lost, nor could all the assurances of that gentleman, or the other royal officers, of the king's being favourably inclined towards him, gave him the least comfort; he seemed now to abandon himself to despair. Cavendish will have it that he took poison; however that might be, it is certain that one day, as he sat at dinner, in Sheffield castle, he was seized with an extraordinary coldness in his stomach; yet, ill as he was, he proceeded by small journeys to Leicester abbey, where he expired of a violent dysentery, on Tuesday the twenty-ninth of November, 1530†.

Such

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 97. Three of these MSS. are in the Cotton Library.

† Finding his end draw near, he admitted Kingston into the bed-chamber, where he held with him his last conversation, which is too important not to be given in the very words of Cavendish, who took them from the cardinal's own mouth.

"Sir (said Wolsey), I watch but God's pleasure to render up

my poor soul to him; I pray you, have me heartily commended unto his royal majesty, and beseech him, on my behalf, to call to his princely remembrance all matters that have been between us, from the beginning, and the progress; and especially between good queen Catharine and him; then shall his grace's conscience know whether I have offended him, or not. He is a prince of most royal carriage, and hath a princely heart;

Such was the fate of the wisest and ablest statesman that ever directed the affairs of England; but however great his talents were, his address was still more wonderful, in managing, for twenty years together, such a prince as Henry was; a province to which none of those who succeeded him in power were equal. His low birth did not hinder his having a greatness of mind, and, as we have already seen, he formed noble designs for the encouragement of learning, and the reformation of the affairs of the kingdom. His administration was such as raised his king and country to an envied pitch of greatness. With regard to foreign affairs, while he had the sole administration, it was sound, great, and successful. With regard to domestic, his conduct was firm, but unpopular; this was owing to his too great obsequiousness to the will of an imperious prince, who, seduced by the intrigues of an artful and beloved mistress, sacrificed this useful servant, in the most ungrateful manner, to the malice of his enemies; and when we consider, that the following part of Henry's reign was much more unfortunate and criminal than that which was directed by Wolsey's counsels, we shall be apt to conclude, that if he deserved not the great praises which his few friends have bestowed upon him, neither did he merit the virulent reproaches with which his numerous enemies have loaded his memory. Certain it is, that almost all ranks and degrees of Henry's subjects had motives, either of interest or conscience, for condemning Wolsey: the papists hated him for shaking the very foundations of that policy by which their church had so long become a mart of iniquity and a den of thieves: the reformed, or protestants, could not bear him, because he was an enthusiast for the absurdities of the papal religion. But let not the reader imagine that we offer here any defence for the goodness of Wolsey's heart: it is but too true that his virtues were the result of the most dangerous vices, namely, an unbounded ambition and an insupportable vanity, to gratify which he frequently exercised great acts of cruelty and injustice. Thus, by seeming to care only for himself while in power, he fell unlamented, and died despised; furnishing a dreadful instance, that the boldest offender will, sooner or later, find himself unable to elude the wholesome laws which are the bulwarks of this happy nation, or to escape the punishment which they decree for those who insolently attempt to remove the palladium of English liberty! Before we dismiss this extraordinary subject from this part of our history, we shall, for the entertainment of our readers, give a brief account of his birth and surprising rise, as we have them transmitted to us from the best authorities.

Thomas Wolsey was born in March, 1471. He was the son of a butcher at Ipswich, in the county of Suffolk: as he gave very early indications of uncommon talents and address, his parents taxed their substance to the highest to give him a liberal education; and he was sent so young

to Oxford, that he commenced bachelor of arts at fourteen years of age, from whence he was called the Boy-bachelor. Soon after he was elected fellow of Magdalen college, and, when master of arts, had the care of the school adjoining to that college committed to him. Being charged with the education of the marquis of Dorset's three sons, his lordship presented him to the rectory of Lymington, in Somersetshire, on the tenth of October, 1500. He had not long resided at his living, before sir Amias Powlet, a justice of peace, put him in the stocks for being drunk (as is said), and raising disturbance, at a fair in the neighbourhood. By the recommendation of sir John Nanfan, he was made one of the king's chaplains. In 1506, he was instituted to the rectory of Bedgrave, in the diocese of Norwich; having then, besides the rectory of Lymington, the vicarage of Lyde, in Kent*. Whilst he was king's chaplain, he insinuated himself into the favour of Fox, bishop of Winchester, and sir Thomas Lovel, who recommended him to the king as a fit person to be employed in negotiating the marriage between Henry VII. and Margaret, duchess of Savoy. He was dispatched to the emperor her father, and returned with such speed, that the king seeing him, supposed he had not been gone. Having reported his embassy, he was made dean of Lincoln, February 8, 1508, and on the 20th of the same month, prebendary of Walton Brinhold, in that church. In these circumstances he was when he was introduced at court by bishop Fox, after Henry VII's death, where he soon found means to insinuate himself into the favour of his son and successor†.

It is now time to turn our eyes towards the continent, and remark the principal transactions there, during the course of this year, so far as they relate to this country.

The treaties of Barcelona and Cambray, already mentioned, having effected a peace between the king of France and the emperor, the latter took shipping at Barcelona, with nine thousand men, and arrived at Genoa, where the peace of Cambray being published, the Venetians, the Florentines, and the dukes of Milan and Ferrara, finding themselves abandoned by France, were glad to refer the discussion of their affairs to a conference between Charles and the pope, at Bologna, where all their different ambassadors attended. There the emperor decreed, that the Venetians should restore Ravenna and Cervia to the pope, and to himself some places which they still occupied in the kingdom of Naples; Francis Sforza was put in possession of his duchy of Milan: and then repaired to Rome to receive the Imperial crown from the hands of the pope, and to kiss the feet of him whom he had so lately detained a captive; and then, at the request of his holiness, he ordered his army to march against the Florentines, who continued to refuse their obedience to the family of Medici; but, after a gallant defence, in which the emperor's general, the prince of Orange, was killed, they

heart; but rather than he will miss or want any part of his will, he will endanger the one half of his kingdom. I do assure you, I have often kneeled before him, sometimes three hours together, to persuade him from his will and appetite, but could not prevail: Mr. Kingston, had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is the just reward I must receive for my diligent pains and study, not regarding the

service of my God, but only to my prince: therefore let me advise you, if you be one of the privy-council, as by your wisdom you are fit, take heed what you put in the king's head; for you can never put it out again." The rest of this speech earnestly recommends to Henry the suppression of Lutheranism, and all other heresies: and in a few minutes after he expired.

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xiii. p. 217.

† Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*. Fiddes,

were forced to submit, and Charles established Alexander de Medicis, his son-in-law, on the same footing which his ancestors had gained, and rendered the sovereign power hereditary in his family.

On the first of June, this year, Francis retrieved his two sons, who were hostages in Spain, upon paying the emperor one million two hundred thousand crowns in hand, and giving security for the payment of the rest of the sum; after that he married Eleanor, the emperor's sister and queen dowager of Portugal, pursuant to the treaty of Cambray. Thus the king of France saw himself at length in profound tranquillity, though the late war had cost him immense sums, the loss of Genoa and Milan, the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois, a year's captivity, an infinite deal of vexation, and no small portion of his honour and reputation.

As for the emperor, since he had made peace with France, and that Italy had in a manner submitted to his yoke, he became master of Spain, Italy, and the Low Countries; his brother Ferdinand was actually king of Bohemia, and had been elected king Hungary. Possessed of these advantages, Charles began to form mighty projects, and flattered himself with the hopes of having it in his power to subdue the rest of Europe*; and Henry received information from Crook, one of his agents at Venice, that the emperor was even then tampering with the Scots for invading England, and that he had resolved to pay them a subsidy for that purpose.

By this time the Reformation had made a considerable progress in Germany, although Charles had expelled Luther and all his adherents from the empire, and Clement VII. had endeavoured to use rough measures to extirpate this heresy, as it was called. This proceeding had raised such an animosity among the princes of the empire who favoured the reformed, that seemed to threaten a civil war; but Charles, thinking his late peace with France enabled him to command obedience, convoked a diet this year at Spire, where it was decreed, that no innovation should be made in religion. This decree was conceived to derogate from that liberty of conscience which former general assemblies had granted; and the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg; Ernest and Francis, dukes of Lunenburg; Philip, landgrave of Hesse; and Wolfgang, prince of Anhalt, with fourteen of the most considerable cities of the empire, opposed this new decree by a solemn protestation, with an appeal to a future general council: hence, from this time the Lutheran party came to be distinguished by the name of Protestants. The pope, provoked at their presumption, and dreading the thoughts of a general council, for fear of being deposed, prevailed on Charles, in an interview with him at Bologna, to adopt his sentiments, which were to make use of arms for suppressing the Protestants; alleging, that force was the only way of bringing back to the church persons that could not be otherwise silenced; and the emperor concurring with him in opinion, summoned a diet of the empire to meet at Augsburg, on the eighth of April in the succeeding year, 1531, resolving to carry every thing therein with the highest hand, and to compel the Protestants to submit to the church of Rome, without waiting for the judgment of a council.

But, notwithstanding that the emperor seemed so ready to please the pope in all such requests as he thought might tend to his own interest, yet he, on other occasions, sensibly mortified the pontiff, and in particular by obliging him to restore Modena and Reggio to the duke of Ferrara, which his holiness pretended was contrary to the article of the treaty of Barcelona: besides he now began to entertain a violent jealousy of the house of Austria, insomuch that we find him proposing, in the month of September, to give Henry a dispensation for having two wives; but Henry, encouraged by the disposition of his people, and the decision of all the learned bodies in Europe, in his favour, was determined to have every thing or nothing from the pope, who had no more power for granting a dispensation for living with two wives, than he had for dispensing with the king's marrying his brother's widow; and, in case of refusal, to disclaim all papal jurisdiction in the affair of the divorce, and abide by the determination of his own parliament and clergy.

For this purpose, on the sixth of January, 1531, a new session of parliament was held, after having undergone various prorogations, and sir Thomas More, the chancellor, opened it with a speech, wherein he set forth, "that the king's desire of seeing the marriage annulled, did not proceed from carnal motives, as some malicious tongues had insinuated, but arose purely from scruples of his own conscience, and his zeal for the good of his kingdom, that the succession to the throne might not be disputed after his death:" then he produced a great number of books and treatises, composed by the most learned divines and casuists in Europe, on the subject of the divorce, with extracts of several authors, both ancient and modern, and the decisions of the universities of France, Italy, and England: those were left on the table, for the perusal of the members. And in the mean time the king communicated his design to the convocation of the clergy, who unanimously agreed that the marriage was contrary to the law of God†.

This instance of complaisance, however, did not free them from a prosecution which Henry had determined to commence against them. Cardinal Wolsey had been found guilty of exercising the legatine power in England without a special licence from the king, and of disposing in that capacity of several benefices, contrary to the statutes of Provisors and Præmunire, consequently those who owned his authority were guilty of the same crime. This was the case with the whole body of the clergy, who were accordingly charged with having violated the laws of the realm. This prosecution was certainly most infamous, if we consider with what a plenitude of power the king had invested Wolsey; in vain did they plead, "that they supposed it agreeable to the king's will, who employed the cardinal all the time as his first minister, so that it was in vain for them to oppose his jurisdiction, inasmuch as such an attempt would have been unavoidably their ruin." They were told, that the laws being in force, they were to take notice of them at their peril, and ignorance was no excuse." They were found guilty of the crime with which they were charged, and all their effects were forfeited, and their persons put out of the king's protection.

* Guicciardin. Mezeray.

† Rymer's Fœd. vol. xiv. p. 454—472.

However,

However, the king shewed himself ready, upon their petition, to accept of one hundred thousand pounds from the province of Canterbury, and to grant them a pardon. As to the province of York, they compounded for nineteen thousand pounds*. But the chief advantage which Henry received on this occasion was with regard to his prerogative; for in the petition which the clergy presented for their pardon, they unanimously styled him Protector and Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England†. We shall see hereafter what use Henry made of his new title.

The whole of Henry's proceeding in this affair seems to have been dictated by a desire of squeezing a large sum of money from the clergy, as also to humble the pride of that body. He knew he was supported by the commons, who were ready to go all lengths to curb the ecclesiastics, nor did he apprehend being opposed by the temporal peers. The Protestant religion was at this time secretly favoured by many persons in England, where the writings and sermons of Wickliff and his disciples had long ago began to dispel the mist of ignorance and superstition from the minds of the people; who, besides, were oppressed by the pope's usurpations, and scandalized at the lewd and immoral lives of the late pontiffs who had filled St. Peter's chair; so that they eagerly wished for an opportunity to deliver themselves from such an intolerable and disgraceful yoke: add to this, that Henry wisely judged, that such a shew of resolution on his side would, if any thing could, bring the pope to do whatever he could desire in his "weighty matter," by which name he affected to call the affair of his divorce.

There were few of the commons who had not, in some manner or another, maintained causes in the legatine court, and therefore they were as liable to the penalties of the statutes of *Præmunire*, &c. as the clergy themselves; and the spirit Henry had shewn against that body, made the members of the house of commons so apprehensive for their own safety, that they petitioned Henry to be included in the pardon intended to be issued to the clergy, which request he granted them§. This condescension had a very good effect in Henry's favour, for soon after this the parliament was prorogued¶; and the members, going to their several counties, filled the minds of the people against the pope, and with an high opinion of the king's clemency. Henry, on his part, as soon as the parliament broke up, caused the decisions and writings in favour of the divorce to be printed and published, that his subjects might have time to consider the case before the next session.

The queen having, towards the latter end of the year, sent a petition to the court of Rome, setting forth that Henry seemed resolved to proceed to a second marriage, Clement had published a brief, citing the king to appear at Rome, and another, dated the fifth of January this year, 1531, decreeing any such marriage void, and its issue illegitimate; it likewise required the king to live with the queen as his wife, and pronounced the severest penalties against all who should be assisting or accessory to any second marriage. When the

news of this brief came to England it gave Henry prodigious disquiet, notwithstanding all the assurances he had of support from his parliament and people; he therefore not only laid the decision of the universities before his parliament, in the manner already related, but also thought proper to consult foreign lawyers upon the subject. The university of Orleans, famous for its faculty of law, gave it as a decision, "that the citation of a king to Rome in a matrimonial cause, which ought generally to be examined and determined in the country of the parties abode, was a thing unsupported by any precedent, and therefore the said citation, and all other process carried on against the king on occasion of his absence, were null and invalid, and contrary to all the reasons and method of law and equity‡." Henry, who had still some religious qualms hanging about him, made use also of the good offices of the king of France, and even wrote himself to the pope, "to get the cause remitted to England, as the place where it had arisen, and where, according to the canon of the primitive church, it ought to be tried||." But the answer of the pope was calculated only to prevail on him to constitute a proxy, that the Roman consistory might be in possession of the cause, and promising him in that case to administer speedy and impartial justice. The king, knowing well the consequences of such a step, would appoint no proxy to appear for him at Rome; nor would the pope consent to have the cause, which he had evoked before himself and the college of cardinals, be examined by delegates in England, in which he was greatly upheld by the Imperial faction in the college.

While Henry was thus careful to satisfy all the world of the uprightness of his intention, and the reasonableness of his conduct, he ordered a committee of his council to wait on queen Catherine with the determination of the universities on the matter of the divorce and citation, and to lay before her the consequences of her obstinacy, both as to the pope, to the kingdom, to herself, and to her posterity, offering to refer the whole affair to the judgment of four spiritual and four temporal lords. Catherine still standing obstinately to her appeal, and declining all jurisdiction but that of the pope, the king, who had hitherto in all respects (except in the point of abstaining from her bed) treated her as his queen, and behaved towards her in the gentlest and kindest manner, so that there was no outward appearance of a disagreement, resolved now to proceed in another manner, being not only vexed at her obstinacy, but highly resenting the indignity she had offered him by getting him cited to Rome, and therefore another message was sent her, importing, that his majesty desired to have no farther intercourse with her, and that she might chuse any one of the royal manors, at a distance from the court, for the place of her residence. To this message the queen answered with a noble spirit, "that she should, in obedience to his majesty's orders, remove from his presence; but that to what place soever she was sent, nothing could remove her from being the king's wife." She took her leave of the king at Windsor, on the fourteenth of July, after which it does not appear

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xiv. p. 423.

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 112. Atterbury's *Rights*, &c. p. 84.

§ Burnet, vol. i. p. 113.

¶ On the thirty-first of March. Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 123.

‡ Legrand, tom. iii. Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 416, & seq.

|| See this letter at large, in Burnet's *Collections*.

that Henry ever saw her: she retired first to More, then to East Hampstead, and afterwards to Ampt-hill.

What had lately passed in the parliament and convocation, and the near prospect of Anne Boleyn's being raised to the royal dignity, did not a little encourage the friends of the reformed religion. They began now to dispute openly about the most difficult and abstruse points of religion; but, by the indiscreet overflowing of their zeal, subjected themselves to some disagreeable checks. Henry, afraid of the consequences with which such a spirit, if too far indulged, might possibly be attended, resolved to convince his people, that, though he was inclined to shake off the papal yoke, he did not mean to violate the fundamental truths of Christianity, as held by the church, and therefore ordered the laws against heretics to be strictly put in execution; in consequence of which three Protestants, namely, Bilney, Bayfield, and Baynard (the two first ecclesiastics, and the other a lawyer) were condemned to the flames, and executed in Smithfield*.

The conferences between the emperor and the Protestant princes of Germany, at Augsburg, breaking up with increased animosities on both sides, the reformed princes and cities met, either personally or by their deputies, at Smalcald†, where they protested against the coronation of the emperor's brother Ferdinand of Austria, as king of the Romans, and wrote a letter to Henry, setting forth their grievances, and requesting his assistance, who answered them in such favourable terms, that, full of spirits, they prepared to take arms against the emperor; and the Swiss cantons, who had declared against the corruptions of the Romish church, offered to enter into the league, but were refused by the duke of Saxony, on account of some religious differences. Soon after, the emperor having raised a great army to take the field against the Turks, who, at the instigation of Francis (become jealous of Charles's increasing greatness), had invaded the dominions of the house of Austria, under their warlike emperor Solymán; the princes of the reformation, looking upon this army as designed against them, solicited both Henry and Francis for speedy succours: those two monarchs concluded an agreement with the princes of the league, and Francis persuaded Henry to assist them with fifty thousand crowns, remitted by the hands of the French ambassador at the English court. The resolution taken by the two kings to support the Protestants in Germany arose not from religious motives, but in order to oppose the growing power of the Austrian family. But it is now time to attend the affairs of England.

The parliament meeting, according to adjournment, in the month of January, 1532, the commons were almost unanimously inclined to redress the grievances the people had so long complained of in vain with respect to the papal power and ecclesiastical privileges. Accordingly, soon after their meeting, they presented an address to the king, intreat-

ing his majesty to agree to the reformation of several abuses which had crept into the immunities granted to the clergy, and of which they had compiled a whole volume, which was presented to the king by their speaker. Though nothing could be a more seasonable request to Henry, he decently dissimulated his satisfaction, and said, "he would come to no resolution till he had heard both parties‡." By this answer he meant to shew the clergy how much they stood in need of the royal protection, hated as they were by the parliament, which were entirely at his devotion. Several acts were passed, which slightly touched upon some of the privileges of the clergy, which were all allowed of by Henry, that he might strengthen his own power against that formidable body, and strike the greater terror into the court of Rome. But no act made so great a noise as one brought into this parliament against any person paying of future annates to the pope. The act sets forth so fully the intolerable grievances of the subject on this head, that it claims a place here for the reader's information. Its substance is as follows:

"That the kingdom was impoverished by the great sums paid to the Roman pontiff: that, since the second year of the late reign, above one hundred and sixty thousand pounds have been sent to Rome, on account of annates or first-fruits, palls and bulls for bishoprics: that the annates had been originally designed as a contribution for supporting a war against the Infidels; but as they were not applied to that purpose, it was decreed, that they should not be paid for the future: that no more than five per cent. of the annual revenue should be given for the bulls of bishoprics; that, if the pope should refuse to grant them on these terms, the bishop elect should be presented by the king to the metropolitan of the province, in order to be consecrated; but should the metropolitan refuse consecration, on pretence of wanting palls and bulls, two prelates appointed by the king should perform the ceremony; and then the elect should be held as lawfully consecrated. Nevertheless, the parliament declared, that the king should be at liberty to annul or confirm this act within the limited time; and if, in that interval, he should compromise his difference with the court of Rome, it should obtain the force and authority of a law; but should the pope, on account of this act, pretend to disturb the kingdom with sentence of excommunication and interdict, these censures should be utterly disregarded: all ecclesiastics were forbid to receive or publish them; but were enjoined to celebrate divine service, as if they had never been issued||."

But though the parliament shewed itself heartily disposed to promote the king's measures for humbling the court of Rome, and assisting him to extend his own power over the clergy of his kingdom, yet they would not suffer the least attempt to be made against any of those privileges and emoluments which they had gained from the weakening the feudal system in England, during the late reign.

* During this session of parliament, one Richard Rouse, a cook, on the sixteenth of February, poisoned some soup in the bishop of Rochester's kitchen, with which seventeen persons were mortally infected; one of the gentlemen died of it, and some poor people, that were charitably fed with the remainder, were also infected, one woman dying. The person was apprehended, and by act of parliament (22 Hen. VIII.) poisoning was declared treason, and Rouse was attainted and sen-

tenced to be broiled to death, which was to be the punishment of poisoning for all times to come; (but was repealed 1 Ed. VI. and 1 Mariae I.) The sentence was executed in Smithfield soon after, Burnet. Stow, p. 560. Hall, f. l. 199.

† A town of Hesse, in the circle of Lower Saxony, in Germany, situated on the river Werra. Busching.

‡ Lord Herbert. Atterbury's Rights, &c. p. 86.

|| Burnet, vol. i. p. 117.

It was now grown a common practice for such of the commons who held lands of the crown, and the great lords, to make, by will or deeds, such settlements of their estates as deprived the king and the superior barons of all aids and emoluments arising from those dependencies: a bill therefore was brought into the house of lords this session, and by them passed, for preventing such practices; but being sent down to the commons, they would neither agree to the bill, nor provide any expedient in favour of the crown. This gave the king great offence, and he expostulated with them in pretty harsh terms about their refusal, saying, "that he had in that bill offered a great mitigation of what the law allowed him to claim; and that if they would not accept it, they should feel all the rigour of the law." The commons, however, continued obstinate, and the bill did not pass: the difference between the king and the parliament arose so high, that the latter, with a view to mortify him, permitted one Temse, a member, to make and speak to a motion, that an address should be presented to the king, entreating him to take back his queen, and prevent all the inconveniences which the illegitimation of the princess Mary must necessarily occasion. Henry was greatly enraged at the presumption of this commoner; but, as he was extremely cautious of giving the least unnecessary offence to the commons, we do not find that any censure was inflicted upon Temse. An epidemical distemper breaking out in London at this time, the parliament was prorogued on the fourteenth of May to the February of the following year.

The proceedings of the English parliament, which were intimated by Henry's ambassadors, Dr. Edward Karne and Dr. Bonner, to his holiness and the cardinals, threw the papal court into terrible alarms. The conclave was much divided in sentiments; the Imperial party pressed the pope to proceed against Henry with the utmost ecclesiastical rigour; but Clement thought it was his interest still to temporize, or at least to delay giving any definitive sentence: accordingly he wrote a cajoling letter to Henry, assuring him that his holiness was so much piqued with the emperor, and so entirely in the interest of Francis, Henry's ally, that Henry need lie under no apprehensions of trusting the whole cause to his determination.

In the mean time, intelligence being received that the emperor had proposed an interview with the pope, Henry and Francis were greatly alarmed thereat; the former, lest Charles should bring his holiness to do somewhat prejudicial to his suit of divorce; the latter, lest such a conference might defeat the designs he had formed of wresting the duchy of Milan from the Sforza family, and getting the pope to bestow it upon his second son, the duke of Orleans, who in that case was to marry the pope's niece, Catherine de Medicis, afterwards so famous in history. It was therefore mutually agreed, that a new treaty should be entered into between the courts of France and England. Accordingly, on the twenty-third of June this year, the following league was made, viz. "That the two kings should mutually assist each other; the former with five thousand archers, the latter with five hundred men at arms, in case the emperor invaded either of their

territories by land; and with a fleet manned with fifteen thousand men, in case he attacked them by sea." This treaty was accompanied by a proposal of an interview between Henry and Francis, to be held in October following, which was agreed to.

It being apparent to the whole nation, that Henry's intention was to marry Anne Boleyn, who was looked upon to be a Protestant; and either to force the pope into his measures, or else to separate from his obedience; sir Thomas More, the lord-chancellor, who, though an excellent minister, and a man of great learning, was a perfect enthusiast in point of submission to the papal authority, disliking the person and proceedings of Anne Boleyn, and being apprehensive of the fatal consequences that might attend a total rupture with the court of Rome, resigned the great-seal, which was thereupon given by the king to sir Thomas Audley, who was first constituted keeper of the great-seal; and, on the seventh of January following, declared lord-chancellor.

On the twenty-third of August died Warham, archbishop of Canterbury; an event which gave Henry no small satisfaction, as thereby he thought he might safely get the affair of his divorce determined in his own dominions: for though the deceased prelate was in his judgment against the marriage with Catherine, yet he was too much devoted to the see of Rome to do any act, or exert his own authority, in contempt of the papal power; and he had some time before his death, made a private protest against all that the parliament had done, so far as it might encroach upon the rights of the church, or be "to the prejudice of the pope, or the see of Rome*:" therefore it could not well be supposed that he would take upon him to determine a cause which the pope had evoked, and reserved to his own cognizance. The king named for his successor Dr. Thomas Cranmer, who was at this time employed in soliciting the learned men and bodies abroad, in Germany especially, to favour the king's divorce, and was a person whom Henry had found, in sentiments of religion and politics, to be according to his own heart.

On the eleventh of October, the king went over to Calais with a royal retinue, in order to have an interview with the French monarch between that place and Boulogne. On this occasion he was accompanied by Anne Boleyn, whom he had lately created marchioness of Pembroke. The two princes entertained each other with great pomp and magnificence, but without transacting any business of importance, owing to the dissimulation of Francis, who, indeed, promised to procure Henry satisfaction in the affair of the divorce, or to break with the pope, though at this very time he was engaged in a secret treaty with Clement, about the marriage of his second son, the duke of Orleans, and Catherine de Medicis, as already mentioned.

Henry returned to England on the fourteenth of November; and in the month of January in the following year, 1533, was privately married to Anne Boleyn, by Dr. Rowland Lee, afterwards bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. The ceremony was performed in the presence of Cranmer, now returned to England, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and Anne's father (lately created earl of Wiltshire), her mother and brothers.

* See Burnet, vol. iii. p. 36. in Collect.

The parliament meeting, agreeable to its prorogation, in the month of February, among other acts passed one against appeals to Rome in causes of matrimony, divorce, wills, rights of tythes, oblations, and obventions, declaring the same to be causes appropriated to the cognizance of the spiritual courts of this kingdom*. The preamble to this act, to be found in our statute-books, sufficiently shews the general sense of the nation with regard to the pope's power.

All this while the convocation as well as the parliament was sitting; and Cranmer, being installed in his archiepiscopal dignity on the thirtieth of March, he, on the third of April, took his seat in the upper house of convocation, when two questions were brought before it from the king, relating to his marriage with Catherine: "I. Whether or not the dispensation of pope Julius II. for the said marriage was sufficient to render it binding and valid? II. Whether or not the consummation of Arthur's nuptials with that princess had been fully demonstrated?"

There were seventy-five divines present in person, and one hundred and ninety-seven by proxy, in all two hundred and seventy-two; and after various arguments and debates, for several days, it was resolved, by the suffrages of two hundred and fifty-three,

"I. That such a marriage was contrary to the law of God, and indispensable by the pope." There were five bishops present at these debates, and five others appeared by their proxies; two of the former, viz. the bishops of Rochester and Llandaff, with as many abbots, three priors, and twelve other divines, nineteen in all, dissenting from the determination.

II. In regard to the second question, it was resolved, "That by the evidences laid before the convocation, prince Arthur's consummation was sufficiently proved." At the canvassing this point there were present forty-four lawyers and canonists, three of which were bishops: there were three others, who gave their proxies to Gardiner (lately made bishop of Winchester); and of the whole number, amounting to forty-seven, only the bishop of Bath and Wells, and five more dissented, from the resolution. The same answers were given by the convocation of York, only two dissenting out of upwards of an hundred divines and canonists.

It was next resolved at court, that Cranmer should take upon him to pronounce the sentence of divorce; a step which was now become absolutely necessary, as the king could no longer conceal his marriage with Anne Boleyn, who was now become pregnant. In the first place, however, the queen was once more applied to, to withdraw her appeal to the pope, and to submit; but she remained firm against both, and the marchioness of Pembroke was declared queen of England on the twelfth of April, being Easter-eve. Upon this, Cranmer, after making the proper citations to the queen, and going through a formal process, pronounced a sentence of divorce, on the twenty-third of May, which was intimated to the emperor by sir Thomas Wyatt, Henry's resident at the Imperial court: queen Anne was solemnly crowned at Westminster, on the first day of June; and it was ordered that Catherine, for the future, should be distinguished

by no other title than that of princess dowager of Wales. However, Henry was persuaded to yield a little to her Spanish pride, by conniving at those about her, whom she insisted should continue to treat her in the quality of a queen.

In the mean time the news of the whole process and the sentence passed by the new archbishop of Canterbury, together with a copy of a book published by the king on this occasion, in which he treated the papal authority pretty cavalierly, reached Rome, and so exasperated Clement, that the Imperial faction found it no difficult matter to persuade his holiness to annul the archbishop's sentence; and he threatened Henry with excommunication, in case the latter did not condescend to have the sentence confirmed by the see of Rome by a certain day in September following, the pope not doubting but he should be able to reclaim this refractory son of the church by the means of the king of France, with whom he was about to have an interview at Marseilles on account of the marriage of Catherine de Medicis with the duke of Orleans.

Many arts were made use of, on this occasion, by the court of France to soften Henry; but he was so very sure of his parliament and clergy, that Langay, the French ambassador, found him extremely cold in the matter, and by no means disposed to have any farther intercourse with the pope: however, he was at length persuaded to order the duke of Norfolk, the lord Rochford, brother to the new queen, and several other gentlemen of distinction, to accompany Francis to Marseilles, to see whether there were any hopes of accommodating matters on an amicable footing: but the duke of Norfolk and the others, hearing of the proceedings of the consistory of Rome, were recalled at their own request; yet, after all, Francis prevailed upon Henry to send Gardiner, the new bishop of Winchester, sir Francis Bryan, a relation of the queen's, and sir John Wallop, with Edmund Bonner, a court priest, to be witnesses of what should pass at the interview.

The pope arrived at Marseilles on the fourteenth of October, with his niece Catherine de Medicis, and was received by Francis and the duke of Orleans with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. They immediately fell upon business; the marriage was celebrated, and an ample dowry (but all to be conquered by Francis) was given to the young bride.

It was at this interview that the French king prevailed with the pope to give Henry entire satisfaction, promising to exclude the cardinals of the emperor's faction, if the king of England would submit the cause of the divorce to be reheard and judged by himself in consistory; but Bonner, not being acquainted with this compromise, demanded an audience of the pope, and (agreeable to instructions he had received from Henry) acquainted his holiness with Henry's appeal to the next general council from the sentence given, or to be given, against him; and then, after he had been answered by Clement that such an appeal was unlawful, he lodged the like appeal in the name of the archbishop of Canterbury from the sentence which annulled his judgment for the divorce, which put the pope into such a rage, that he even proceeded

* See Stat. 24 Hen. VIII. cap. xii.

to threaten Bonner with a severe punishment for his insolence. This happened on the seventh of November†.

Thus all hopes of reconciliation between Henry and the pope were broken off for the present, and Clement departed from Marfeilles on the twelfth of November; but as it was Francis's interest to please Henry and the pope also, he dispatched John du Bellay, archbishop of Paris, to the court of London, who found means to persuade Henry to agree, that if the pope would put off the execution of his sentence until he had indifferent judges sent, who might hear the business, he would on his part defer what he was inclined to do in relation to withdrawing his obedience from the Roman see. The archbishop upon this, though in the depth of a severe winter, set out for Rome, where he got the pope's consent to try the cause at Cambray, by such judges as the king of England should have no reason to except against.

But when matters were brought to this crisis, the pope flew off, till he could have Henry's concession, signed by his own hand, and fixed a day for the return of the courier, which proved the providential means to bring the arts and politics of men to nought; for the courier not returning precisely within the limited time, the Imperial cardinals, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the archbishop of Paris for a delay of six days longer, prevailed with the pope to precipitate a sentence, by which Henry's marriage with Catherine was declared valid, he was commanded to live with her as his wife, and excommunication was pronounced against him if he refused. Within two days after this sentence was fulminated, the courier arrived from England with full powers for the archbishop of Paris, declaring that Henry accepted the proposed judgment, provided that the Imperialists and their faction, who were his declared enemies, did not interfere. But all was too late, and the archbishop of Paris, finding the pope immovable, returned to France, the English ambassadors leaving Rome at the same time.

From a review of what happened between the time of the archbishop of Paris's setting out from England, and the time of fulminating the sentence, it evidently appears that Henry never intended to part with his supremacy, and therefore he must be supposed to have acted in this case with great insincerity, only to obtain the pope's consent in the cause of the divorce, to quiet some people's consciences, that he might get rid of Catherine with more grace, and then to drop him there, and to withdraw his obedience; for immediately on the departure of the archbishop of Paris, viz. on the second of December, a council was called, in which several violent resolutions were taken against the papal authority, at a time when Henry's cause was actually in submission before the pope, and before he could possibly know the issue of that negotiation.

The parliament meeting on January 15, 1534, began the session with an act annulling the statute of Henry IV. against heretics: not that the parliament meant to exempt them from the penalty of the laws, for by the new act they were condemned to the flames; but, in order to abridge the power of the clergy, and hinder them from being sole

judges in such cases, it was decreed that heretics should be tried according to the laws of the land, without any regard to the canon law.

By another statute it was enacted, that no synod or convocation of the clergy should be assembled without the king's permission; that his majesty should nominate sixteen persons from the parliament, and as many from the clergy, to examine the canons and constitutions of the church, with power to abolish such as were useless, and confirm those that were necessary. An act of attainder was likewise passed against Elizabeth Barton, commonly called the Holy Maid of Kent, a native of the parish of Aldington, who was employed by certain ecclesiastics as a fit instrument to raise disturbances in the kingdom.

This woman had been long subject to hysterical fits, during which her countenance and body underwent most violent contortions, and she frequently uttered many strange and incoherent expressions, from whence the ignorant and credulous people were induced to believe that she spoke by the inspiration of Heaven: even sir Thomas More and Fisher, bishop of Rochester, were weak enough to look upon her as something more than mortal. Finding, therefore, that she gained credit every day, the papists put her upon speaking and prophesying against the king's divorce, and his second marriage, which she did with great warmth; and at last she became so bold as to pretend that God had revealed to her, "that if the king went on in his divorce, and took another wife, he should not be king a month longer, and that he should die a villain's death." It is no less true than extraordinary, that Fisher and More, even after she came thus to speak treason, appear to have been weak enough to have talked to her, if not to have encouraged her; but More was soon convinced of the imposture, and gave an early account of it to Thomas Cromwell, now one of the secretaries of state. Henry at first neglected this woman; but finding that she was upheld not only by the regular clergy but the pope's agents in England, he resolved to proceed against her with the utmost severity: accordingly the Maid and her accomplices were examined in the Star Chamber, where they confessed all the particulars of the imposture; and appeared upon a scaffold in St. Paul's church, where the articles of their confession were read in their hearing; from thence they were conveyed to the Tower, where they remained till the parliament met, which having considered the case, pronounced it a conspiracy against the king's life and crown, and Elizabeth with her accomplices were attainted of high-treason. The bishop of Rochester, Thomas Gold, Thomas Lawrence, Edward Thwaites, John Addison, and Thomas Abise were adjudged guilty of misprision of treason, to forfeit their goods and chattels to the king, and to be imprisoned during his majesty's pleasure; and Elizabeth and her confederates were afterwards hung at Tyburn.

The parliament then proceeded to enact several laws for regulating affairs of an ecclesiastical nature. They confirmed the statutes against annates; they decreed, "that for the future the pope should have no share in the election or confirmation of bishops,

† While these things were transacting, queen Anne was brought to bed of a daughter, on the seventh of September, afterwards the famous queen Elizabeth.

but that, when a see became vacant, the king should send to the chapter a *congé d'elire*, or licence, to elect a new bishop; and if the election should not be made in twelve days after the date of the licence, the right of chusing should fall to the king: that the bishop elect should swear fealty to the king, who should present him to the archbishop, for consecration; and should the elect, or the archbishop, refuse to obey this order, they should be liable to the penalties of the act of *Præmunire*: that no person should presume to apply to the bishop of Rome for bulls, palls, or any other religious purpose: that Peter-pence, together with all procurations, delegations, bulls, and dispensations, issued by the court of Rome, should be entirely abolished: that the archbishop of Canterbury should be empowered to grant such dispensations as were consistent with the law of God, provided that part of the money thence arising should be paid into the king's Exchequer: that all religious houses, whether exempted or non-exempted, should be subject to the visitation of the archbishop: that the king's marriage with Catherine, should be deemed null and void; and that the succession should be settled upon the issue of his lawful wife Anne, whether male or female." The members having sworn to maintain the succession in this manner, the two houses were, on the thirtieth of March, prorogued till the third of November following.

Thus ended this memorable parliament, and thus the total disunion of the crown and people of England from the court, though not from the church, of Rome, was effected. Those who pretended, that no great kingdom could break with the pope without manifest danger, now saw that a single blow was sufficient to overthrow this venerable colossus: in fact, the taxes which the court of Rome had so long imposed on the English, were founded only on that people's willingness to be laid under contribution; but as soon as they resolved to be no longer so, it was found, that a power founded only in form is nothing in itself.

After the separation of the parliament, Henry sent commissioners through the whole kingdom to administer the oath of supremacy and allegiance to all his subjects, as also that concerning the succession; Henry looking upon this oath as the test, not only of his subjects loyalty, but of their attachment to the parliamentary proceedings: it imported, "that they would be faithful to the king, queen, their succession, and heirs and successors; that they held the king to be supreme head of the English church, and the pope to be no more than any other bishop; that they renounced all obedience to the pontiff of Rome; that they (such of them as were of the clergy) would preach the pure doctrines of the holy Scripture; and that they would pray for the king as the head of the English church, then for the queen, her issue, and lastly for the archbishop of Canterbury." Which oath was generally taken by the clergy as well as the laity, except John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and sir Thomas More, late lord-chancellor, who would not subscribe thereto, alleging, that they could not take such oaths, without endangering their souls of eternal damnation; upon which they were both committed to the Tower of London. In the mean time Henry tried, by the means of the archbishop

of York, Edward Lee, and the bishop of Durham, Cuthbert Tunstall, to persuade Catherine once more to renounce the title of queen; to which she, with an unbroken spirit, declared she never would.

Charles V. Catherine's nephew, having undertaken to execute the pope's sentence of deposition against the king of England, Henry thought proper to endeavour to prevent his designs, or at least to put himself in a posture of defence against them. For this end he proposed a new treaty with Francis, king of France; but as Francis always acted with him purely on a principle of self interest, and being also unwilling to give any umbrage to the pope, whose relation he was now become, Henry was not able to bring him to a settled alliance that might render their union effectual for the common defence; on the contrary, Francis shuffled with him, and deceived him in an egregious manner, as we shall see in the sequel.

The king, though he had no reason to apprehend any danger from his own subjects, to whom the late acts were in general agreeable, still thought it proper to provide against all events, and to fortify himself by foreign alliances. The emperor had threatened to stir up an invasion from Scotland; therefore, to prevent any hostility from that quarter, Henry now made a peace with his nephew, James V. for their joint lives, and a year after the death of either. This peace, which was concluded at London on the eleventh of May this year, contained two articles never inserted in any former treaty, and which arose from the present circumstances of affairs: one was, that this treaty should not derogate from the old leagues subsisting between France and Scotland; the other, that it should not be infringed by any sentence or censure against either of the contracting parties, or his dominions. Henry also, on restoring the castle of Eddrington, which had been some time before surprized by the English, obtained liberty for Archibald, earl of Angus, his brother George and his uncle Archibald Douglas, with some other Scottish fugitives that had entered into his service, to reside in England, upon his undertaking that they should make no hostile attempt upon Scotland*. Henry was so well pleased to have his nephew his friend and ally, that the lord William Howard was sent to Scotland with the order of the Garter to James.

On the twenty-sixth of September this year, pope Clement VII. died, and was succeeded by cardinal Farnese, who was elected on the twelfth of October following, and assumed the name of Paul III. This event gave a great blow to the hopes and interests of Francis, it ruined all his mighty expectations of his new alliance with the house of Medici, and obliged him to be more than ever attentive to his engagements with England. Henry was sensible of all this, and resolved to avail himself of such a juncture by getting Francis to guaranty the late act of succession, which Francis did in a very ample manner, promising, "on the word and faith of a king, and under the forfeiture of his goods, and of all the goods of his subjects, in the form of a contract of guaranty, both for himself, his heirs and successors, that he, at all times and in all places, particularly in all synods and general councils, and before all persons, and against all men whatsoever,

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xiv. p. 529, & seq.

that should oppose it, of what rank or condition soever they might be, he would, both by himself and by his subjects, maintain and defend it, and (if need were) justify it by a strong hand, and with all his forces; nor would he ever, for the future, publicly or privately, directly or indirectly, go against it, or so much as attempt it, nor suffer it to be attempted by any other, as much as in him lay."

But the death of Clement VII. made no alteration in the measures taken by the court of England to shake off the papal yoke, especially as it had now little to fear from the emperor, who began to find work enough in Germany; besides, Henry had, by his negotiations, secured most of the northern powers, who were in general inclined to the reformed religion. Paget was sent to reside with the princes of the reformation in Germany; and, about the latter end of the summer, ambassadors came from the Lubeckers, with offers of entering into an offensive league against the pope, and bringing with them their confession of faith, which they presented to Henry.

The parliament meeting, according to prorogation, on the twenty-third of November, enacted several important laws to prevent all future connexion between the kingdom of England and the Roman pontiff. One of their first acts was to confirm the king's title of Supreme Head of the Church of England, and to entail the same on his successors. They declared all those who should speak, write, or imagine any thing prejudicial to the king or queen, guilty of high-treason, and debarred from all benefit of sanctuaries. They composed a form of oath, to be taken by the whole nation, with regard to the succession of the crown, and annulled all former oaths on the same subject†. They assigned to the king the annates or first-fruits (formerly paid to the pope), together with the tythes of all benefices. By another act provision was made for twenty-five suffragan bishops, who had power given them to exercise such jurisdiction as the bishop of the diocese should grant them‡: and Henry, after passing a general pardon, put an end to the session; but Fisher and More, who had been previously convicted of misprision of treason, were excepted out of the pardon. At the same time Henry issued a proclamation, ordering all the justices to inspect the behaviour of the bishops and clergy, particularly to observe whether they preached against the abuses of the church of Rome, and in support of the king's supremacy, and to give information against those whom they should deem cold and insincere in the discharge of their duty. Another proclamation was also issued, ordering that the name of Pope should be discontinued and

be erased from all prayers, rubrics, canons, mass-books, &c. All the prelates renounced obedience to the bishop of Rome, and among the rest Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, though in his heart he was still bigotly addicted to all the absurdities of the Romish religion, and a deadly enemy to all reformers.

By this time the reformation had taken deep root in England as well as in Germany, notwithstanding the violent and cruel persecution to which its professors were subjected. The writings of Luther were generally read here, and even the New Testament was translated into the English language by one Tindal, who afterwards retired into the Low Countries: however, to the eternal reproach of Henry and his reforming government, this book, as soon as it made its appearance, was condemned to the flames, as were several persons who were so incautious as to declare their sentiments too freely in point of religion. These severities, however, instead of suppressing, served only to strengthen the spirit of religious opposition, which was still farther inflamed by the quarrel with the Roman pontiff.

Anne Boleyn, archbishop Cranmer, and secretary Cromwell were in their hearts staunch friends to the reformation, and encouragers of its promoters; while, on the other hand, the duke of Norfolk, with Gardiner and Longland, bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, and many other ecclesiastics who frequented the court, were still for preserving all the absurdities of the Romish religion, and for keeping the flames of persecution in full blaze against the reformers.

Henry himself, though he had renounced his subjection to the see of Rome, was in several respects a bigotted Catholic, and a strict adherer to the real presence in the sacrament; besides, he had written a book against Luther, who had answered him with great freedom, not to say scurrility. This had incensed Henry beyond a possibility of reconciliation: in fine, Henry wanted to be the pope's rival, but without being either a Lutheran or a Sacramentarian; he still preserved the invocation of saints, but under certain restrictions; it was with him equally a crime to believe in the authority of the pope, and to be a Protestant: and we shall see, in the course of this reign, where he alike condemned to the flames those who spoke in favour of the Roman pontiff, and those who declared for the reformed religion in Germany. In particular, he now ordered the prior of the Carthusian monks of the Charterhouse, London, the prior of Hexham, Benase a monk of Sion college, and John Haile vicar of Isleworth, together with three monks of the Charterhouse, to be hanged and quar-

† The new oath was conceived in the following terms: "Ye shall swear to bear faith, truth, and obedience alone to the king's majesty, and to the heirs of his body, of his most dear and entirely beloved lawful wife, queen Anne, begotten and to be begotten; and farther, to the heirs of the said sovereign lord, according to the limitation of the statute made for surety of his succession in the crown of this realm mentioned and contained, and not to any other within this realm, nor foreign authority or potentate: and in case any oath be made, or hath been made by you to any person or persons, that then ye do repute the same as vain and annihilate; and that, to your common wit and uttermost of your power, without guile, fraud, or other undue means, ye shall observe, keep, maintain, and defend the said act of succession, and all the whole effects and contents thereof, and all other acts and statutes made in confirmation or for execution of the same, or any thing there-

in contained: and this ye shall do against all manner of persons, of what estate, dignity, degree, or condition soever they be; and in no wise to do or attempt, directly or indirectly, any thing or things, privily or apart, to the let, hindrance, damage, or derogation thereof, or of any part of the same, by any manner of means, or for any manner of pretence. So help you God, and all saints, and the holy evangelists."

‡ By this act the towns of Thetford, Ipswich, Colchester, Dover, Guildford, Southampton, Taunton, Shaftesbury, Malton, Marlborough, Bedford, Leicester, Gloucester, Shrewsbury, Bristol, Penrith, Bridgewater, Nottingham, Grantham, Hull, Huntingdon, Cambridge, and the towns of Pereth and Berwick, St. German's, and the Isle of Wight, were to be taken and accepted for sees of bishops suffragan to be made in England and Wales. See their commission in bishop Burnet's Collection, vol. i. n. 51.

tered at Tyburn, on the eighteenth of July this year, for refusing to submit to the new laws: and a little before, orders were given for burning twenty-seven Protestants, viz. John Frith, a man of great learning, Andrew Hewet, and nineteen men and six women, born in Holland, to convince the world that his severity to the ecclesiastics was not actuated by any fondness he was charged with for the new religion.

At length this persecution reached bishop Fisher and sir Thomas More, who still continued prisoners in the Tower, and who were now singled out for a terror to the boldest opposers of the king's measures: Henry was determined they should renounce the pope, and acknowledge his marriage-act and succession, as established by parliament. Pope Paul III. who succeeded Clement VII. thought to save Fisher's life by sending him a cardinal's hat, while matters were preparing for his trial; but in this he only gave Henry the satisfaction of bringing a cardinal to the block; for Fisher refusing to take the oath of supremacy, a commission was made out for trying him by his peers, for misprision of treason in the case of the Maid of Kent, and also for denying the king's supremacy, and on the seventeenth of May he was tried before the lord-chancellor, the duke of Suffolk, with some other lords and all the judges, who found him guilty, and he received sentence of death accordingly. He received the notice of his execution with great composure of mind in the morning before he was beheaded; and when he came to the block, after a short prayer in favour of popery, and praying for the king, and that God would bless him with a good council, he calmly resigned his neck to the executioner, on the twenty-second of June, on Tower-hill. He had the character of a learned and devout man, but very weak and obstinate, and much addicted to the superstitions of his education.

The same oath of supremacy, for the refusing of which bishop Fisher lost his head, being also tendered to sir Thomas More, he refused to take it likewise, for which he was tried by the same court, and lost his head on first day of July; though Henry reaped nothing but reproach and infamy from the death of a man who was universally esteemed for his virtue, and admired for his wit and pleasantries, which did not forsake him even in his last moments; and he died with an unconcern that in others would have appeared to be levity, but in him was nature.

These executions were followed by fresh injunctions issued by Henry to all archbishops and bishops, for enforcing the doctrine of the king's supremacy; a declaration was also sent them by secretary Cromwell to the same effect, which they were ordered to read from their pulpits; and it does not appear that one prelate refused to comply with these orders, so much did they stand in awe of Henry's fiery and vindictive temper: and this seems to be the epocha from whence we may date Henry VIII's resolution to govern by force and absolute power.

At this very time sir Gregory Cassali was still at the court of Rome as Henry's agent, and had frequent conferences with pope Paul about some expedient to heal the breach which Clement VII. had made with England by his too great precipitation; but news arriving that bishop Fisher and sir Tho-

mas More were executed for denying the king's supremacy, the pope broke off all intercourse with Cassali, and, by a thundering bull, passed ecclesiastical censures against the king of England, summoning him, and all his adherents, to appear at Rome within ninety days, to answer for their crimes; if they should fail, he laid them under the sentence of excommunication, deprived the king of his realm, subjected the kingdom to an interdict, declared Henry's issue by Anne Boleyn illegitimate, annulled all treaties which other powers had concluded with the king of England, bestowed his kingdom on the first person who chose to attempt the conquest of it, commanded the English nobility to take arms against him, absolved all his subjects from their allegiance, forbade all Christians to communicate with the English, and declared it lawful for any one to convert their effects to their own use*. This bull was passed on the thirtieth of August, this year; but it was not published at this time, the pope thinking it prudent to delay the publication, until it could be supported by the Imperial arms.

In the mean time the French king, in order to sound the inclinations of Henry, sent over Philip Chabot, admiral of France, to communicate some overtures of peace, which had been made by the emperor. That prince proposed a marriage between the third daughter of Francis and Philip prince of Spain, and another match between the dauphin and the princess Mary, daughter of Henry and Catherine. Henry received this embassy with some degree of contempt: he said, that the emperor's offer of the princess Mary was of itself ridiculous, since she was not at his disposal, and that he knew how to keep her from ever being so; and that as to some other proposals of the emperor, concerning the duchy of Milan, it was very plain that Charles intended only to divide France and England, that he might the better answer his ends upon both: however, Henry proposed, in his turn, that his new-born daughter Elizabeth should be married to the duke of Angoulême, third son to Francis, on condition that the French king, with the nobility, parliaments, and universities of France, should engage to procure those sentences which had been fulminated by the bishop of Rome, on account of the divorce, revoked. This proposal was embraced by Francis; and accordingly, in May this year, the duke of Norfolk, the bishop of Ely, sir William Fitz Williams, and Dr. Fox, were ordered to treat concerning the marriage with the commissioners of Francis. But the latter demanding that Henry should furnish him with succours for the war he had undertaken against Savoy, and release him entirely from the perpetual pension of one hundred thousand crowns, which he had obliged himself by treaty to pay to the king of England, Henry judged from this demand, that Francis meant only to shuffle with him, and therefore declared, that so far from renouncing the pension, he insisted upon the payment of the arrears within a limited time. This reply broke off the negotiation: and while the emperor carried his arms into Africa, where he restored Muley Hassen to his kingdom of Tunis, from which he had been expelled by the famous corsair Barbarossa, Francis attacked the duchy of Savoy, which he reduced in the very first campaign.

* Burnet's Collect. vol. i p. 166.

The bull lately signed by the pope was intended rather to terrify Henry, than to be put in force; however, it was so ordered as to be made known to all the courts of Europe: but it had the contrary effect, for, as soon as Henry was informed thereof, and that, amongst other schemes, the pope intended to give England to some of the German popish princes, he resolved to counterballance that project, and engaged Francis I. to concur with him in an embassy to the Protestant league of Smalcald: Henry sent Edward Fox and Dr. Heath, to whom Francis joined William de Bellay, lord of Langey.

But these monarchs proposed an union with the league only in a political view, to keep the emperor employed in that country by an intestine war, without any regard to the Protestant religion. The Protestant princes of Germany, on the other hand, were willing to live in all due subjection to the emperor, provided they could be secured in the free exercise of their religion; therefore, to cover their intentions, and to draw the Protestants into their interest, it was necessary for Henry and Francis to feign a conformity of sentiments with them in religious matters, and a desire to establish the reformation in their kingdoms. Had these sentiments been real, no doubt they would have been readily embraced; but the cruelty with which both kings treated the reformed in their respective dominions was a proof of their insincerity, and therefore, before the princes of the league would proceed in any alliance with them, the duke of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse communicated certain proposals to the English ambassadors, the purport of which appears from lord Herbert to have been as follows:

They demanded, "That Henry should approve and embrace the Augsburg Confession of Faith, and defend it with all his power in a free council; that he should approve of no place for holding a council without their consent; that if the pope should call a council at his own pleasure, Henry should join with them in protesting against it; that he should accept of the title of Protector of the League; that he should never return to the pope's obedience; that he should not assist their enemies; and lastly, that he should pay one hundred thousand crowns towards the defence of the league, and in case of a long war two hundred thousand crowns, upon condition that what was remaining should be restored when the war should be at an end*."

How disagreeable soever these articles were to Henry, the advantage he proposed to himself by gaining the German Protestants to his interest, made him seem to approve of their proposals in general; and, to gain their belief of his sincerity, Fox had instructions to assure the princes, that if commissioners were sent from them to Henry, there would be no manner of doubt of their perfectly agreeing in every thing. But the Germans were not to be so easily imposed upon: they gave in a paper, by which they evidently shewed that Henry had proceeded no farther in the reformation than abolishing the pope's supremacy and some religious houses; but that he still retained all the other most material and gross errors of the Romish church. Thus stood affairs at the close of the year 1535.

On the twenty-ninth of January, 1536, the unhappy queen Catherine died at Kimbolton, in

Huntingdonshire, after having suffered a long series of vexations. A little before she expired, she wrote a very affecting letter to the king, to whom she gave the appellation of "her most dear lord, king, and husband." Henry, it seems, was greatly touched at reading this letter, and even dropped some tears at the remembrance of a woman whose virtue deserved a better fate. Queen Anne, however, did not behave with even due decorum on this occasion; she rejoiced openly at the death of Catherine, and seemed to take pleasure in communicating her satisfaction to the public, little thinking that her own fate was so near at hand. The remains of this unfortunate queen were deposited in the abbey-church of Peterborough, which Henry afterwards converted into an episcopal cathedral.

On the fourth of February, this year, the parliament sat for the dispatch of business. The greatest matter which came under their consideration at this time, was to effect an entire union between England and Wales. It appears from the lord Herbert, who has, on this head, introduced into his history a curious dissertation, to which the reader is referred, that at that time, in several counties of Wales different forms of justice prevailed, and the laws were eluded by the greatest criminals, if they had but the good fortune to escape out of one county into another: to remedy these and other flagrant abuses, and to introduce an uniformity throughout all the country, the following act was passed.

"That albeit the dominion, principality, and country of Wales be as a member and part of the temporal crown of this realm, whereof therefore the king is head and ruler, yet, as it hath divers rights, usages, laws, and customs, different from the laws and customs of this realm; and because their language is different from that which is spoken here; and that many rude people hereupon have made distinction and diversity between his highness's other subjects and them, to the causing much discord and sedition; his highness therefore, out of his love and favour to his subjects of Wales, and for reducing them to his laws, doth, by advice and consent of his parliament, ordain and enact, that Wales should be united and incorporated henceforth to and within his realm of England; and that his subjects should enjoy and inherit all and singular freedoms, liberties, rights, privileges, and laws, which his highness's subjects elsewhere enjoy and inherit: and therefore, that inheritances should descend after the manner of England, without division or partition, and not after any tenure or form of Welsh laws and customs. And forasmuch as there are divers lordships-marchers within the said country and dominion of Wales, being no parcel of any other shires, where the laws and one correction is used and had, and that in them and the counties adjoining, manifold murders, robberies, felonies, and the like, have been done, contrary to all law and justice, because the offenders, making their refuge from one lordship-marcher to another, were continued without punishment and correction; therefore, it was enacted, that the said lordships marchers should be united, annexed, and joined to divers shires, specified in the said act."

And now Henry, who had been greatly affronted by the contumacious reports which the monkish

* Seckendorff Hist. of Lutheran. lib. iii.

clergy had spread abroad with regard to his proceedings in the business of the reformation, resolved to take ample vengeance upon them for the same. With this view, after having deliberated with his council, a general visitation was ordered to be made of all the monasteries, and strict inquest to be taken of all their titles and revenues; and also of the morals of the friars and others, and the regulations observed in each order; and secretray Cromwell was, by a commission under the king's own hand, created vicar-general and general visitor of all the monasteries and other privileged places. Cromwell, thus appointed, nominated for his substitutes to examine the monasteries the doctors (in divinity) Leigh, Leighton, Patrick, and London, who drew up a set of heads of visitation, which they well knew would bring in most of the houses guilty. The visitation, the particulars of which will more properly fall into the ecclesiastical part of our history, was accordingly performed with great rigour, and, if we may credit the reports of the visitors themselves, they discovered such abominations and scenes of vice, debauchery, and imposture, as were not only disgraceful to religion, but even shocking to human nature.

The report of the visitors being read in parliament, a bill for the demolition of all the lesser monasteries was brought in, and passed. We cannot know the general reason for this bill better than by its preamble, which sets forth, "That small religious houses under the number of twelve persons, had been long and notoriously guilty of vicious and abominable living, and did much consume and waste their churches, lands, and other things belonging to them; and that, for above two hundred years, there had been many visitations for reforming these abuses, but with no success, their vicious living increasing daily, so that, except small houses were dissolved, and the religious put into greater monasteries, there could no reformation be expected in that matter: whereupon the king, having received full information of these abuses, both by his visitors and other credible ways, and considering that there were divers great monasteries, in which religion was well kept and observed, which had not the full number in them that they might and ought to receive, had made a full declaration of the premises in parliament, whereupon it was enacted, that all houses which might spend yearly two hundred pounds, or within it, should be suppressed, and their revenues converted to better uses, and they compelled to reform themselves."

Another act passed, by which all these houses, churches, lands, and estates were given to the king, with those of all houses already dissolved: and by these acts no fewer than three hundred and seventy-six abbeyes fell to the crown. By another act, it was declared, that no tenths should be exacted that year; and by another, a court of augmentation was erected, whereby order was taken concerning the religious houses that were surrendered or suppressed, and how the king's revenue should be increased thereby; and officers for this purpose were appointed.

But whatever Henry's pretence might be for setting on foot this scrutiny, it is certain that his principal motives were to wreak his vengeance upon the monks, whom he regarded as his mortal enemies, and to increase his revenues with the plunder of their houses. Soon after the dissolution

of the abbeyes the king put an end to this parliament (which had been the most compliant that England had ever seen), on the fourteenth of April, after sitting six years.

The king's severe proceedings against the religious houses regained him, in some measure, the confidence of the German Protestant princes; and they wrote to Henry in terms of great complaisance from Smalcald, where they were now assembled to settle the famous Smalcaldic league for the preservation of those of the reformed persuasion. This produced an obliging message from Henry, with some explanation with regard to their former proposals; but still the princes declined giving any umbrage to the emperor. This was not insisted on by Henry. Another answer was sent by the princes, in which they promise to send an embassy into England; and some of their most learned men, among whom was the famous Melancthon, were nominated for that purpose: and there is the greatest reason to believe, in the present situation of Henry's affairs, that this negotiation would have succeeded to the advantage of the great work of reformation, had not the popish faction here found means to deprive the Protestants of the interest of queen Anne, whose death happened shortly after the arrival of these divines, which very much altered the face of affairs as well as the king's mind, in respect to the reformation, which she openly countenanced, and which was in effect the cause of her deplorable fate.

Henry's affection, which had been increased by opposition during the prosecution of the divorce, was now cooled by satiety, and he no longer looked on his lovely consort with the same fond regard as heretofore. It is true, she wanted none of the agreeable qualities, and had many of the valuable kind: she was lively, pleasant, and gay in conversation; and, though strictly virtuous in her conduct, she indulged her humour rather too far; and, having been bred in the freedoms of the court of France, was not so attentive as she ought to have been in her exalted and ticklish situation, and either took or permitted liberties which gave offence to an impetuous husband, who had pride enough to make him the most jealous of mortals, and the most furious in his jealousy.

The Austrian party about court, all who disliked the divorce from Catherine, and all that opposed the reformation, which she was supposed to favour, were her enemies, and taking notice of every little indiscretion she was guilty of, improved it to raise in the king a suspicion of her virtue. The viscountess Rochford in particular, who was wife to the queen's brother, but who lived on bad terms with her husband, and, as she was a woman of the most abandoned character, paid no regard either to truth or humanity in the calumnies which she invented, pretended that her own husband carried on a criminal correspondence with his sister; and not only so, but she insisted that she had likewise granted favours to Henry Norris, groom of the stole, Weston and Brereton, gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber, together with one Mark Smeton, a musician. This information roused all the rage in Henry's breast, who was also not a little chagrined at an accident which befel the queen some time before, of being brought to bed of a dead child.

Nothing however transpired till the first of May this year, when a tilting match was held at Greenwich,

wich, in which the lord Rochford was chief challenger and Henry Norris the chief defendant. It is said, that during the diversions Henry observed the queen drop her handkerchief, which one of the suspected persons took up, and used it to wipe his face: to a mind prepared like Henry's, this accident, which though, in all probability, entirely casual, was a demonstration of his wife's infidelity: accordingly all on a sudden the diversions were broke up, and Henry, without taking any notice of the queen or her court, with no more than six persons in his retinue, abruptly departed to his palace of Westminster.

The queen following, was, upon her arrival, met by the duke of Norfolk, and some other lords of the council, who signified to her, that it was his majesty's pleasure she should be confined to her chamber. At the same time the lord Rochford and Norris were committed to the Tower, as were Brereton, Weston, and Smeton. Next day, being the second of May, the queen was conducted to the same prison by the duke of Norfolk and other lords, who resigned her into the custody of sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower; and a commission was made out for trying her on the twelfth of May in that place, the duke of Norfolk being appointed lord high-steward on that occasion, with twenty-six other peers. The charges brought against her were of the most detestable nature, viz. "That she had procured her brother, and the four other persons in custody, to lie with her, and that she had made each of them believe that he had the preference above all mankind in her heart; and that she had said to each of them, that the king never had her heart." Smeton had, by fair promises, been brought to confess, that he had thrice carnal knowledge of her; but it was not thought proper to confront him with her; nor, indeed, could he be an evidence, as he had been condemned three days before to suffer, notwithstanding his assurances of pardon upon confession. The only thing that appeared in relation to her brother, the lord Rochford, was his laying his hand on the queen's bed while he whispered to her one day; an action done before company, and warranted from the near relationship between them. In short, to the eternal infamy of her judges, she was condemned without its being ever known upon what evidence her sentence was grounded; and the nineteenth of May was the day appointed for her execution, which was that of being burnt or beheaded, at the king's pleasure.

Henry, not satisfied with this act of severity, would needs be divorced from her before her death, and archbishop Cranmer was sent to the Tower, and received her confession of precontract, or promise of marriage, between the lord Henry Percy (now earl of Northumberland) and herself, before that she had made with the king; upon which the archbishop pronounced, according to the rules of canon law, the sentence of divorce. It was probably a tenderness for her daughter, the young Elizabeth, that engaged her to make this confession, for the earl of Northumberland protested in the most solemn manner that no such contract had ever passed between them. It was, however, expected that she would have defended her innocency when about to die, but the same motives seem to have operated even then, as she feared every thing for her daughter from the savage tem-

per of the king, should she expose him too much; accordingly, when she came on the scaffold, she made no reflections on the hardships she had sustained, nor said any thing touching the grounds on which sentence had passed upon her; she only desired "that every body would judge the best," acknowledged her obligations to the king, prayed for him, and entreated the spectators to do the same for her, and then submitting her neck to the fatal stroke, her head was severed from her body at one blow, by an executioner, who had been sent for from Calais, on account of his remarkable dexterity in his bloody profession.

The lord Rochford was tried and condemned at the same time with the queen his sister, and, together with the four other gentlemen, suffered death three days before her, all of them, Smeton excepted, declaring at their deaths the queen's and their own innocence of the facts for which they suffered.

The very day after the queen's execution Henry was married to Jane Seymour, the reigning beauty of the court, daughter to sir John Seymour, and one of the maids of honour to Anne, on whom the king had for some time cast an amorous eye: eager as he was to gratify his brutal appetites, he totally forgot all regard to decency and decorum, and his cruel and barbarous heart, more worthy of an infernal fiend than a human creature, was not in the least affected by the bloody catastrophe of a person who had so long been the object of his most tender affection.

In consequence of the sentence of divorce which Henry had procured from his late queen Anne before her death, the princess Elizabeth, his daughter by her, who was at this time about three years of age, and been styled princess of Wales, was now divested of that title; and the princess Mary, his other daughter by Catherine, whom he had treated with great severity on account of her attachment to her mother, and her refusal to assent to the statutes which had been lately enacted against the papal authority, was now persuaded by the popish faction to attempt a reconciliation with the king at this juncture; accordingly she subscribed to the act of supremacy, the renunciation of the bishop of Rome, and to the unlawfulness of her own mother's marriage, that she might the more effectually remove the lady Elizabeth from the king's presence and affections; but Henry, though he was reconciled to Mary, yet continued to educate the infant princess at court, with all the care and tenderness of a father.

On the eighth day of June a new parliament met at Westminster, as did also the convocation, and both those houses confirmed the sentence passed upon the late queen Anne; but, what is very remarkable in favour of the queen's innocency, the commons attainted the deceased for pride and the carnal desires of her body, and for confederating in divers treasons against the king's royal person, &c. The convocation alleged nothing against her but the pretended precontract with the earl of Northumberland when lord Percy, though that nobleman had sworn in the most solemn manner, that no such engagement had ever existed.

The parliament also enacted a statute, by which they repealed the former act of succession, declaring the children of the king's two first marriages illegitimate, and adjudging the crown, after his death,

to his issue by his present queen Jane, or any wife he might marry after her decease; but at the same time they gave him full power to settle the mode of such succession either by will or letters patent under the great-seal, and pronounced all those who maintained the validity of his two first marriages guilty of high-treason.

Then the king informed them of some advances made to him from pope Paul III. who on hearing of the execution of queen Anne, and death of queen Catherine, hoped he might bring Henry to a good agreement with him; but Henry declaring in parliament that his separation from the bishop of Rome was so fixed, and had proceeded upon such solid grounds, that he never would listen to any accommodation, the two houses, servilely obsequious to the king's will, in order to convince his holiness that all hopes of re-uniting the English church to his jurisdiction were vain and groundless, passed an act, subjecting to the penalty of *Præmunire* all those who should endeavour to restore the papal power in England; and all magistrates who should neglect to put this law in execution were condemned to the same punishment: and by another act they annulled and abolished all dispensations, exemptions, and privileges procured from the court of Rome, saving however to the archbishop of Canterbury the right of confirming what should be deemed advantageous to the church and people.

By a third act it was prohibited any one to marry with the next degrees of royal blood, without permission from the king. This act passed upon the following occasion: the lady Margaret Douglas, daughter to Henry's sister, the queen dowager of Scotland, by the earl of Angus, her second husband, was now at the English court, where she was courted by the lord Thomas Howard, brother to the duke of Norfolk. This courtship, which had proceeded to the length of mutual promises, coming to Henry's ears, the lovers were committed to the Tower of London; and lord Thomas, upon circumstances brought against him of aspiring to the crown, was attainted of high-treason in parliament. The queen of Scotland hearing of her daughter's imprisonment, wrote strongly in her favour to Henry, but without effect; nor was she released till after the death of lord Thomas, which happened in the Tower. A fourth law was enacted, that all encroachments of parliament upon the king's prerogative, before he should have attained the age of twenty-four, might be annulled under the great-seal of England. These were the most material acts for our purpose in this session of parliament, which was finished on the eighteenth day of July, and which one would be tempted to think had assembled for no other purpose than that of bestowing upon Henry a more extensive authority than any of his predecessors had ever enjoyed.

Neither was the convocation less compliant with the crown than the parliament had been; for, besides ratifying the sentence of divorce between the king and Anne Boleyn, they also gave their sanction to a system of religion which Henry, who differed from all his subjects in point of belief, had been at the pains to digest; the contents of which will fall more properly into another part of our history. Before the convocation broke up, the king acquainted them that he was summoned to a council, which was, by agreement between the pope and the emperor, to be held at Mantua. As a

general council carried with it a popular and plausible sound, it was necessary to guard against its consequences with respect to the steps which had been taken by Henry, who had reason to believe its members would be no way favourable to him: he was under some difficulty by the appeal he had made from the pope to a general council; but Cranmer, and some other prelates, made him easy on that head, and a decree passed in convocation, defining what a general council was, and shewing that no such could be called by the authority of the pope, or in the present juncture of affairs; and that no justice was to be expected where the bishop of Rome was to preside. Strengthened by this opinion, Henry published a flaming protestation against the approaching council.

About this time Reginald Pole began to distinguish himself by his taste and learning: he was son to Margaret, countess of Salisbury, the daughter and heiress of George, duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV. and consequently allied to the king, who determined to advance him to the highest dignities of the church, conferred upon him the deanry of Exeter, and sent him to finish his studies at the university of Paris. He refused to concur with Henry's agents in procuring the decision of the French universities, in favour of the divorce, which he disapproved. He afterwards returned to England, and agreed with the clergy in owning Henry supreme head of the church. Then he travelled into Italy, where he acquired a great character for his wit and eloquence; and Henry being informed that he openly condemned him for his separation from the Apostolic see, and that he had published a book intitled *De unione ecclesiastica* (or, Concerning Ecclesiastical Union), in which he treated the king with great severity, comparing him to Nebuchadnezzar, and even exhorting the emperor and other European princes to attack him, with all their forces, he resolved, if possible, to get him in his power, and, dissembling his resentment, sent to desire him to come over to explain some passages in his book, which were somewhat dark and obscure; but finding him upon his guard, he now stripped him of his dignities, and wreaked his revenge on Pole's family and relations. The pope, however, took care to reward his attachment to the see of Rome, by presenting him with a cardinal's hat, which bound him closer than ever to the interest of his holiness.

The suppression of the small monasteries, though enacted in the first session of parliament, did not take place till the month of August this year, when it occasioned great clamours through the whole nation, as the visitors executed their commission with inhuman severity, and were guilty of the grossest embezzlements: and the pope having again excommunicated Henry, and declared him deposed, put the kingdom under an interdict, and forbidden his subjects to obey him, the monks everywhere insinuated into the minds of the country people, that it was their duty to take up arms against one who had trampled under foot all their civil and religious liberties. The people, who had sucked in with their milk the principles that were now at once to be abolished, eagerly listened to these insinuations; and the popish emissaries had been so successful, that in Lincolnshire, about the end of September, upwards of twenty thousand souls assembled under the command of one Mackerel, prior

prior of Barlings, who took the name of Captain Cobler, and published their grievances by way of petition to the king, complaining of the suppression of the monasteries, the subversion of their ancient faith, the embracing new doctrines, &c. The king answered this petition in an ample manifesto, and sent the duke of Suffolk, with a few troops, to reduce the mutineers to obedience, who upon promise of pardon dispersed of themselves; but their leader being taken, with some of the principal ringleaders, they were executed for treason and rebellion.

This success was of the greatest consequence to the king's affairs, for at this time one Aske, a gentleman of fortune in Yorkshire, extremely well fitted to act at the head of a popular insurrection, had drawn the people of that county together, and they were joined by a little army of outed monks, who carried before them a banner, on which a crucifix and the five wounds, with a chalice, were painted. The same device was worn upon their sleeves, to animate them in favour of their endangered religion: they gave their march the title of the Pilgrimage of Grace, and all who joined them were obliged to take an oath, "that they entered into the Pilgrimage of Grace for the love of God, the preservation of the king's person and issue, the purifying the nobility and driving away all base-born counsellors, and for no particular profit of their own, nor to do displeasure to any, nor to kill any person for envy, but to take before them the cross of Christ, his faith, the restitution of the church, and the suppression of heretics and their opinions." These specious pretences so deluded the people, that the rebels were soon forty thousand strong; and meeting with no resistance, they sat suddenly down before Pontefract castle, which was looked upon as a place of strength, and which was then held by the archbishop of York and Thomas lord Darcy, who quickly surrendered to them: they next made themselves masters of York and Hull; and Aske, by persuasions and threats, obliged all the nobility of the county to join him, except Henry Clifford, earl of Cumberland, who held out his castle of Skipton against all the rebel forces, and sir Ralph Ewer, who defended his castle of Scarborough till he was relieved, though himself and men had nothing to subsist on for three weeks but bread and water.

The government not being able to muster above five thousand men, and finding that the rebels were not to be amused, a proclamation was published, ordering all the nobility to meet the king at Northampton on the seventh of November; in the mean time his little army, under the command of the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Shrewsbury, and the marquis of Exeter, encamped at Doncaster, must have been entirely routed by the rebels, who advanced to give them battle, had not the river Don, the only pass by which they could advance to the town, happily been rendered impassable by a heavy rain. This lucky accident gave the duke of Norfolk an opportunity to propose a conference with the chiefs of the mutineers, when the latter gave in the following demands:

"That a general pardon be granted; a parliament to be held at York, and courts of justice to be held there; that none on the north side of Trent might be brought to London upon any law-suit; they desired a repeal of some acts of parliament,

those for the last subsidy, for uses, for making words misprision of treason, and for the clergy's paying first-fruits and tenths to the king: they desired the princess Mary might be restored to her right of succession, the pope to his wonted jurisdiction, and the monks to their houses again; that the Lutherans might be punished; that Audley, the lord-chancellor, and Cromwell, the lord privy-seal, might be excluded from the next parliament; and Leigh and Leighton, who had visited the monasteries, might be imprisoned for bribery and extortion."

Though the king was highly exasperated against the insurgents, yet the accounts he daily received of their strength obliged him, much against his will, to send down a general pardon, directed to the duke of Norfolk, but with orders not to publish it but in the last extremity. That very soon happened, for the rebels once more preparing to force the passage of the river, the duke was obliged to publish the pardon. This restored a short tranquility; but the priests renewing their practices for disturbing the public peace, and with too much success, the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Shrewsbury had orders to continue in the North all the winter. The duke using his power with great rigour, by putting the martial law in full force against every one who would not take the oath of supremacy, those proceedings gave rise to a fresh rebellion. Two gentlemen, called Musgrave and Treby, putting themselves at the head of eight thousand peasants, made an attempt upon Carlisle, from which however they were repulsed, and afterwards entirely defeated by the duke of Norfolk. Musgrave escaped, but Treby, with seventy of his followers, were taken and hanged upon the walls of Carlisle.

This happened in February, 1537, and the king now ordered to court such of the heads of the former insurrection whom he thought he had most reason to fear: Aske readily obeyed, and at first was well received at court; but the lords Darcy, Hussy, and other chiefs of the rebels, not following his example, were seized and sent prisoners to London. The two noblemen were arraigned at Westminster, found guilty, and beheaded on Tower-hill; those of inferior degree were hanged at Tyburn and other places; Aske himself, leaving the court shortly after without licence, was taken and hanged in chains at York, notwithstanding the general pardon which had been granted.

Fortunately for Henry, James V. was in France during these rebellions, so that the insurgents had no assistance from Scotland. James returned home with his young queen, Magdalen, daughter of Francis, whom he had lately espoused, about the beginning of the year; and she dying soon after her arrival in Scotland, cardinal Beaton and Robert Maxwell were sent over to France, to treat of another marriage between James and Mary of Guise, the duke of Longueville's widow, which soon after took place.

Henry was now so flushed with slaughter by the frequent executions carried on by his order and under his eye, that he seemed to take a delight in shedding blood: he ordered Thomas Fitz Gerald, son of the late earl of Kildare, twice lord-deputy of Ireland, and five of his uncles, after a long confinement in the Tower for an insurrection in Ireland, to be executed on the thirtieth of March,

for

for a terror to that people, who he feared would rise and join the emperor against his crown and authority in Ireland: but the earl of Kildare's youngest son, Gerald Fitz Gerald, had the good fortune to make his escape by a stratagem, and got over to France, and from thence to the Low Countries; but finding it unsafe to continue there, he went and offered his service to cardinal Pole, who afterwards made use of him in his designs against his king and country.

The king's next care was so to ruin the affairs of the monks, who had been the principal promoters of the late disturbances, that they might never more be able to give him trouble; and having employed secretary Cromwell to procure addresses from the two universities, setting forth, that the numbers of religious houses still remaining were unprofitable, nay pernicious, to the Christian religion, as tending only to harbour lazy drones and swarms of impostors, he gave orders for a total suppression of many of those houses, and to seize their revenues. The rich abbey of Furness, in Lincolnshire, surrendered on the ninth of April; the abbey of Bermondsey, in Surry, on the first of June: and that of Bisham, in Berkshire, on the fifth of July.

On the twelfth of October, this year, the queen was delivered of a young prince, at Hampton-court, to the inexpressible joy of all the nation, and of Henry in particular. The having a son and undoubted heir to all his dominions, was a blessing which had been the subject of his most ardent wishes; but his satisfaction on this occasion received a considerable check by the death of the queen soon after her delivery: she was the best beloved of all his wives, and highly celebrated for her humility, goodness, and affability. She was buried with great pomp at Windsor. Henry was so afflicted with the loss of her, that, for some days after her death, he shut himself up from all company.

The new-born prince was baptized by the name of Edward; and, three days after, he was declared prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester. To distinguish this happy event the more, sir Edward Seymour, brother to the queen, was created earl of Hertford and lord Beauchamp; sir William Fitz Williams, lord high admiral of England, was created earl of Southampton: some

months after, sir William Paulet, treasurer of the household, was made lord St. John; and sir John Russel, comptroller, was created lord Russel.

But the birth of a son and heir did not free Henry from the terrors of an invasion which he saw threatening him from the emperor, who had concluded a truce with the king of France, that he might be more at liberty, with all the forces of Spain, Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries, to attack England. The king therefore came to a final resolution of suppressing all the religious houses in his dominions, considering them as seminaries for promoting disaffection to his government, and the monks as subjects to the pope rather than to himself, devoted wholly to the interest of the see of Rome, and using all their endeavours to alienate the minds of the people from their lawful sovereign, and seduce them to an implicit obedience to the papal authority, by continual pretences to false miracles, or other monastic jugglings; and at the same time were themselves ready, on every occasion, to promote and further the schemes of the pope and the emperor against his crown and dignity.

Fearful however, that this measure might occasion some clamours in the nation, he prudently began with removing the prejudices of the people, by exposing the enormities committed in those receptacles of vice and debauchery, and to disabuse them with regard to the supposed sanctity of relics, images, and all other trumpery of superstition: he ordered the commissioners to examine, and, if possible, discover the arts by which the monks imposed upon the ignorance of the vulgar. This second visitation produced a detection of an infinite number of holy cheats, and pretended relics, made use of to encourage superstition rather than devotion in the people, and to draw them into pilgrimages and offerings. The principal of these we have, to satisfy the curiosity of the reader, thrown into a note at the foot of the page*. The discoveries made on this occasion raised a general indignation in all ranks, to find how they had been abused: they detested the authors of such forgeries; the monasteries grew infamous, and thus was the English superstition, in point of images and relics, extinguished.

The multitude of those impositions gave Henry, who wanted to have the great houses dissolved,

* With regard to the implements of idolatry and superstition, Reading seems to have been the grand repository of the nation. There the visitors found an angel with one wing, that brought over the head of the spear that pierced the side of Jesus Christ, with such a catalogue of other relics as filled up four sheets of paper.

At St. Edmundsbury, they discovered some of the coals that roasted St. Laurence; the parings of St. Edmund's toes; the girdle of the Virgin Mary, and some of her milk; the head of St. Ursula; the penknife and boots of St. Thomas a Becket; part of the same saint's shirt, much revered by big-bellied women; and certain relics to prevent a head-ach, and the generation of weeds among corn.

There were likewise discovered in the monasteries, some impostures of a more artificial nature. At Hales, in the county of Gloucester, had been shewn, for several ages, the blood of Christ, pretended to be brought from Jerusalem; and it is natural to think, that this relic would be held in the highest estimation.

This relic was supposed to be attended with a very surprising circumstance: the sacred blood was not visible to any one in mortal sin, even when set before him; and, till he had performed good works sufficient for his absolution, it would not deign to discover itself to his longing eyes.

At the dissolution of the monastery, the whole contrivance was discovered. Two of the monks, who were entrusted with

the secret, had taken the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week; they put it into a phial, one side of which was thin and transparent, and the other thick and obscure. When any rich pilgrim arrived, they were sure to shew him the dark side of the phial, till masses and offerings had expiated his crimes; and then, finding his money, or patience, or faith, exhausted, they blessed him with the happy sight, by turning the bright side of the phial.

There was a crucifix at Boxley in Kent, distinguished by the name of the Rood of Grace, which had been long held in the highest veneration, because it had been seen to bend and raise itself, shake the head, hands, and feet, roll the eyes, and move the lips. The puppet, being brought to London, was broke in pieces, in sight of the people, at St. Paul's cross, where with their own eyes, they beheld the springs and wheels by which it had been actuated.

A great wooden idol of Wales, called Darvel Gatheren, was brought up to London, and cut in pieces: and, by a cruel refinement of vengeance, it was employed as fuel to burn friar Forrest, who was condemned for denying the supremacy, and some heretical opinions.

A finger of St. Andrew, covered with a thin plate of silver, had been pawned by the convent of Westacre, for a debt of forty pounds; but as the king's commissioners refused to redeem the pledge, the people made merry with the poor creditor, on account of his security.

vast advantages, as it is natural to think that the religious of monasteries where they were carried on, would submit to any thing rather than be exposed, and might easily be brought to surrender their houses, to avoid the punishment they deserved. Such impurities and disorders were found in many as would surpass credibility, if not unexceptionably attested; and some were so notoriously guilty, that they signed concessions of the dissoluteness of their lives and conversation. A great number of monks, and even some abbots and friars, were found guilty of holding correspondence with the rebels, and executed as traitors; and the rest, as they had now no privileges to screen them from the civil judicature, were glad to compound for their offences by a surrender of their monasteries. On one or other of these accounts, no less than one hundred and fifty-nine monasteries were resigned in the course of the year 1538 into the king's hands; and the example continually gained ground, so that hardly a week passed without some new surrender.

Whilst Henry was thus employed in rooting out superstition and burning images the most in repute for peculiar virtues and wonder working properties, he could not well overlook the most famous and respected of all the instruments of popish idolatry, the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Becket was indebted for his sainthood to the vigorous efforts he had exerted in defence of the authority of the holy see, and therefore it may be readily conceived how obnoxious to Henry a saint of this character must appear, and how contrary to all his schemes of abolishing the power of the pontiff of Rome: he could not bear the thoughts that such a furious and obstinate rebel to his prince should be held in such veneration, and his tomb frequented by such numerous pilgrimages, and enriched with such superb presents. Processes were in those days carried on against the dead in the same manner as against the living: the like form was used towards Becket; his life and actions underwent a strict examination, and were generally condemned; the miracles pretended to be wrought at his tomb were proved to be forgeries; his name was ordered to be erased from the calendar, the office for his festival expunged from the breviary, his bones to be burnt, and his ashes dispersed. At the same time the riches of his shrine, which were inestimable, were converted to the king's use: among other things there was a very fine diamond, which Lewis VII. of France, who made a pilgrimage to this saint's remains, had deposited at his tomb, was by Henry's orders set in a ring, which he ever after wore on his thumb. Thus did Henry at once indulge his two darling passions, avarice and revenge, by enriching himself with the spoils, and uncanonizing a prelate whom the papal power had, for his insolence to his king, raised to be a saint.

The news of these proceedings no sooner reached Rome, than that city was filled with libels and satires against the person and conduct of Henry: he was represented as the most impious and sacrilegious tyrant that ever disgraced the royal title or dignity: he was compared to Belshazzar, Nero, Domitian, Dioclesian, and in particular to Julian the Apostate, whom he was said to resemble in his learning and apostacy, though greatly inferior in point of morals.

In these invectives, which were handed about all over Europe, cardinal Pole's style was easily distinguished. Henry, whose vanity and bloody disposition increased every day, resolved to avenge himself for these gross insults on all the friends of Pole in England, and the more especially as the emissaries he kept at the court of Rome informed him, that all the intelligence from England was addressed to the cardinal. He ordered Courtney, marquis of Exeter (who was son to Catherine, daughter to Edward IV.), Pole, lord Montague, sir Edward Neville, brother to lord Abergavenny, and sir Geoffrey Pole, to be arrested for corresponding with that prelate, who, being found guilty, were all beheaded except sir Geoffrey Pole, who, having turned evidence against the rest, had his pardon. These were shocking severities; but, indeed, if it was duly proved that the sufferers held a correspondence with Pole, Henry is not so blameable, since it is certain that at this time Pole was the pope's agent to stir up not only England, but all Europe, against Henry.

Pope Paul III. had hitherto suspended the bull of excommunication, which he had formerly passed against Henry, in hopes of being one day able to accommodate his difference with that monarch; but finding that the late proceedings in England had shut the door against all reconciliation, he, on the seventeenth of December this year, published the bull with great solemnity, and endeavoured to excite the neighbouring princes against the English monarch, and even offered his kingdom to James of Scotland, provided he was able and willing to subdue it: and his agents found means to affix this bull in several places, both in France, Scotland, and Ireland. Henry, terrified by this mock thunder, resolved to set his holiness at defiance: with this view he exacted of all bishops and abbots a new oath, by which they renounced the pope's authority: and a new translation of the Bible, which had been undertaken at the instance of Cranmer and Cromwell (who thought nothing could so effectually root out papal superstition as a free toleration of the scriptures in the vulgar tongue), being completed, he ordered copies thereof to be immediately printed, and set up in every church, at the joint expence of the incumbent and parishioners; and at the same time Cromwell obtained the royal warrant, enjoining the clergy to read the Lord's Prayer, the Confession of Faith, and the Ten Commandments in English: they were ordered to recommend good works, and to teach the people that relics, rosaries, and all other trumpery of the like nature, were unnecessary to salvation. All the images, to which devotees were accustomed to make offerings, were removed; all the tapers were taken away out of the churches, except those that burned before the images of Christ; and all the invocations of "Ora pro nobis" (Pray for us), added to the prayers addressed to saints, were entirely abolished.

Much about the same time, viz. the beginning of the year 1539, the king having understood that there was a learned man, named Lambert, who denied the real presence in the sacrament, to which Henry was blindly devoted, notwithstanding that it is, of all the absurdities of the Romish church, the most absurd and ridiculous; this vain monarch thought he had found a fine opportunity

portunity where he could at once exercise his supremacy and display his learning, resolved to have the glory of disputing with this reformer, who had appealed from a sentence given against him by archbishop Cranmer. Public notice was accordingly given, that the king designed to enter the lists against this school-master, for he was of no higher degree, and scaffolds were erected in Westminster-hall for the accommodation of the audience, without any regard had to the injustice of thus mixing the disputant and the judge. The end of this disputation was, that Henry gave his antagonist his choice, either to recant his opinion, or to be burned: Lambert nobly made choice of the latter, and the king had the mean cruelty to order him to be executed, which was inflicted upon him with the greatest rigour.

But a parliamentary sanction was now required, as well to confirm what had been done, as to establish future measures: accordingly, on the twenty-eighth of April, the parliament sat, whom Henry found still complying in every thing; and, among many remarkable statutes, it was enacted,

“That the king, for the time being, with the advice of his council, or the more part of them, may set forth proclamations, under such penalties and pains as to him and them shall seem necessary, which shall be observed as though they were made by act of parliament: but this shall not be prejudicial to any person's inheritance, offices, liberties, goods, chattels, or life. And whosoever shall willingly offend any article contained in the said proclamation, shall pay such forfeiture, or be so long imprisoned, as shall be expressed in the said proclamation. And if any offending will depart the realm, to the intent he will not answer his said offence, he shall be adjudged a traitor.”

By another act, the king was empowered to nominate such a number of bishops, fees for bishops, cathedral churches, and endow them with such possessions as he will. By another act the order of the house of lords was regulated: Cromwell, as king's vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters, was to have the precedency of both archbishops. It was likewise enacted, “That all leases made of manors belonging to monasteries dissolved, or to be dissolved, and assured to the king, should take effect; wherein is expressed, that the king should possess and enjoy to him, his heirs, and successors, for ever, all monasteries, abbeys, priories, nunneries, colleges, hospitals, houses of friars, or other religious and ecclesiastical houses and places, which, since the fourth of February, 27 Henry VIII. have been dissolved, suppressed, renounced, relinquished, forfeited, given up, or by any other means come to his highness; or which shall be dissolved, &c. as also all manors, lordships, lands, tenements, rights, liberties, &c. belonging to them; all which (except such as came by attainder or treason) should be under survey and governance of the king's court of augmentation of the revenues of the crown; other mens titles yet saved.”

In this parliament a committee of religion was appointed, upon the lord-chancellor's motion, shewing it to be the king's desire to have all his subjects of one religion. The members of the committee were the lord vice gerent, Cromwell, the two archbishops, the bishops of Durham, Bath and Wells, Ely, Bangor, Carlisle, and Worcester. The archbishop of Canterbury,

the bishops of Ely and Worcester, and Cromwell, were on one side; and the debates were so violent, that on the sixteenth of May, the duke of Norfolk told the lords, that the committee had made no progress, and that therefore he would take the liberty to offer to the house certain articles to be debated on, and, if approved, to pass into the form of a perpetual law. These articles were as follow.

“First, If any person, by word, writing, printing, cyphering, or any otherwise, do preach, teach, dispute, or hold opinion, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, under form of bread and wine (after the consecration thereof), there is not present really the natural body and blood of our saviour Jesus Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary; or that, after the said consecration, there remaineth any substance of bread and wine, or any other substance but the substance of Christ, God and man; or that in the flesh under form of bread, is not the very blood of Christ; or that the blood, under form of wine, is not the very flesh of Christ as well apart as though they were both together, or affirm the said sacrament to be of other substance than is aforesaid, or deprave the said blessed sacrament, then he shall be adjudged an heretic, and suffer death by burning, and shall forfeit to the kings all lands, tenements, hereditaments, goods, and chattels, as in case of high-treason.

“Secondly, And if any person preach, in any sermon or collection openly made, or teach in any common school or congregation, or obstinately affirm or defend, that the communion of the blessed sacrament in both kinds is necessary for the health of man's soul, or ought, or should be administered in both kinds, or that it is necessary to be received by any person other than the priest, being at mass and consecrating the same:

“Thirdly, Or that any man, after the order of priesthood received, may marry, or contract matrimony:

“Fourthly, Or that any man or woman which advisedly hath vowed, or professed, or should avow or profess chastity or widowhood, may marry, or contract marriage:

“Fifthly, Or that private masses be not lawful, or not laudable, or should not be used, or be not agreeable to the laws of God:

“Sixthly, Or that auricular confession is not expedient and necessary to be used in the church of God; he shall be adjudged to suffer death, and forfeit lands and goods as a felon.”

These articles, before they passed into the form of a law, admitted of great debates. The third and fourth pointed directly at Cranmer, who spoke greatly against all but the first, he being himself a Lutheran. As to the other articles, they were matter of private speculation, but against Cranmer's sense. They were, however, carried into a most bloody and detestable law, and Henry himself took great pains in drawing up and correcting them into the form we see them here. At the same time the chancellor moved for a bill to be brought in, for punishing such as disputed against those articles: the archbishop of York, the bishops of Durham and Winchester, with Dr. Tregonwell, a master in chancery, had the drawing up of this bill, which was more to Henry's liking than one which had been presented by the other party. On the seventh of June it was brought into the house, and had a first reading; on the ninth it was read a second time;

time; on the tenth it was engrossed, and read a third time. Bishop Burnet, who was a great favourer of Cranmer, says, that when it passed the house of peers, Henry himself desired Cranmer to leave the house, as he could not in conscience vote for the bill, but that Cranmer replied "He could as little in conscience vote against it," and therefore staid for that purpose.

The title of this act was, "An act for abolishing diversity of opinions in certain articles concerning the Christian religion." It appears from the preamble to the act, in which the articles are rehearsed, that Henry himself was present at every day's debate, and made a great parade of his learning in the house of peers, so that the parliament gave him public thanks. After rehearsing the articles, which we have already seen, it is enacted, "that if any, after the twelfth of July, did speak, preach, or write, against the first article, they were to be judged heretics, and to be burned, without any abjuration, and to forfeit their real and personal estates to the king: and those who preached, or obstinately disputed against the other articles, were to be judged felons, and to suffer death as felons without benefit of the clergy: and those who, either in word or writing, spoke against them, were to be prisoners during the king's pleasure, and forfeit their goods and chattels to the king for the first time; and if they offend so the second time, they were to suffer as felons. All the marriages of priests are declared void; and if any priest did still keep any such woman, whom he had so married, and lived familiarly with her as his wife, he was to be judged a felon: and if a priest lived carnally with any other woman, he was, upon the first conviction, to forfeit his benefices, goods, and chattels, and to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure; and upon the second conviction, to suffer as a felon. The women so offending were also to be punished in the same manner as the priests. And those who contemned, or abstained from confession, or the sacrament, at the accustomed times, for the first offence were to forfeit their goods and chattels, and be imprisoned; and for the second, were to be adjudged of felony. And for the execution of this act, commissions were to be issued out to all archbishops and bishops, and the chancellors and commissaries, and such others in the several shires, as the king should name, to hold their sessions quarterly, or oftener; and they were to proceed upon presentments and by a jury. Those commissioners were to swear, that they should execute their commission indifferently, without favour, affection, corruption, or malice: all ecclesiastical incumbents were to read this act in their churches once a quarter. And in the end a proviso was added, concerning the vows of chastity, that they should not oblige any, except such as had taken them at or above the age of twenty-one years, or had not been compelled to take them."

Such were the detestable articles which opened in England the flood-gates of civil murder: and now the reader is to expect, during the remainder of this reign, to meet with barbarities committed under the forms of justice, as detestable as any to be met with in profane history, and under the most bloody tyrants. Cranmer alone had the good fortune to weather the storm of Henry's indignation,

for his opposition to the articles; but he thought proper to send his wife, whom he had married in Germany, back for some time to her own country. The countess of Salisbury, cardinal Pole (her son), the marchioness of Exeter, sir Adrian Fortescue, and sir Thomas Dingley, were attainted of treason, as accomplices with the late marquis of Exeter: the countess of Salisbury, though seventy years of age, behaved with great spirit; but upon her trial a correspondence between her and her son was proved, some of the pope's bulls were found in her house, and she was convicted of not suffering any servant about her to comply with the alteration introduced by the king into religion. Fortescue and Dingley were executed, as the countess was two years after; but the marchioness died a natural death, and the cardinal kept out of Henry's reach. It appears that Cromwell drove on those prosecutions very furiously, and asked the judges for their opinions, whether a man might be attainted in parliament without being brought to make an answer? The judges answered, "That the parliament being the supreme judicature, whatever it did was law, and could not be questioned:" by this answer abolishing that sacred distinction between an absolute and arbitrary power.

All the religious houses throughout England, to the number of six hundred and forty-five, were by this time suppressed, either by surrender, purchase, or forfeiture, ninety colleges had been demolished, two thousand three hundred and seventy four chantries, and one hundred and ten hospitals*; but all this had been done without the authority of parliament, it was therefore necessary to have its concurrence and sanction, which was easily obtained; and Henry having formed a scheme for erecting several new bishoprics, and for endowing them with the lands of dissolved monasteries, an act passed for enabling him to execute this design. He proposed to found sixteen, but having disposed too lavishly of the lands destined at first for their endowment, he erected only six bishoprics, viz. of Westminster, Chester, Oxford, Bristol, Gloucester, and Peterborough. There were libraries well furnished with books in several of the abbeyes, and, out of the great regard he had for learning, he employed the famous antiquary John Leland to collect all the most valuable manuscripts and choicest monuments of antiquity that were left in those houses. He also proposed several other noble foundations, particularly of a college for the study of the civil law, the purity of the Latin and French languages, and the knowledge of foreign affairs, to serve as a seminary for ministers of state and ambassadors to foreign courts. There could not be a more favourable opportunity for effecting these useful schemes than what now offered, but Henry's own prodigality, and the rapaciousness of his courtiers, prevented this and others of his best designs.

The parliament having thus servilely complied with all that Henry could ask, and having sat to the twenty eighth of June, was then prorogued to the third of November, afterwards to the fourteenth of January, and again to the twelfth of April, in the ensuing year, when it sat again to do business; but in the interim there fell out several events which deserve to be related.

* The yearly value of all the suppressed houses amounted to one hundred and sixty-one thousand one hundred pounds, be-

sides the money which arose from the materials of the houses, from plate, jewels, and church-ornaments.

As soon as the parliament broke up, the six bloody articles were vigorously executed; commissioners were appointed in every county to detect any who should be hardy enough to disobey them. Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury, and Latimer, bishop of Worcester, resigned their sees rather than subscribe to them; but this expedient did not deliver them from the persecution now raised against all recusants: they were accused of having spoken against the articles, and therefore were immediately committed to the Tower, after they had resigned their instruments into the king's hands: the strong personal friendship which Henry had for Cranmer, preserved that prelate from the same treatment, though he had not only openly opposed them in the house, but even spoke and wrote against them.

The king's will was now become the sole measure of the law, because both the protestant and popish party cultivated his favour with the most abject complaisance: Bonner, lately made bishop of London, though in secret a zealous partizan of the pope's power, managed his interest with such dexterity, that he obtained letters patent adjudging to him the spiritualities as well as the temporalities of his bishopric during the king's pleasure: and Gardiner, a most bigotted son of the Romish church, maintained his influence by the most extravagant submission and profound dissimulation.

On the other hand, Cranmer and Cromwell, alarmed at the bloody statutes and several other proceedings of Henry, which seemed to denote his attachment to the catholic faith, and finding their credit begin to decline, thought there was no method so effectual to recover their influence as that of persuading the king to espouse another wife, upon whose protection they could depend. With this view they cast their eyes upon Anne, daughter to the duke of Cleves, and younger sister to the duchess of Saxony. Henry was so well pleased with this proposal, when made to him, that he employed Cromwell to negotiate the marriage: the famous Hans Holbein was ordered to draw the lady's picture, and did it so flatteringly, that Henry grew fond of her at distance; in short, the negotiation went so briskly on that the match was concluded in a few weeks; and the old duke of Cleves dying in the mean while, a counter-marriage was proposed between the princess Mary of England and the young duke of Cleves; but though this marriage did not take effect, the earl of Southampton (Fitz Williams) was ordered, in November, to go with a fleet of fifty ships to bring over the new queen, who about the end of December this year arrived in England.

While this matter was transacting, and some time before, Henry foreseeing a rupture between the emperor and the Protestants of Germany, sent new ambassadors to the league of Smalcald to encourage them in their opposition to the house of Austria, and to promise he would engage in their association; but they perceiving his only drift was to amuse them and intimidate the emperor by means of a negotiation with his enemies, they frankly gave the English monarch to understand that they would not unite with him on any other terms than that of his accepting the Augsburg Confession of Faith. They said, they had heard, with great mortification, of his persecuting their brethren in his kingdom, and in particular complained of the

law of the six articles, the injustice of which Melancthon explained to him in a submissive letter. Henry was shocked at the freedom of their expostulation; and Gardiner, who dreaded, as a fatal blow to the catholic religion, an alliance between Henry and the protestant princes, by flattering his master's vanity effectually kept alive his resentment.

Towards the end of this year the inhabitants of Ghent mutinied, and offered to acknowledge the French king for their sovereign, if he would protect them from the resentment of the emperor. But Francis rejected their proposal, which he communicated to Charles, who had by this time amused him so effectually with the promise of restoring to him the duchy of Milan, that he ventured to pass through his dominions on the faith of a simple safe-conduct, and even visited him at Paris, where he was received with the same honours which the French paid to their own sovereign.

It was at this very period that Anne of Cleves arrived in England; and the union of this princess with Henry would, in all probability, have totally frustrated all the attempts of Gardiner and the rest of the popish party for the future, had she answered the beauty and great character given of her by her friends; but when Henry, all impatience to see his consort, of whom he had entertained so high an idea, beheld her on her arrival at Rochester, whither he went for that purpose, he was so disappointed, that he is said to have sworn in a rage, "that they had brought over a Flanders mare to him." However gross and indelicate his expressions might be, his behaviour was more decent, for next day he made her a private visit. This lady is allowed on all hands to have possessed a great sweetness of temper, but as her person was far from being delicate, as she had a masculine turn and floridness of features, could speak nothing but German, which Henry did not understand, and was extremely defective in all the winning graces of behaviour and conversation, he conceived an incurable aversion for her, and even then would abruptly have broken off the match, had not his affairs at home required the friendship and alliance of the German princes, her relations; these considerations, which were urged very home by Cranmer and Cromwell, made him at length consent to proceed in the marriage, but with so visible a reluctance, as made Cromwell and all his party tremble.

On the sixth of January, 1540, the marriage was celebrated, but it served only to encrease Henry's dislike into downright loathing: he told Cromwell next morning, that he suspected the queen was no maid, and that he could never conquer his aversion to so disagreeable a partner as she was; and there the matter rested for some time.

Henry still continuing to be alarmed at the close connection that appeared to subsist between the king of France and the emperor, immediately upon Charles's departure from the French court, sent over the duke of Norfolk with very great proposals to Francis, if he would break with the emperor: he offered him his assistance for recovering Milan, to discharge all the arrears of his pension, and to enter into a strict league with him, both against the pope and the house of Austria: but Francis, who still flattered himself that Charles would perform his promises to him, rejected all the duke's proposals. The French monarch, however, was the

the dupe of the dependence he placed on the emperor, for that prince no sooner got into his own dominions than he made several shuffling excuses in relation to bestowing on Francis the investiture of Milan; and at last, having suppressed the insurrection of Ghent, flatly denied his having made any such promise.

The parliament meeting on the twelfth of April, Cromwell opened the sessions with a speech, in which he informed the two houses, that the king, in order to terminate all disputes about religion, had appointed commissioners to examine the contested articles, that a standard of faith might be established upon the word of God alone; and that after the truth should be thus made known to his people, he was resolved to punish with the utmost severity all those who should presume to prefer their own opinions to the established articles of belief. Those commissioners, being approved by the parliament, received orders to begin their enquiry without delay: and in the mean time the king created Cromwell earl of Essex, upon the death of Bourchier by a fall from his horse, and all the estate of that ancient and noble family went along with the title*.

But he did not long enjoy these smiles of fortune and of his prince's favour; for on the parliament's breaking up, which was prorogued to the twenty-fifth of May, the duke of Norfolk, Gardiner, and the rest of the popish party, resolved to work his ruin, hoping that his fall would facilitate a reconciliation with the pope, which Cromwell always opposed. They did not, however, chuse to make this attack abruptly, but contrived to throw Catherine Howard (daughter to the lord Edmund Howard, the duke's brother), a beautiful young lady, in the king's way, who was still fretting at his disappointment with Anne of Cleves, knowing very well, that if the young lady could gain his affections, there would be no hazard in the attempt upon the obnoxious minister. Gardiner, at once the priest and the pander, took upon him the management of this affair. Catherine was brought to court; the king liked her, and the bishop made frequent entertainments at his own house for the royal lover and his mistress; and Henry was so pleased with her company, that she won his consent to marry her.

This new affection in Henry consequently raised the duke of Norfolk's and Gardiner's credit high in the cabinet; and the king, thinking himself in no necessity to continue his negotiations with the German protestant powers, in which Cromwell served him chiefly, grew more and more cool towards that minister, and seemed pleased to hear any thing to his disadvantage: the duke and the bishop, eagerly bent upon his destruction, let slip no opportunity of blackening him in Henry's opinion. They represented to him, that the kingdom in general was dissatisfied with his minister, who, they believed, had abused his majesty's confidence; that as these complaints and murmurings were chiefly about religion, under the direction of the vicegerent, it would be prudent to satisfy the people by examining his conduct strictly, and even to sacrifice him, in order to ensure tranquility. In

short, these and the like insinuations had such an effect on Henry, that he resolved the ruin of this too faithful servant, that he might make a merit of offering a sacrifice to the public resentment. This resolution, however, was kept so secret, that, unsuspecting any thing, the destined victim came to the council-board on the thirteenth of June, where the duke of Norfolk, by Henry's order, arrested him for high-treason; and he was sent prisoner to the Tower, where he experienced the common fate of all degraded ministers. He was no sooner seized, but forsaken by all but his friend Cranmer, who alone ventured to write to the king in his favour, though to no purpose; for the unfortunate Cromwell, without being heard in his own defence, was, by a bill of attainder, found guilty of divers heresies and treasons, and condemned to suffer the pains of death, as the king should think proper to direct.

The fall of Cromwell was immediately followed by the dissolution of the marriage of Henry and his new wife; a dissolution which he had almost from her first arrival wished for, not only on account of his aversion to her person, but because he was by this time become enamoured of Catherine Howard, as already mentioned. The whole house of lords, with a committee of the commons, waited upon the king with an address, desiring he would order trial to be made of the validity of his marriage; and Henry complying with their request (which he himself, indeed, put them upon making), a commission was granted for trying it in convocation. They forthwith proceeded to the examination of witnesses, including the depositions of the king, the members of the privy-council, a declaration under the hand of Cromwell, signed in the Tower, the evidence of the earl of Southampton, sir Anthony Denny, Dr. Chambers and Dr. Butts the queen's physicians, and some of the ladies of the bed-chamber. The substance of the whole amounted to these particulars: that there had been a precontract between the queen and the marquis of Lorraine; that it did not appear whether these espousals were made by the parties themselves, or in words of the present tense; that the king, having married her against his will, had not given a pure, inward, and complete consent; and that he had never consummated the marriage.

These frivolous objections were strongly insisted on by the popish party; and Cranmer, being influenced by the fear of irrecoverably losing the king's favour, yielded his assent, so that the convocation unanimously adjudged the marriage null; and on the ninth day of July sentence was given for its dissolution. On the tenth this sentence was notified to both houses, by whom it was approved. Then the king sent the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Southampton, and the bishop of Winchester, to intimate the transaction to Anne of Cleves, who expressed no sort of dissatisfaction at the divorce. They told her, the king would, by letters patent, declare her his adopted sister, and give her precedence before all the ladies of England, except his own wife and daughters; that an estate of three thousand pounds per annum should be allotted for her maintenance; and that she might either live in England, or return to her own country. She chose

* In this session the order of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem was suppressed, on account of their dependence upon the pope and the emperor, and all their effects in England and Ireland confiscated for the use of the king, who allotted three

thousand pounds yearly for their maintenance. About this time also Henry put three hospitals, those of St. George, St. Bartholomew, and St. Thomas, together with a new abbey on Tower-hill, into the hands of the city of London.

the former, and was even prevailed upon to write a letter to her brother, the duke of Cleves, the purport of which was, to acquaint him, that she had been most tenderly and generously treated by the king, whom she could not justly have as her husband; and conjuring him not to suffer any thing that had happened to her, to break the good understanding that subsisted between the two courts. Every thing being thus settled, a bill was brought the next day, being the twelfth of July, into parliament, where it passed both houses, for annulling the king's marriage with the queen: by this act the marriage was declared void, and it was made high-treason to judge or believe otherwise*. And here we must observe, that no one could have had the impudence to make use of such reasons as Henry did to bring about the divorce, without being very sure that those to whom they were offered, would be mean enough to allow their validity. The bands of justice and shame had been long broken through, and both clergy and parliament made no scruple of complying with every thing he thought proper to enjoin.

The parliament then proceeded to pass some other acts, viz. for the attainder of the lord Hungerford and several other persons, accused of plotting against the government and being sacramentarians; for the regulating sanctuaries, and reducing their number; for repealing the penalty of death denounced by the statute of the Six Articles against incontinent priests and their women; for confirming what should be declared to be Christian doctrine by the bishops and divines, empowered by the king's commission to draw up a book intitled the Erudition of a Christian man; for erecting a court of wards, and another of the first-fruits and tenths; with others of too special a nature to have a place here.

But we cannot avoid taking particular notice of an act passed at this time, which declared that all marriages should be firm and good, notwithstanding any precontract, not actually carried into consummation. This was a very extraordinary act at this time, after two of Henry's own marriages had been dissolved under the pretence of an unconsummated contract, so that it obliquely condemned the proceedings in both divorces: but we are to remember, that he had a daughter living by Anne Boleyn, whose legitimacy this act justified. The same act mentions, "that all marriages shall be lawful when not within the degrees of kindred mentioned by the law of God." This, no doubt, was made with a view to make way for Henry's marriage with Catherine Howard, who was within the degree of relation prohibited by the canon-law, being cousin-german to Anne Boleyn. The last act of this parliament was a general free pardon of all heresies, treasons, felonies, and offences, but with some exceptions, of which number were Cromwell, the countess of Salisbury, mother to cardinal Pole, and others then in prison†.

As Cromwell's execution had been deferred, he was in some hopes of obtaining his pardon, and the more, as having written the king a very submissive letter: his majesty was so moved therewith, that he caused it to be thrice read over to him; but the solicitations of Norfolk and Gardiner, seconded by those of Catherine Howard, who acted in their fa-

vour, rendered the endeavours of the prisoner or his friends fruitless: a minister in disgrace finds few persons generous enough to intercede in his behalf; Cranmer was the only one who discharged the part of a true friend. On this occasion he wrote a very pathetic letter to Henry, interceding for the unhappy Cromwell, declaring his firm belief of his innocence from any disloyal meaning, and even went so far as to wish that Henry might find another counsellor equal to him in capacity, diligence, and fidelity: but the fallen favourite's ruin being resolved on, the king signed a warrant for beheading him on the twenty-eighth of July.

When he was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill, his regard for his son hindered him from expatiating upon his own innocence: he thanked God for bringing him to that death for his transgressions: he acknowledged his offences against God and his prince, who had raised him from a low degree; confessed that he had been seduced, but that now he died in the catholic faith: then he desired the bystanders to pray for the king, the prince, and for himself: and having spent a little time at his own private devotion, submitted his neck to the executioner, who mangled him in a most shocking manner. However, the care he had taken in his last moments to say nothing that might offend the king, turned to the advantage of his son Gregory, who was, a few months afterwards, created a peer, by the title of lord Cromwell: the office of vicar-general died with Cromwell, no one desiring a post so obnoxious to envy, and so fatal to the first possessor. It now remains to say somewhat concerning the rise and character of this great minister.

Thomas Cromwell was born at Putney, in Surry, about five miles from London; his father was no better than a country blacksmith; but he being blessed with a sprightly genius and a ready capacity to learn languages, acquired so great reputation in the art of war under the duke of Bourbon, whom he accompanied at the sacking of Rome in 1527, and skill in the modern tongues, and interests of the states through which he travelled, as, upon his return, recommended him to the favour and service of cardinal Wolsey. He was retained in the cardinal's service in quality of a solicitor, and discharged that office with so much integrity, resolution, and gratitude to his patron, that, after the cardinal's disgrace and death, the king, notwithstanding he had opposed him, by defending his matter in the house of commons against the articles of impeachment, esteemed him a proper agent for himself in more important affairs, and voluntary retained him in his service. Mr. Cromwell soon improved the royal favour to his own advantage, for the king, who took a pleasure in raising men of low birth to great honours, being highly satisfied with the management of the affairs committed to him, declared him a privy-counsellor and master of the jewel-house, in 1531; and next year raised him to be clerk of the hanaper and chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1534, he was appointed principal secretary of state and master of the Rolls; and in 1535, he was created visitor general, to inspect the estates and abuses of the monks, friars, and nuns, in order to the suppression of their houses; he was afterwards nominated the king's vicar-general over all the spiritualities under his majesty

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 282.

† See Stat. 32 Hen. VIII.

as supreme head of the church; in virtue of which commission he had the superintendency of all the bishops and secular as well as regular clergy in the kingdom. On the second of July, 1536, he was sworn in lord-keeper of the privy-seal; and on the ninth of the same month was advanced to the dignity of a baron of England, with the style and title of lord Cromwell, baron of Oakham, in the county of Rutland. In 1537, he accepted of the office of chief-justice itinerant of all the forests beyond Trent; and the twenty-sixth of August, in the same year, he was honoured with the Garter. In 1538 he obtained the constableness of Carisbroke castle, in the Isle of Wight, besides many other grants from the crown, and a grant of the castle and lordship of Oakham. In 1540, on the seventeenth of April, he was created earl of Essex, and soon after he was made lord high-chamberlain of England.

Cromwell's chief fault was an excess of obsequiousness to the king's pleasure, the effect of an inordinate zeal for his master's service: in other respects he is scarce sufficiently to be admired for his prodigious parts, excellent judgment, infinite application to business, wonderful dexterity in managing affairs, great moderation in the exercise of his authority, calmness of temper in his dealings with all persons, and under provocations sufficient to ruffle the sedatest persons, an uncommon generosity and nobleness of mind, notwithstanding the meanness of his extraction, and for an unexampled condescension in the height of his pomp, vouchsafing to take notice of his old acquaintance, and shew his gratitude for favours received.

Some few days after Cromwell's death, Henry gave a terrible instance of that cruelty which seemed to have taken possession of his soul: papists and reformers were alike the objects of this infernal passion, and suffered in the same flames. Dr. Barnes, who had made a figure in an embassy to the German princes, Thomas Gerard, a reforming minister, and a favourite with the late queen Anne, and William Jerom, vicar of Stepney, who had been, unheard, attainted of heresy by the parliament, and were now condemned to the stake; but when they came there, neither they nor the sheriff knew for what they suffered. Along with them were executed Gregory Buttolph, Adam Damp-lip, Edmund Brinholme, and Clement Philpot (all bigotted papists), for denying the king's supremacy.

On the eighth of August Catherine Howard was declared queen of England, having been for some time privately married to Henry. By this marriage the popish interest was strengthened, and that party made a strong push at Cranmer; but Henry's affection for him was so unmoveable that the plot miscarried: though it is highly probable, that, had not the queen's interest been broken by her incontinency, Cranmer would have followed Cromwell.

All this time Henry was intent upon the reformation he proposed in religion; the commissioners appointed to draw up a declaration of the Christian doctrine, under the title of the Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man, presented their book to the king, who ordered it to be immediately published, and it was, by the royal authority, recommended to all persons as a rule for directing their belief and practice. Of the contents

of this book, we shall have occasion to speak in another place.

About the end of this year there were some beginnings of a misunderstanding between Francis and Henry, which at length terminated in a war. Francis had ordered a fortress to be built at Ardres, and a bridge to be made over to the English pale. But the lord Maltravers, governor of Calais, not suffering this encroachment, sent a detachment of his garrison, and beat down the bridge. The French rebuilt it, and the English demolished it a second time: whereupon Francis ordering the marshal de Biez to raise troops in Picardy in order to support the operations of his people, Henry sent a reinforcement to the garrison of Calais, under the command of Henry Howard, earl of Surry, William FitzWilliams, earl of Southampton, and John, lord Ruffel, who also took with them fifteen hundred workmen, to repair the walls and fortification of Guisnes. But the two kings, willing to avoid a rupture on so slight an occasion, it was agreed to name commissioners for ending all differences: the earl of Hertford and sir Edward Karne were appointed by Henry; but, after repeated meetings with the French commissioners, neither party receiving any satisfaction, each provided for their defence in case of an attack.

Francis was much on the same terms with the emperor, who, after refusing to perform his promise in regard to his giving up to Francis the Milanese, had offered his eldest daughter in marriage to the duke of Orleans, with Flanders to her fortune; with the title of king; but Francis, who followed his humour or resentment rather than the maxims of good policy, was resolved to accept of no equivalent for the Milanese, which he considered as his lawful inheritance: this revived the animosity between those princes to a higher degree than ever; and Francis soon had new provocation given him, for having sent ambassadors to the courts of Constantinople and Venice, as they sailed down the Po in a boat, they were assassinated by the orders of the marquis del Vasco, governor of Milan. The French king complained loudly of this outrage, for which, however, Charles refused to give him satisfaction. A war now appeared unavoidable, and both sides prepared for it, fortifying themselves with new alliances; but Francis not being ready, and the emperor engaged in an expedition against Algiers, it did not break out for some time. Such was the general state of things at the end of the year 1540.

But, before we proceed to the transactions which mark the succeeding year, it will be necessary to take notice, that the reformation intended in England, had, by Henry's orders, been carried over to Ireland, where it met with strong opposition from the papists; but in a parliament held at Dublin, in December, 1537, under the lord Grey, who was appointed by Henry his lieutenant in that kingdom, the king's supremacy was there established in the same manner as in England, and the bishop of Rome's authority abolished: but the efforts which the government made for this purpose were so generally disgustful to the people, that it appears, by a letter from Brown, archbishop of Dublin, to secretary Cromwell, that there was a very dangerous correspondence carried on betwixt the native Irish and the Romish powers on the continent. This broke out, in the year 1539, into a general insurrection,

tered at Tyburn, on the eighteenth of July this year, for refusing to submit to the new laws: and a little before, orders were given for burning twenty-seven Protestants, viz. John Frith, a man of great learning, Andrew Hewet, and nineteen men and six women, born in Holland, to convince the world that his severity to the ecclesiastics was not actuated by any fondness he was charged with for the new religion.

At length this persecution reached bishop Fisher and sir Thomas More, who still continued prisoners in the Tower, and who were now singled out for a terror to the boldest opposers of the king's measures: Henry was determined they should renounce the pope, and acknowledge his marriage-act and succession, as established by parliament. Pope Paul III. who succeeded Clement VII. thought to save Fisher's life by sending him a cardinal's hat, while matters were preparing for his trial; but in this he only gave Henry the satisfaction of bringing a cardinal to the block; for Fisher refusing to take the oath of supremacy, a commission was made out for trying him by his peers, for misprision of treason in the case of the Maid of Kent, and also for denying the king's supremacy, and on the seventeenth of May he was tried before the lord-chancellor, the duke of Suffolk, with some other lords and all the judges, who found him guilty, and he received sentence of death accordingly. He received the notice of his execution with great composure of mind in the morning before he was beheaded; and when he came to the block, after a short prayer in favour of popery, and praying for the king, and that God would bless him with a good council, he calmly resigned his neck to the executioner, on the twenty-second of June, on Tower-hill. He had the character of a learned and devout man, but very weak and obstinate, and much addicted to the superstitions of his education.

The same oath of supremacy, for the refusing of which bishop Fisher lost his head, being also tendered to sir Thomas More, he refused to take it likewise, for which he was tried by the same court, and lost his head on first day of July; though Henry reaped nothing but reproach and infamy from the death of a man who was universally esteemed for his virtue, and admired for his wit and pleasantries, which did not forsake him even in his last moments; and he died with an unconcern that in others would have appeared to be levity, but in him was nature.

These executions were followed by fresh injunctions issued by Henry to all archbishops and bishops, for enforcing the doctrine of the king's supremacy; a declaration was also sent them by secretary Cromwell to the same effect, which they were ordered to read from their pulpits; and it does not appear that one prelate refused to comply with these orders, so much did they stand in awe of Henry's fiery and vindictive temper: and this seems to be the epocha from whence we may date Henry VIII's resolution to govern by force and absolute power.

At this very time sir Gregory Cassali was still at the court of Rome as Henry's agent, and had frequent conferences with pope Paul about some expedient to heal the breach which Clement VII. had made with England by his too great precipitation; but news arriving that bishop Fisher and sir Tho-

mas More were executed for denying the king's supremacy, the pope broke off all intercourse with Cassali, and, by a thundering bull, passed ecclesiastical censures against the king of England, summoning him, and all his adherents, to appear at Rome within ninety days, to answer for their crimes; if they should fail, he laid them under the sentence of excommunication, deprived the king of his realm, subjected the kingdom to an interdict, declared Henry's issue by Anne Boleyn illegitimate, annulled all treaties which other powers had concluded with the king of England, bestowed his kingdom on the first person who chose to attempt the conquest of it, commanded the English nobility to take arms against him, absolved all his subjects from their allegiance, forbade all Christians to communicate with the English, and declared it lawful for any one to convert their effects to their own use*. This bull was passed on the thirtieth of August, this year; but it was not published at this time, the pope thinking it prudent to delay the publication, until it could be supported by the Imperial arms.

In the mean time the French king, in order to sound the inclinations of Henry, sent over Philip Chabot, admiral of France, to communicate some overtures of peace, which had been made by the emperor. That prince proposed a marriage between the third daughter of Francis and Philip prince of Spain, and another match between the dauphin and the princess Mary, daughter of Henry and Catherine. Henry received this embassy with some degree of contempt: he said, that the emperor's offer of the princess Mary was of itself ridiculous, since she was not at his disposal, and that he knew how to keep her from ever being so; and that as to some other proposals of the emperor, concerning the duchy of Milan, it was very plain that Charles intended only to divide France and England, that he might the better answer his ends upon both: however, Henry proposed, in his turn, that his new-born daughter Elizabeth should be married to the duke of Angoulesme, third son to Francis, on condition that the French king, with the nobility, parliaments, and universities of France, should engage to procure those sentences which had been fulminated by the bishop of Rome, on account of the divorce, revoked. This proposal was embraced by Francis; and accordingly, in May this year, the duke of Norfolk, the bishop of Ely, sir William Fitz Williams, and Dr. Fox, were ordered to treat concerning the marriage with the commissioners of Francis. But the latter demanding that Henry should furnish him with succours for the war he had undertaken against Savoy, and release him entirely from the perpetual pension of one hundred thousand crowns, which he had obliged himself by treaty to pay to the king of England, Henry judged from this demand, that Francis meant only to shuffle with him, and therefore declared, that so far from renouncing the pension, he insisted upon the payment of the arrears within a limited time. This reply broke off the negotiation: and while the emperor carried his arms into Africa, where he restored Muley Hassien to his kingdom of Tunis, from which he had been expelled by the famous corsair Barbarossa, Francis attacked the duchy of Savoy, which he reduced in the very first campaign.

The bull lately signed by the pope was intended rather to terrify Henry, than to be put in force; however, it was so ordered as to be made known to all the courts of Europe: but it had the contrary effect, for, as soon as Henry was informed thereof, and that, amongst other schemes, the pope intended to give England to some of the German popish princes, he resolved to counterballance that project, and engaged Francis I. to concur with him in an embassy to the Protestant league of Smalcald: Henry sent Edward Fox and Dr. Heath, to whom Francis joined William de Bellay, lord of Langey.

But these monarchs proposed an union with the league only in a political view, to keep the emperor employed in that country by an intestine war, without any regard to the Protestant religion. The Protestant princes of Germany, on the other hand, were willing to live in all due subjection to the emperor, provided they could be secured in the free exercise of their religion; therefore, to cover their intentions, and to draw the Protestants into their interest, it was necessary for Henry and Francis to feign a conformity of sentiments with them in religious matters, and a desire to establish the reformation in their kingdoms. Had these sentiments been real, no doubt they would have been readily embraced; but the cruelty with which both kings treated the reformed in their respective dominions was a proof of their insincerity, and therefore, before the princes of the league would proceed in any alliance with them, the duke of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse communicated certain proposals to the English ambassadors, the purport of which appears from lord Herbert to have been as follows:

They demanded, "That Henry should approve and embrace the Augsburg Confession of Faith, and defend it with all his power in a free council; that he should approve of no place for holding a council without their consent; that if the pope should call a council at his own pleasure, Henry should join with them in protesting against it; that he should accept of the title of Protector of the League; that he should never return to the pope's obedience; that he should not assist their enemies; and lastly, that he should pay one hundred thousand crowns towards the defence of the league, and in case of a long war two hundred thousand crowns, upon condition that what was remaining should be restored when the war should be at an end*."

How disagreeable soever these articles were to Henry, the advantage he proposed to himself by gaining the German Protestants to his interest, made him seem to approve of their proposals in general; and, to gain their belief of his sincerity, Fox had instructions to assure the princes, that if commissioners were sent from them to Henry, there would be no manner of doubt of their perfectly agreeing in every thing. But the Germans were not to be so easily imposed upon: they gave in a paper, by which they evidently shewed that Henry had proceeded no farther in the reformation than abolishing the pope's supremacy and some religious houses; but that he still retained all the other most material and gross errors of the Romish church. Thus stood affairs at the close of the year 1535.

On the twenty-ninth of January, 1536, the unhappy queen Catherine died at Kimbolton, in

Huntingdonshire, after having suffered a long series of vexations. A little before she expired, she wrote a very affecting letter to the king, to whom she gave the appellation of "her most dear lord, king, and husband." Henry, it seems, was greatly touched at reading this letter, and even dropped some tears at the remembrance of a woman whose virtue deserved a better fate. Queen Anne, however, did not behave with even due decorum on this occasion; she rejoiced openly at the death of Catherine, and seemed to take pleasure in communicating her satisfaction to the public, little thinking that her own fate was so near at hand. The remains of this unfortunate queen were deposited in the abbey-church of Peterborough, which Henry afterwards converted into an episcopal cathedral.

On the fourth of February, this year, the parliament sat for the dispatch of business. The greatest matter which came under their consideration at this time, was to effect an entire union between England and Wales. It appears from the lord Herbert, who has, on this head, introduced into his history a curious dissertation, to which the reader is referred, that at that time, in several counties of Wales different forms of justice prevailed, and the laws were eluded by the greatest criminals, if they had but the good fortune to escape out of one county into another: to remedy these and other flagrant abuses, and to introduce an uniformity throughout all the country, the following act was passed.

"That albeit the dominion, principality, and country of Wales be as a member and part of the temporal crown of this realm, whereof therefore the king is head and ruler, yet, as it hath divers rights, usages, laws, and customs, different from the laws and customs of this realm; and because their language is different from that which is spoken here; and that many rude people hereupon have made distinction and diversity between his highness's other subjects and them, to the causing much discord and sedition; his highness therefore, out of his love and favour to his subjects of Wales, and for reducing them to his laws, doth, by advice and consent of his parliament, ordain and enact, that Wales should be united and incorporated henceforth to and within his realm of England; and that his subjects should enjoy and inherit all and singular freedoms, liberties, rights, privileges, and laws, which his highness's subjects elsewhere enjoy and inherit: and therefore, that inheritances should descend after the manner of England, without division or partition, and not after any tenure or form of Welsh laws and customs. And forasmuch as there are divers lordships-marchers within the said country and dominion of Wales, being no parcel of any other shires, where the laws and one correction is used and had, and that in them and the counties adjoining, manifold murders, robberies, felonies, and the like, have been done, contrary to all law and justice, because the offenders, making their refuge from one lordship-marcher to another, were continued without punishment and correction; therefore, it was enacted, that the said lordships marchers should be united, annexed, and joined to divers shires, specified in the said act."

And now Henry, who had been greatly affronted by the contumacious reports which the monkish

* Seckendorff Hist. of Lutheran. lib. iii.

clergy had spread abroad with regard to his proceedings in the business of the reformation, resolved to take ample vengeance upon them for the same. With this view, after having deliberated with his council, a general visitation was ordered to be made of all the monasteries, and strict inquest to be taken of all their titles and revenues; and also of the morals of the friars and others, and the regulations observed in each order; and secretray Cromwell was, by a commission under the king's own hand, created vicar-general and general visitor of all the monasteries and other privileged places. Cromwell, thus appointed, nominated for his substitutes to examine the monasteries the doctors (in divinity) Leigh, Leighton, Patrick, and London, who drew up a set of heads of visitation, which they well knew would bring in most of the houses guilty. The visitation, the particulars of which will more properly fall into the ecclesiastical part of our history, was accordingly performed with great rigour, and, if we may credit the reports of the visitors themselves, they discovered such abominations and scenes of vice, debauchery, and imposture, as were not only disgraceful to religion, but even shocking to human nature.

The report of the visitors being read in parliament, a bill for the demolition of all the lesser monasteries was brought in, and passed. We cannot know the general reason for this bill better than by its preamble, which sets forth, "That small religious houses under the number of twelve persons, had been long and notoriously guilty of vicious and abominable living, and did much consume and waste their churches, lands, and other things belonging to them; and that, for above two hundred years, there had been many visitations for reforming these abuses, but with no success, their vicious living increasing daily, so that, except small houses were dissolved, and the religious put into greater monasteries, there could no reformation be expected in that matter: whereupon the king, having received full information of these abuses, both by his visitors and other credible ways, and considering that there were divers great monasteries, in which religion was well kept and observed, which had not the full number in them that they might and ought to receive, had made a full declaration of the premises in parliament, whereupon it was enacted, that all houses which might spend yearly two hundred pounds, or within it, should be suppressed, and their revenues converted to better uses, and they compelled to reform themselves."

Another act passed, by which all these houses, churches, lands, and estates were given to the king, with those of all houses already dissolved: and by these acts no fewer than three hundred and seventy-six abbeyes fell to the crown. By another act, it was declared, that no tenths should be exacted that year; and by another, a court of augmentation was erected, whereby order was taken concerning the religious houses that were surrendered or suppressed, and how the king's revenue should be increased thereby; and officers for this purpose were appointed.

But whatever Henry's pretence might be for setting on foot this scrutiny, it is certain that his principal motives were to wreak his vengeance upon the monks, whom he regarded as his mortal enemies, and to increase his revenues with the plunder of their houses. Soon after the dissolution

of the abbeyes the king put an end to this parliament (which had been the most compliant that England had ever seen), on the fourteenth of April, after sitting six years.

The king's severe proceedings against the religious houses regained him, in some measure, the confidence of the German Protestant princes; and they wrote to Henry in terms of great complaisance from Smalcald, where they were now assembled to settle the famous Smalcaldic league for the preservation of those of the reformed persuasion. This produced an obliging message from Henry, with some explanation with regard to their former proposals; but still the princes declined giving any umbrage to the emperor. This was not insisted on by Henry. Another answer was sent by the princes, in which they promise to send an embassy into England; and some of their most learned men, among whom was the famous Melancthon, were nominated for that purpose: and there is the greatest reason to believe, in the present situation of Henry's affairs, that this negotiation would have succeeded to the advantage of the great work of reformation, had not the popish faction here found means to deprive the Protestants of the interest of queen Anne, whose death happened shortly after the arrival of these divines, which very much altered the face of affairs as well as the king's mind, in respect to the reformation, which she openly countenanced, and which was in effect the cause of her deplorable fate.

Henry's affection, which had been increased by opposition during the prosecution of the divorce, was now cooled by satiety, and he no longer looked on his lovely consort with the same fond regard as heretofore. It is true, she wanted none of the agreeable qualities, and had many of the valuable kind: she was lively, pleasant, and gay in conversation; and, though strictly virtuous in her conduct, she indulged her humour rather too far; and, having been bred in the freedoms of the court of France, was not so attentive as she ought to have been in her exalted and ticklish situation, and either took or permitted liberties which gave offence to an impetuous husband, who had pride enough to make him the most jealous of mortals, and the most furious in his jealousy.

The Austrian party about court, all who disliked the divorce from Catherine, and all that opposed the reformation, which she was supposed to favour, were her enemies, and taking notice of every little indiscretion she was guilty of, improved it to raise in the king a suspicion of her virtue. The viscountess Rochford in particular, who was wife to the queen's brother, but who lived on bad terms with her husband, and, as she was a woman of the most abandoned character, paid no regard either to truth or humanity in the calumnies which she invented, pretended that her own husband carried on a criminal correspondence with his sister; and not only so, but she insisted that she had likewise granted favours to Henry Norris, groom of the stole, Weston and Brereton, gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber, together with one Mark Smeton, a musician. This information roused all the rage in Henry's breast, who was also not a little chagrined at an accident which befel the queen some time before, of being brought to bed of a dead child.

Nothing however transpired till the first of May this year, when a tilting match was held at Greenwich,

wich, in which the lord Rochford was chief challenger and Henry Norris the chief defendant. It is said, that during the diversions Henry observed the queen drop her handkerchief, which one of the suspected persons took up, and used it to wipe his face: to a mind prepared like Henry's, this accident, which though, in all probability, entirely casual, was a demonstration of his wife's infidelity: accordingly all on a sudden the diversions were broke up, and Henry, without taking any notice of the queen or her court, with no more than six persons in his retinue, abruptly departed to his palace of Westminster.

The queen following, was, upon her arrival, met by the duke of Norfolk, and some other lords of the council, who signified to her, that it was his majesty's pleasure she should be confined to her chamber. At the same time the lord Rochford and Norris were committed to the Tower, as were Brereton, Weston, and Smeton. Next day, being the second of May, the queen was conducted to the same prison by the duke of Norfolk and other lords, who resigned her into the custody of sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower; and a commission was made out for trying her on the twelfth of May in that place, the duke of Norfolk being appointed lord high-steward on that occasion, with twenty-six other peers. The charges brought against her were of the most detestable nature, viz. "That she had procured her brother, and the four other persons in custody, to lie with her, and that she had made each of them believe that he had the preference above all mankind in her heart; and that she had said to each of them, that the king never had her heart." Smeton had, by fair promises, been brought to confess, that he had thrice carnal knowledge of her; but it was not thought proper to confront him with her; nor, indeed, could he be an evidence, as he had been condemned three days before to suffer, notwithstanding his assurances of pardon upon confession. The only thing that appeared in relation to her brother, the lord Rochford, was his laying his hand on the queen's bed while he whispered to her one day; an action done before company, and warranted from the near relationship between them. In short, to the eternal infamy of her judges, she was condemned without its being ever known upon what evidence her sentence was grounded; and the nineteenth of May was the day appointed for her execution, which was that of being burnt or beheaded, at the king's pleasure.

Henry, not satisfied with this act of severity, would needs be divorced from her before her death, and archbishop Cranmer was sent to the Tower, and received her confession of precontract, or promise of marriage, between the lord Henry Percy (now earl of Northumberland) and herself; before that she had made with the king; upon which the archbishop pronounced, according to the rules of canon law, the sentence of divorce. It was probably a tenderness for her daughter, the young Elizabeth, that engaged her to make this confession, for the earl of Northumberland protested in the most solemn manner that no such contract had ever passed between them. It was, however, expected that she would have defended her innocency when about to die, but the same motives seem to have operated even then, as she feared every thing for her daughter from the savage tem-

per of the king, should she expose him too much; accordingly, when she came on the scaffold, she made no reflections on the hardships she had sustained, nor said any thing touching the grounds on which sentence had passed upon her; she only desired "that every body would judge the best," acknowledged her obligations to the king, prayed for him, and entreated the spectators to do the same for her, and then submitting her neck to the fatal stroke, her head was severed from her body at one blow, by an executioner, who had been sent for from Calais, on account of his remarkable dexterity in his bloody profession.

The lord Rochford was tried and condemned at the same time with the queen his sister, and, together with the four other gentlemen, suffered death three days before her, all of them, Smeton excepted, declaring at their deaths the queen's and their own innocence of the facts for which they suffered.

The very day after the queen's execution Henry was married to Jane Seymour, the reigning beauty of the court, daughter to sir John Seymour, and one of the maids of honour to Anne, on whom the king had for some time cast an amorous eye: eager as he was to gratify his brutal appetites, he totally forgot all regard to decency and decorum, and his cruel and barbarous heart, more worthy of an infernal fiend than a human creature, was not in the least affected by the bloody catastrophe of a person who had so long been the object of his most tender affection.

In consequence of the sentence of divorce which Henry had procured from his late queen Anne before her death, the princess Elizabeth, his daughter by her, who was at this time about three years of age, and been styled princess of Wales, was now divested of that title; and the princess Mary, his other daughter by Catherine, whom he had treated with great severity on account of her attachment to her mother, and her refusal to assent to the statutes which had been lately enacted against the papal authority, was now persuaded by the popish faction to attempt a reconciliation with the king at this juncture; accordingly she subscribed to the act of supremacy, the renunciation of the bishop of Rome, and to the unlawfulness of her own mother's marriage, that she might the more effectually remove the lady Elizabeth from the king's presence and affections; but Henry, though he was reconciled to Mary, yet continued to educate the infant princess at court, with all the care and tenderness of a father.

On the eighth day of June a new parliament met at Westminster, as did also the convocation, and both those houses confirmed the sentence passed upon the late queen Anne; but, what is very remarkable in favour of the queen's innocency, the commons attainted the deceased for pride and the carnal desires of her body, and for confederating in divers treasons against the king's royal person, &c. The convocation alleged nothing against her but the pretended precontract with the earl of Northumberland when lord Percy, though that nobleman had sworn in the most solemn manner, that no such engagement had ever existed.

The parliament also enacted a statute, by which they repealed the former act of succession, declaring the children of the king's two first marriages illegitimate, and adjudging the crown, after his death,

to his issue by his present queen Jane, or any wife he might marry after her decease; but at the same time they gave him full power to settle the mode of such succession either by will or letters patent under the great-seal, and pronounced all those who maintained the validity of his two first marriages guilty of high-treason.

Then the king informed them of some advances made to him from pope Paul III. who on hearing of the execution of queen Anne, and death of queen Catherine, hoped he might bring Henry to a good agreement with him; but Henry declaring in parliament that his separation from the bishop of Rome was so fixed, and had proceeded upon such solid grounds, that he never would listen to any accommodation, the two houses, servilely obsequious to the king's will, in order to convince his holiness that all hopes of re-uniting the English church to his jurisdiction were vain and groundless, passed an act, subjecting to the penalty of *Præmunire* all those who should endeavour to restore the papal power in England; and all magistrates who should neglect to put this law in execution were condemned to the same punishment: and by another act they annulled and abolished all dispensations, exemptions, and privileges procured from the court of Rome, saving however to the archbishop of Canterbury the right of confirming what should be deemed advantageous to the church and people.

By a third act it was prohibited any one to marry with the next degrees of royal blood, without permission from the king. This act passed upon the following occasion: the lady Margaret Douglas, daughter to Henry's sister, the queen dowager of Scotland, by the earl of Angus, her second husband, was now at the English court, where she was courted by the lord Thomas Howard, brother to the duke of Norfolk. This courtship, which had proceeded to the length of mutual promises, coming to Henry's ears, the lovers were committed to the Tower of London; and lord Thomas, upon circumstances brought against him of aspiring to the crown, was attainted of high-treason in parliament. The queen of Scotland hearing of her daughter's imprisonment, wrote strongly in her favour to Henry, but without effect; nor was she released till after the death of lord Thomas, which happened in the Tower. A fourth law was enacted, that all encroachments of parliament upon the king's prerogative, before he should have attained the age of twenty-four, might be annulled under the great-seal of England. These were the most material acts for our purpose in this session of parliament, which was finished on the eighteenth day of July, and which one would be tempted to think had assembled for no other purpose than that of bestowing upon Henry a more extensive authority than any of his predecessors had ever enjoyed.

Neither was the convocation less compliant with the crown than the parliament had been; for, besides ratifying the sentence of divorce between the king and Anne Boleyn, they also gave their sanction to a system of religion which Henry, who differed from all his subjects in point of belief, had been at the pains to digest; the contents of which will fall more properly into another part of our history. Before the convocation broke up, the king acquainted them that he was summoned to a council, which was, by agreement between the pope and the emperor, to be held at Mantua. As a

general council carried with it a popular and plausible sound, it was necessary to guard against its consequences with respect to the steps which had been taken by Henry, who had reason to believe its members would be no way favourable to him: he was under some difficulty by the appeal he had made from the pope to a general council; but Cranmer, and some other prelates, made him easy on that head, and a decree passed in convocation, defining what a general council was, and shewing that no such could be called by the authority of the pope, or in the present juncture of affairs; and that no justice was to be expected where the bishop of Rome was to preside. Strengthened by this opinion, Henry published a flaming protestation against the approaching council.

About this time Reginald Pole began to distinguish himself by his taste and learning: he was son to Margaret, countess of Salisbury, the daughter and heiress of George, duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV. and consequently allied to the king, who determined to advance him to the highest dignities of the church, conferred upon him the deanry of Exeter, and sent him to finish his studies at the university of Paris. He refused to concur with Henry's agents in procuring the decision of the French universities, in favour of the divorce, which he disapproved. He afterwards returned to England, and agreed with the clergy in owning Henry supreme head of the church. Then he travelled into Italy, where he acquired a great character for his wit and eloquence; and Henry being informed that he openly condemned him for his separation from the Apostolic see, and that he had published a book intitled *De unione ecclesiastica* (or, *Concerning Ecclesiastical Union*), in which he treated the king with great severity, comparing him to Nebuchadnezzar, and even exhorting the emperor and other European princes to attack him, with all their forces, he resolved, if possible, to get him in his power, and, dissembling his resentment, sent to desire him to come over to explain some passages in his book, which were somewhat dark and obscure; but finding him upon his guard, he now stripped him of his dignities, and wreaked his revenge on Pole's family and relations. The pope, however, took care to reward his attachment to the see of Rome, by presenting him with a cardinal's hat, which bound him closer than ever to the interest of his holiness.

The suppression of the small monasteries, though enacted in the first session of parliament, did not take place till the month of August this year, when it occasioned great clamours through the whole nation, as the visitors executed their commission with inhuman severity, and were guilty of the grossest embezzlements: and the pope having again excommunicated Henry, and declared him deposed, put the kingdom under an interdict, and forbidden his subjects to obey him, the monks everywhere insinuated into the minds of the country people, that it was their duty to take up arms against one who had trampled under foot all their civil and religious liberties. The people, who had sucked in with their milk the principles that were now at once to be abolished, eagerly listened to these insinuations; and the popish emissaries had been so successful, that in Lincolnshire, about the end of September, upwards of twenty thousand souls assembled under the command of one Mackerel, prior

prior of Barlings, who took the name of Captain Cocker, and published their grievances by way of petition to the king, complaining of the suppression of the monasteries, the subversion of their ancient faith, the embracing new doctrines, &c. The king answered this petition in an ample manifesto, and sent the duke of Suffolk, with a few troops, to reduce the mutineers to obedience, who upon promise of pardon dispersed of themselves; but their leader being taken, with some of the principal ringleaders, they were executed for treason and rebellion.

This success was of the greatest consequence to the king's affairs, for at this time one Aske, a gentleman of fortune in Yorkshire, extremely well fitted to act at the head of a popular insurrection, had drawn the people of that county together, and they were joined by a little army of outed monks, who carried before them a banner, on which a crucifix and the five wounds, with a chalice, were painted. The same device was worn upon their sleeves, to animate them in favour of their endangered religion: they gave their march the title of the Pilgrimage of Grace, and all who joined them were obliged to take an oath, "that they entered into the Pilgrimage of Grace for the love of God, the preservation of the king's person and issue, the purifying the nobility and driving away all base-born counsellors, and for no particular profit of their own, nor to do displeasure to any, nor to kill any person for envy, but to take before them the cross of Christ, his faith, the restitution of the church, and the suppression of heretics and their opinions." These specious pretences so deluded the people, that the rebels were soon forty thousand strong; and meeting with no resistance, they sat suddenly down before Pontefract castle, which was looked upon as a place of strength, and which was then held by the archbishop of York and Thomas lord Darcy, who quickly surrendered to them: they next made themselves masters of York and Hull; and Aske, by persuasions and threats, obliged all the nobility of the county to join him, except Henry Clifford, earl of Cumberland, who held out his castle of Skipton against all the rebel forces, and sir Ralph Ewer, who defended his castle of Scarborough till he was relieved, though himself and men had nothing to subsist on for three weeks but bread and water.

The government not being able to muster above five thousand men, and finding that the rebels were not to be amused, a proclamation was published, ordering all the nobility to meet the king at Northampton on the seventh of November; in the mean time his little army, under the command of the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Shrewsbury, and the marquis of Exeter, encamped at Doncaster, must have been entirely routed by the rebels, who advanced to give them battle, had not the river Don, the only pass by which they could advance to the town, happily been rendered impassable by a heavy rain. This lucky accident gave the duke of Norfolk an opportunity to propose a conference with the chiefs of the mutineers, when the latter gave in the following demands:

"That a general pardon be granted; a parliament to be held at York, and courts of justice to be held there; that none on the north side of Trent might be brought to London upon any law-suit; they desired a repeal of some acts of parliament,

those for the last subsidy, for uses, for making words misprision of treason, and for the clergy's paying first-fruits and tenths to the king: they desired the princess Mary might be restored to her right of succession, the pope to his wonted jurisdiction, and the monks to their houses again; that the Lutherans might be punished; that Audley, the lord-chancellor, and Cromwell, the lord privy-seal, might be excluded from the next parliament; and Leigh and Leighton, who had visited the monasteries, might be imprisoned for bribery and extortion."

Though the king was highly exasperated against the insurgents, yet the accounts he daily received of their strength obliged him, much against his will, to send down a general pardon, directed to the duke of Norfolk, but with orders not to publish it but in the last extremity. That very soon happened, for the rebels once more preparing to force the passage of the river, the duke was obliged to publish the pardon. This restored a short tranquility; but the priests renewing their practices for disturbing the public peace, and with too much success, the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Shrewsbury had orders to continue in the North all the winter. The duke using his power with great rigour, by putting the martial law in full force against every one who would not take the oath of supremacy, those proceedings gave rise to a fresh rebellion. Two gentlemen, called Musgrave and Treby, putting themselves at the head of eight thousand peasants, made an attempt upon Carlisle, from which however they were repulsed, and afterwards entirely defeated by the duke of Norfolk. Musgrave escaped, but Treby, with seventy of his followers, were taken and hanged upon the walls of Carlisle.

This happened in February, 1537, and the king now ordered to court such of the heads of the former insurrection whom he thought he had most reason to fear: Aske readily obeyed, and at first was well received at court; but the lords Darcy, Hussy, and other chiefs of the rebels, not following his example, were seized and sent prisoners to London. The two noblemen were arraigned at Westminster, found guilty, and beheaded on Tower-hill; those of inferior degree were hanged at Tyburn and other places; Aske himself, leaving the court shortly after without licence, was taken and hanged in chains at York, notwithstanding the general pardon which had been granted.

Fortunately for Henry, James V. was in France during these rebellions, so that the insurgents had no assistance from Scotland. James returned home with his young queen, Magdalen, daughter of Francis, whom he had lately espoused, about the beginning of the year; and she dying soon after her arrival in Scotland, cardinal Beaton and Robert Maxwell were sent over to France, to treat of another marriage between James and Mary of Guise, the duke of Longueville's widow, which soon after took place.

Henry was now so flushed with slaughter by the frequent executions carried on by his order and under his eye, that he seemed to take a delight in shedding blood: he ordered Thomas Fitz Gerald, son of the late earl of Kildare, twice lord-deputy of Ireland, and five of his uncles, after a long confinement in the Tower for an insurrection in Ireland, to be executed on the thirtieth of March,

for

for a terror to that people, who he feared would rise and join the emperor against his crown and authority in Ireland: but the earl of Kildare's youngest son, Gerald Fitz Gerald, had the good fortune to make his escape by a stratagem, and got over to France, and from thence to the Low Countries; but finding it unsafe to continue there, he went and offered his service to cardinal Pole, who afterwards made use of him in his designs against his king and country.

The king's next care was so to ruin the affairs of the monks, who had been the principal promoters of the late disturbances, that they might never more be able to give him trouble; and having employed secretary Cromwell to procure addresses from the two universities, setting forth, that the numbers of religious houses still remaining were unprofitable, nay pernicious, to the Christian religion, as tending only to harbour lazy drones and swarms of impostors, he gave orders for a total suppression of many of those houses, and to seize their revenues. The rich abbey of Furness, in Lincolnshire, surrendered on the ninth of April; the abbey of Bermondsey, in Surry, on the first of June: and that of Bisham, in Berkshire, on the fifth of July.

On the twelfth of October, this year, the queen was delivered of a young prince, at Hampton-court, to the inexpressible joy of all the nation, and of Henry in particular. The having a son and undoubted heir to all his dominions, was a blessing which had been the subject of his most ardent wishes; but his satisfaction on this occasion received a considerable check by the death of the queen soon after her delivery: she was the best beloved of all his wives, and highly celebrated for her humility, goodness, and affability. She was buried with great pomp at Windsor. Henry was so afflicted with the loss of her, that, for some days after her death, he shut himself up from all company.

The new-born prince was baptized by the name of Edward; and, three days after, he was declared prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester. To distinguish this happy event the more, sir Edward Seymour, brother to the queen, was created earl of Hertford and lord Beauchamp; sir William Fitz Williams, lord high admiral of England, was created earl of Southampton: some

months after, sir William Paulet, treasurer of the household, was made lord St. John; and sir John Ruffel, comptroller, was created lord Ruffel.

But the birth of a son and heir did not free Henry from the terrors of an invasion which he saw threatening him from the emperor, who had concluded a truce with the king of France, that he might be more at liberty, with all the forces of Spain, Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries, to attack England. The king therefore came to a final resolution of suppressing all the religious houses in his dominions, considering them as seminaries for promoting disaffection to his government, and the monks as subjects to the pope rather than to himself, devoted wholly to the interest of the see of Rome, and using all their endeavours to alienate the minds of the people from their lawful sovereign, and seduce them to an implicit obedience to the papal authority, by continual pretences to false miracles, or other monastic jugglings; and at the same time were themselves ready, on every occasion, to promote and further the schemes of the pope and the emperor against his crown and dignity.

Fearful however, that this measure might occasion some clamours in the nation, he prudently began with removing the prejudices of the people, by exposing the enormities committed in those receptacles of vice and debauchery, and to disabuse them with regard to the supposed sanctity of relics, images, and all other trumpery of superstition: he ordered the commissioners to examine, and, if possible, discover the arts by which the monks imposed upon the ignorance of the vulgar. This second visitation produced a detection of an infinite number of holy cheats, and pretended relics, made use of to encourage superstition rather than devotion in the people, and to draw them into pilgrimages and offerings. The principal of these we have, to satisfy the curiosity of the reader, thrown into a note at the foot of the page*. The discoveries made on this occasion raised a general indignation in all ranks, to find how they had been abused: they detested the authors of such forgeries; the monasteries grew infamous, and thus was the English superstition, in point of images and relics, extinguished.

The multitude of those impositions gave Henry, who wanted to have the great houses dissolved,

* With regard to the implements of idolatry and superstition, Reading seems to have been the grand repository of the nation. There the visitors found an angel with one wing, that brought over the head of the spear that pierced the side of Jesus Christ, with such a catalogue of other relics as filled up four sheets of paper.

At St. Edmundsbury, they discovered some of the coals that roasted St. Laurence; the parings of St. Edmund's toes; the girdle of the Virgin Mary, and some of her milk; the head of St. Ursula; the penknife and boots of St. Thomas a Becket; part of the same saint's shirt, much revered by big-bellied women; and certain relics to prevent a head-ach, and the generation of weeds among corn.

There were likewise discovered in the monasteries, some impostures of a more artificial nature. At Hales, in the county of Gloucester, had been shewn, for several ages, the blood of Christ, pretended to be brought from Jerusalem; and it is natural to think, that this relic would be held in the highest estimation.

This relic was supposed to be attended with a very surprising circumstance: the sacred blood was not visible to any one in mortal sin, even when set before him; and, till he had performed good works sufficient for his absolution, it would not deign to discover itself to his longing eyes.

At the dissolution of the monastery, the whole contrivance was discovered. Two of the monks, who were entrusted with

the secret, had taken the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week; they put it into a phial, one side of which was thin and transparent, and the other thick and obscure. When any rich pilgrim arrived, they were sure to shew him the dark side of the phial, till masses and offerings had expiated his crimes; and then, finding his money, or patience, or faith, exhausted, they blessed him with the happy sight, by turning the bright side of the phial.

There was a crucifix at Boxley in Kent, distinguished by the name of the Rood of Grace, which had been long held in the highest veneration, because it had been seen to bend and raise itself, shake the head, hands, and feet, roll the eyes, and move the lips. The puppet, being brought to London, was broke in pieces, in sight of the people, at St. Paul's cross, where with their own eyes, they beheld the springs and wheels by which it had been actuated.

A great wooden idol of Wales, called Daryel Gatheren, was brought up to London, and cut in pieces: and, by a cruel refinement of vengeance, it was employed as fuel to burn friar Forrest, who was condemned for denying the supremacy, and some heretical opinions.

A finger of St. Andrew, covered with a thin plate of silver, had been pawned by the convent of Westacre, for a debt of forty pounds; but as the king's commissioners refused to redeem the pledge, the people made merry with the poor creditor, on account of his security.

vast advantages, as it is natural to think that the religious of monasteries where they were carried on, would submit to any thing rather than be exposed, and might easily be brought to surrender their houses, to avoid the punishment they deserved. Such impurities and disorders were found in many as would surpass credibility, if not unexceptionably attested; and some were so notoriously guilty, that they signed concessions of the dissoluteness of their lives and conversation. A great number of monks, and even some abbots and friars, were found guilty of holding correspondence with the rebels, and executed as traitors; and the rest, as they had now no privileges to screen them from the civil judicature, were glad to compound for their offences by a surrender of their monasteries. On one or other of these accounts, no less than one hundred and fifty-nine monasteries were resigned in the course of the year 1538 into the king's hands; and the example continually gained ground, so that hardly a week passed without some new surrender.

Whilst Henry was thus employed in rooting out superstition and burning images the most in repute for peculiar virtues and wonder working properties, he could not well overlook the most famous and respected of all the instruments of popish idolatry, the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Becket was indebted for his saintship to the vigorous efforts he had exerted in defence of the authority of the holy see, and therefore it may be readily conceived how obnoxious to Henry a saint of this character must appear, and how contrary to all his schemes of abolishing the power of the pontiff of Rome: he could not bear the thoughts that such a furious and obstinate rebel to his prince should be held in such veneration, and his tomb frequented by such numerous pilgrimages, and enriched with such superb presents. Processions were in those days carried on against the dead in the same manner as against the living: the like form was used towards Becket; his life and actions underwent a strict examination, and were generally condemned; the miracles pretended to be wrought at his tomb were proved to be forgeries; his name was ordered to be erased from the calendar, the office for his festival expunged from the breviary, his bones to be burnt, and his ashes dispersed. At the same time the riches of his shrine, which were inestimable, were converted to the king's use: among other things there was a very fine diamond, which Lewis VII. of France, who made a pilgrimage to this saint's remains, had deposited at his tomb, was by Henry's orders set in a ring, which he ever after wore on his thumb. Thus did Henry at once indulge his two darling passions, avarice and revenge, by enriching himself with the spoils, and uncanonizing a prelate whom the papal power had, for his insolence to his king, raised to be a saint.

The news of these proceedings no sooner reached Rome, than that city was filled with libels and satires against the person and conduct of Henry: he was represented as the most impious and sacrilegious tyrant that ever disgraced the royal title or dignity: he was compared to Belshazzar, Nero, Domitian, Dioclesian, and in particular to Julian the Apostate, whom he was said to resemble in his learning and apostacy, though greatly inferior in point of morals.

In these invectives, which were handed about all over Europe, cardinal Pole's style was easily distinguished. Henry, whose vanity and bloody disposition increased every day, resolved to avenge himself for these gross insults on all the friends of Pole in England, and the more especially as the emissaries he kept at the court of Rome informed him, that all the intelligence from England was addressed to the cardinal. He ordered Courtney, marquis of Exeter (who was son to Catherine, daughter to Edward IV.), Pole, lord Montague, sir Edward Neville, brother to lord Abergavenny, and sir Geoffrey Pole, to be arrested for corresponding with that prelate, who, being found guilty, were all beheaded except sir Geoffrey Pole, who, having turned evidence against the rest, had his pardon. These were shocking severities; but, indeed, if it was duly proved that the sufferers held a correspondence with Pole, Henry is not so blameable, since it is certain that at this time Pole was the pope's agent to stir up not only England, but all Europe, against Henry.

Pope Paul III. had hitherto suspended the bull of excommunication, which he had formerly passed against Henry, in hopes of being one day able to accommodate his difference with that monarch; but finding that the late proceedings in England had shut the door against all reconciliation, he, on the seventeenth of December this year, published the bull with great solemnity, and endeavoured to excite the neighbouring princes against the English monarch, and even offered his kingdom to James of Scotland, provided he was able and willing to subdue it: and his agents found means to affix this bull in several places, both in France, Scotland, and Ireland. Henry, unterrified by this mock thunder, resolved to set his holiness at defiance: with this view he exacted of all bishops and abbots a new oath, by which they renounced the pope's authority: and a new translation of the Bible, which had been undertaken at the instance of Cranmer and Cromwell (who thought nothing could so effectually root out papal superstition as a free toleration of the scriptures in the vulgar tongue), being completed, he ordered copies thereof to be immediately printed, and set up in every church, at the joint expence of the incumbent and parishioners; and at the same time Cromwell obtained the royal warrant, enjoining the clergy to read the Lord's Prayer, the Confession of Faith, and the Ten Commandments in English: they were ordered to recommend good works, and to teach the people that relics, rosaries, and all other trumpery of the like nature, were unnecessary to salvation. All the images, to which devotees were accustomed to make offerings, were removed; all the tapers were taken away out of the churches, except those that burned before the images of Christ; and all the invocations of "Ora pro nobis" (Pray for us), added to the prayers addressed to saints, were entirely abolished.

Much about the same time, viz. the beginning of the year 1539, the king having understood that there was a learned man, named Lambert, who denied the real presence in the sacrament, to which Henry was blindly devoted, notwithstanding that it is, of all the absurdities of the Romish church, the most absurd and ridiculous; this vain monarch thought he had found a fine opportunity

portunity where he could at once exercise his supremacy and display his learning, resolved to have the glory of disputing with this reformer, who had appealed from a sentence given against him by archbishop Cranmer. Public notice was accordingly given, that the king designed to enter the lists against this school-master, for he was of no higher degree, and scaffolds were erected in Westminster-hall for the accommodation of the audience, without any regard had to the injustice of thus mixing the disputant and the judge. The end of this disputation was, that Henry gave his antagonist his choice, either to recant his opinion, or to be burned: Lambert nobly made choice of the latter, and the king had the mean cruelty to order him to be executed, which was inflicted upon him with the greatest rigour.

But a parliamentary sanction was now required, as well to confirm what had been done, as to establish future measures: accordingly, on the twenty-eighth of April, the parliament sat, whom Henry found still complying in every thing; and, among many remarkable statutes, it was enacted,

“That the king, for the time being, with the advice of his council, or the more part of them, may set forth proclamations, under such penalties and pains as to him and them shall seem necessary, which shall be observed as though they were made by act of parliament: but this shall not be prejudicial to any person's inheritance, offices, liberties, goods, chattels, or life. And whosoever shall willingly offend any article contained in the said proclamation, shall pay such forfeiture, or be so long imprisoned, as shall be expressed in the said proclamation. And if any offending will depart the realm, to the intent he will not answer his said offence, he shall be adjudged a traitor.”

By another act, the king was empowered to nominate such a number of bishops, fees for bishops, cathedral churches, and endow them with such possessions as he will. By another act the order of the house of lords was regulated: Cromwell, as king's vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters, was to have the precedency of both archbishops. It was likewise enacted, “That all leases made of manors belonging to monasteries dissolved, or to be dissolved, and assured to the king, should take effect; wherein is expressed, that the king should possess and enjoy to him, his heirs, and successors, for ever, all monasteries, abbeys, priories, nunneries, colleges, hospitals, houses of friars, or other religious and ecclesiastical houses and places, which, since the fourth of February, 27 Henry VIII. have been dissolved, suppressed, renounced, relinquished, forfeited, given up, or by any other means come to his highness; or which shall be dissolved, &c. as also all manors, lordships, lands, tenements, rights, liberties, &c. belonging to them; all which (except such as came by attainder or treason) should be under survey and governance of the king's court of augmentation of the revenues of the crown; other mens titles yet saved.”

In this parliament a committee of religion was appointed, upon the lord-chancellor's motion, shewing it to be the king's desire to have all his subjects of one religion. The members of the committee were the lord vice gerent, Cromwell, the two archbishops, the bishops of Durham, Bath and Wells, Ely, Bangor, Carlisle, and Worcester. The archbishop of Canterbury,

the bishops of Ely and Worcester, and Cromwell, were on one side; and the debates were so violent, that on the sixteenth of May, the duke of Norfolk told the lords, that the committee had made no progress, and that therefore he would take the liberty to offer to the house certain articles to be debated on, and, if approved, to pass into the form of a perpetual law. These articles were as follow.

“First, If any person, by word, writing, printing, cyphering, or any otherwise, do preach, teach, dispute, or hold opinion, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, under form of bread and wine (after the consecration thereof), there is not present really the natural body and blood of our saviour Jesus Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary; or that, after the said consecration, there remaineth any substance of bread and wine, or any other substance but the substance of Christ, God and man, or that in the flesh under form of bread, is not the very blood of Christ; or that the blood, under form of wine, is not the very flesh of Christ as well apart as though they were both together, or affirm the said sacrament to be of other substance than is aforesaid, or deprave the said blessed sacrament, then he shall be adjudged an heretic, and suffer death by burning, and shall forfeit to the kings all lands, tenements, hereditaments, goods, and chattels, as in case of high-treason.

“Secondly, And if any person preach, in any sermon or collection openly made, or teach in any common school or congregation, or obstinately affirm or defend, that the communion of the blessed sacrament in both kinds is necessary for the health of man's soul, or ought, or should be administered in both kinds, or that it is necessary to be received by any person other than the priest, being at mass and consecrating the same:

“Thirdly, Or that any man, after the order of priesthood received, may marry, or contract matrimony:

“Fourthly, Or that any man or woman which advisedly hath vowed, or professed, or should avow or profess chastity or widowhood, may marry, or contract marriage:

“Fifthly, Or that private masses be not lawful, or not laudable, or should not be used, or be not agreeable to the laws of God:

“Sixthly, Or that auricular confession is not expedient and necessary to be used in the church of God; he shall be adjudged to suffer death, and forfeit lands and goods as a felon.”

These articles, before they passed into the form of a law, admitted of great debates. The third and fourth pointed directly at Cranmer, who spoke greatly against all but the first, he being himself a Lutheran. As to the other articles, they were matter of private speculation, but against Cranmer's sense. They were, however, carried into a most bloody and detestable law, and Henry himself took great pains in drawing up and correcting them into the form we see them here. At the same time the chancellor moved for a bill to be brought in, for punishing such as disputed against those articles: the archbishop of York, the bishops of Durham and Winchester, with Dr. Tregonwell, a master in chancery, had the drawing up of this bill, which was more to Henry's liking than one which had been presented by the other party. On the seventh of June it was brought into the house, and had a first reading; on the ninth it was read a second time;

time; on the tenth it was engrossed, and read a third time. Bishop Burnet, who was a great favourer of Cranmer, says, that when it passed the house of peers, Henry himself desired Cranmer to leave the house, as he could not in conscience vote for the bill, but that Cranmer replied "He could as little in conscience vote against it," and therefore staid for that purpose.

The title of this act was, "An act for abolishing diversity of opinions in certain articles concerning the Christian religion." It appears from the preamble to the act, in which the articles are rehearsed, that Henry himself was present at every day's debate, and made a great parade of his learning in the house of peers, so that the parliament gave him public thanks. After rehearsing the articles, which we have already seen, it is enacted, "that if any, after the twelfth of July, did speak, preach, or write, against the first article, they were to be judged heretics, and to be burned, without any abjuration, and to forfeit their real and personal estates to the king: and those who preached, or obstinately disputed against the other articles, were to be judged felons, and to suffer death as felons without benefit of the clergy: and those who, either in word or writing, spoke against them, were to be prisoners during the king's pleasure, and forfeit their goods and chattels to the king for the first time; and if they offend so the second time, they were to suffer as felons. All the marriages of priests are declared void; and if any priest did still keep any such woman, whom he had so married, and lived familiarly with her as his wife, he was to be judged a felon: and if a priest lived carnally with any other woman, he was, upon the first conviction, to forfeit his benefices, goods, and chattels, and to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure; and upon the second conviction, to suffer as a felon. The women so offending were also to be punished in the same manner as the priests. And those who contemned, or abstained from confession, or the sacrament, at the accustomed times, for the first offence were to forfeit their goods and chattels, and be imprisoned; and for the second, were to be adjudged of felony. And for the execution of this act, commissions were to be issued out to all archbishops and bishops, and the chancellors and commissaries, and such others in the several shires, as the king should name, to hold their sessions quarterly, or oftener; and they were to proceed upon presentments and by a jury. Those commissioners were to swear, that they should execute their commission indifferently, without favour, affection, corruption, or malice: all ecclesiastical incumbents were to read this act in their churches once a quarter. And in the end a proviso was added, concerning the vows of chastity, that they should not oblige any, except such as had taken them at or above the age of twenty-one years, or had not been compelled to take them."

Such were the detestable articles which opened in England the flood-gates of civil murder: and now the reader is to expect, during the remainder of this reign, to meet with barbarities committed under the forms of justice, as detestable as any to be met with in profane history, and under the most bloody tyrants. Cranmer alone had the good fortune to weather the storm of Henry's indignation,

for his opposition to the articles; but he thought proper to send his wife, whom he had married in Germany, back for some time to her own country. The countess of Salisbury, cardinal Pole (her son), the marchioness of Exeter, sir Adrian Fortescue, and sir Thomas Dingley, were attainted of treason, as accomplices with the late marquis of Exeter: the countess of Salisbury, though seventy years of age, behaved with great spirit; but upon her trial a correspondence between her and her son was proved, some of the pope's bulls were found in her house, and she was convicted of not suffering any servant about her to comply with the alteration introduced by the king into religion. Fortescue and Dingley were executed, as the countess was two years after; but the marchioness died a natural death, and the cardinal kept out of Henry's reach. It appears that Cromwell drove on those prosecutions very furiously, and asked the judges for their opinions, whether a man might be attainted in parliament without being brought to make an answer? The judges answered, "That the parliament being the supreme judicature, whatever it did was law, and could not be questioned:" by this answer abolishing that sacred distinction between an absolute and arbitrary power.

All the religious houses throughout England, to the number of six hundred and forty-five, were by this time suppressed, either by surrender, purchase, or forfeiture, ninety colleges had been demolished, two thousand three hundred and seventy four chantries, and one hundred and ten hospitals*; but all this had been done without the authority of parliament, it was therefore necessary to have its concurrence and sanction, which was easily obtained; and Henry having formed a scheme for erecting several new bishoprics, and for endowing them with the lands of dissolved monasteries, an act passed for enabling him to execute this design. He proposed to found sixteen, but having disposed too lavishly of the lands destined at first for their endowment, he erected only six bishoprics, viz. of Westminster, Chester, Oxford, Bristol, Gloucester, and Peterborough. There were libraries well furnished with books in several of the abbeys, and, out of the great regard he had for learning, he employed the famous antiquary John Leland to collect all the most valuable manuscripts and choicest monuments of antiquity that were left in those houses. He also proposed several other noble foundations, particularly of a college for the study of the civil law, the purity of the Latin and French languages, and the knowledge of foreign affairs, to serve as a seminary for ministers of state and ambassadors to foreign courts. There could not be a more favourable opportunity for effecting these useful schemes than what now offered, but Henry's own prodigality, and the rapaciousness of his courtiers, prevented this and others of his best designs.

The parliament having thus servilely complied with all that Henry could ask, and having sat to the twenty eighth of June, was then prorogued to the third of November, afterwards to the fourteenth of January, and again to the twelfth of April, in the ensuing year, when it sat again to do business; but in the interim there fell out several events which deserve to be related.

* The yearly value of all the suppressed houses amounted to one hundred and sixty-one thousand one hundred pounds, be-

sides the money which arose from the materials of the houses, from plate, jewels, and church-ornaments.

As soon as the parliament broke up, the six bloody articles were vigorously executed; commissioners were appointed in every county to detect any who should be hardy enough to disobey them. Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury, and Latimer, bishop of Worcester, resigned their sees rather than subscribe to them; but this expedient did not deliver them from the persecution now raised against all recusants: they were accused of having spoken against the articles, and therefore were immediately committed to the Tower, after they had resigned their instruments into the king's hands: the strong personal friendship which Henry had for Cranmer, preserved that prelate from the same treatment, though he had not only openly opposed them in the house, but even spoke and wrote against them.

The king's will was now become the sole measure of the law, because both the protestant and popish party cultivated his favour with the most abject complaisance: Bonner, lately made bishop of London, though in secret a zealous partizan of the pope's power, managed his interest with such dexterity, that he obtained letters patent adjudging to him the spiritualities as well as the temporalities of his bishopric during the king's pleasure: and Gardiner, a most bigotted son of the Romish church, maintained his influence by the most extravagant submission and profound dissimulation.

On the other hand, Cranmer and Cromwell, alarmed at the bloody statutes and several other proceedings of Henry, which seemed to denote his attachment to the catholic faith, and finding their credit begin to decline, thought there was no method so effectual to recover their influence as that of persuading the king to espouse another wife, upon whose protection they could depend. With this view they cast their eyes upon Anne, daughter to the duke of Cleves, and younger sister to the duchess of Saxony. Henry was so well pleased with this proposal, when made to him, that he employed Cromwell to negotiate the marriage: the famous Hans Holbein was ordered to draw the lady's picture, and did it so flatteringly, that Henry grew fond of her at distance; in short, the negotiation went so briskly on that the match was concluded in a few weeks; and the old duke of Cleves dying in the mean while, a counter-marriage was proposed between the princess Mary of England and the young duke of Cleves; but though this marriage did not take effect, the earl of Southampton (Fitz Williams) was ordered, in November, to go with a fleet of fifty ships to bring over the new queen, who about the end of December this year arrived in England.

While this matter was transacting, and some time before, Henry foreseeing a rupture between the emperor and the Protestants of Germany, sent new ambassadors to the league of Smalcald to encourage them in their opposition to the house of Austria, and to promise he would engage in their association; but they perceiving his only drift was to amuse them and intimidate the emperor by means of a negotiation with his enemies, they frankly gave the English monarch to understand that they would not unite with him on any other terms than that of his accepting the Augsburg Confession of Faith. They said, they had heard, with great mortification, of his persecuting their brethren in his kingdom, and in particular complained of the

law of the six articles, the injustice of which Melancthon explained to him in a submissive letter. Henry was shocked at the freedom of their expostulation; and Gardiner, who dreaded, as a fatal blow to the catholic religion, an alliance between Henry and the protestant princes, by flattering his master's vanity effectually kept alive his resentment.

Towards the end of this year the inhabitants of Ghent mutinied, and offered to acknowledge the French king for their sovereign, if he would protect them from the resentment of the emperor. But Francis rejected their proposal, which he communicated to Charles, who had by this time amused him so effectually with the promise of restoring to him the duchy of Milan, that he ventured to pass through his dominions on the faith of a simple safe-conduct, and even visited him at Paris, where he was received with the same honours which the French paid to their own sovereign.

It was at this very period that Anne of Cleves arrived in England; and the union of this princess with Henry would, in all probability, have totally frustrated all the attempts of Gardiner and the rest of the popish party for the future, had she answered the beauty and great character given of her by her friends; but when Henry, all impatience to see his consort, of whom he had entertained so high an idea, beheld her on her arrival at Rochester, whither he went for that purpose, he was so disappointed, that he is said to have sworn in a rage, "that they had brought over a Flanders mare to him." However gross and indelicate his expressions might be, his behaviour was more decent, for next day he made her a private visit. This lady is allowed on all hands to have possessed a great sweetness of temper, but as her person was far from being delicate, as she had a masculine turn and floridness of features, could speak nothing but German, which Henry did not understand, and was extremely defective in all the winning graces of behaviour and conversation, he conceived an incurable aversion for her, and even then would abruptly have broken off the match, had not his affairs at home required the friendship and alliance of the German princes, her relations; these considerations, which were urged very home by Cranmer and Cromwell, made him at length consent to proceed in the marriage, but with so visible a reluctance, as made Cromwell and all his party tremble.

On the sixth of January, 1540, the marriage was celebrated, but it served only to encrease Henry's dislike into downright loathing: he told Cromwell next morning, that he suspected the queen was no maid, and that he could never conquer his aversion to so disagreeable a partner as she was; and there the matter rested for some time.

Henry still continuing to be alarmed at the close connection that appeared to subsist between the king of France and the emperor, immediately upon Charles's departure from the French court, sent over the duke of Norfolk with very great proposals to Francis, if he would break with the emperor: he offered him his assistance for recovering Milan, to discharge all the arrears of his pension, and to enter into a strict league with him, both against the pope and the house of Austria: but Francis, who still flattered himself that Charles would perform his promises to him, rejected all the duke's proposals. The French monarch, however, was the

the dupe of the dependence he placed on the emperor, for that prince no sooner got into his own dominions than he made several shuffling excuses in relation to bestowing on Francis the investiture of Milan; and at last, having suppressed the insurrection of Ghent, flatly denied his having made any such promise.

The parliament meeting on the twelfth of April, Cromwell opened the sessions with a speech, in which he informed the two houses, that the king, in order to terminate all disputes about religion, had appointed commissioners to examine the contested articles, that a standard of faith might be established upon the word of God alone; and that after the truth should be thus made known to his people, he was resolved to punish with the utmost severity all those who should presume to prefer their own opinions to the established articles of belief. Those commissioners, being approved by the parliament, received orders to begin their enquiry without delay: and in the mean time the king created Cromwell earl of Essex, upon the death of Bouchier by a fall from his horse, and all the estate of that ancient and noble family went along with the title*.

But he did not long enjoy these smiles of fortune and of his prince's favour; for on the parliament's breaking up, which was prorogued to the twenty-fifth of May, the duke of Norfolk, Gardiner, and the rest of the popish party, resolved to work his ruin, hoping that his fall would facilitate a reconciliation with the pope, which Cromwell always opposed. They did not, however, chuse to make this attack abruptly, but contrived to throw Catherine Howard (daughter to the lord Edmund Howard, the duke's brother), a beautiful young lady, in the king's way, who was still fretting at his disappointment with Anne of Cleves, knowing very well, that if the young lady could gain his affections, there would be no hazard in the attempt upon the obnoxious minister. Gardiner, at once the priest and the pander, took upon him the management of this affair. Catherine was brought to court; the king liked her, and the bishop made frequent entertainments at his own house for the royal lover and his mistress; and Henry was so pleased with her company, that she won his consent to marry her.

This new affection in Henry consequently raised the duke of Norfolk's and Gardiner's credit high in the cabinet; and the king, thinking himself in no necessity to continue his negotiations with the German protestant powers, in which Cromwell served him chiefly, grew more and more cool towards that minister, and seemed pleased to hear any thing to his disadvantage: the duke and the bishop, eagerly bent upon his destruction, let slip no opportunity of blackening him in Henry's opinion. They represented to him, that the kingdom in general was dissatisfied with his minister, who, they believed, had abused his majesty's confidence; that as these complaints and murmurings were chiefly about religion, under the direction of the vicegerent, it would be prudent to satisfy the people by examining his conduct strictly, and even to sacrifice him, in order to ensure tranquility. In

short, these and the like insinuations had such an effect on Henry, that he resolved the ruin of this too faithful servant, that he might make a merit of offering a sacrifice to the public resentment. This resolution, however, was kept so secret, that, unsuspecting any thing, the destined victim came to the council-board on the thirteenth of June, where the duke of Norfolk, by Henry's order, arrested him for high-treason; and he was sent prisoner to the Tower, where he experienced the common fate of all degraded ministers. He was no sooner seized, but forsaken by all but his friend Cranmer, who alone ventured to write to the king in his favour, though to no purpose; for the unfortunate Cromwell, without being heard in his own defence, was, by a bill of attainder, found guilty of divers heresies and treasons, and condemned to suffer the pains of death, as the king should think proper to direct.

The fall of Cromwell was immediately followed by the dissolution of the marriage of Henry and his new wife; a dissolution which he had almost from her first arrival wished for, not only on account of his aversion to her person, but because he was by this time become enamoured of Catherine Howard, as already mentioned. The whole house of lords, with a committee of the commons, waited upon the king with an address, desiring he would order trial to be made of the validity of his marriage; and Henry complying with their request (which he himself, indeed, put them upon making), a commission was granted for trying it in convocation. They forthwith proceeded to the examination of witnesses, including the depositions of the king, the members of the privy-council, a declaration under the hand of Cromwell, signed in the Tower, the evidence of the earl of Southampton, sir Anthony Denny, Dr. Chambers and Dr. Butts the queen's physicians, and some of the ladies of the bed-chamber. The substance of the whole amounted to these particulars: that there had been a precontract between the queen and the marquis of Lorraine; that it did not appear whether these espousals were made by the parties themselves, or in words of the present tense; that the king, having married her against his will, had not given a pure, inward, and complete consent; and that he had never consummated the marriage.

These frivolous objections were strongly insisted on by the popish party; and Cranmer, being influenced by the fear of irrecoverably losing the king's favour, yielded his assent, so that the convocation unanimously adjudged the marriage null; and on the ninth day of July sentence was given for its dissolution. On the tenth this sentence was notified to both houses, by whom it was approved. Then the king sent the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Southampton, and the bishop of Winchester, to intimate the transaction to Anne of Cleves, who expressed no sort of dissatisfaction at the divorce. They told her, the king would, by letters patent, declare her his adopted sister, and give her precedence before all the ladies of England, except his own wife and daughters; that an estate of three thousand pounds per annum should be allotted for her maintenance; and that she might either live in England, or return to her own country. She chose

* In this session the order of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem was suppressed, on account of their dependence upon the pope and the emperor, and all their effects in England and Ireland confiscated for the use of the king, who allotted three

thousand pounds yearly for their maintenance. About this time also Henry put three hospitals, those of St. George, St. Bartholomew, and St. Thomas, together with a new abbey on Tower-hill, into the hands of the city of London.

the former, and was even prevailed upon to write a letter to her brother, the duke of Cleves, the purport of which was, to acquaint him, that she had been most tenderly and generously treated by the king, whom she could not justly have as her husband; and conjuring him not to suffer any thing that had happened to her, to break the good understanding that subsisted between the two courts. Every thing being thus settled, a bill was brought the next day, being the twelfth of July, into parliament, where it passed both houses, for annulling the king's marriage with the queen: by this act the marriage was declared void, and it was made high-treason to judge or believe otherwise*. And here we must observe, that no one could have had the impudence to make use of such reasons as Henry did to bring about the divorce, without being very sure that those to whom they were offered, would be mean enough to allow their validity. The bands of justice and shame had been long broken through, and both clergy and parliament made no scruple of complying with every thing he thought proper to enjoin.

The parliament then proceeded to pass some other acts, viz. for the attainder of the lord Hungerford and several other persons, accused of plotting against the government and being sacramentarians; for the regulating sanctuaries, and reducing their number; for repealing the penalty of death denounced by the statute of the Six Articles against incontinent priests and their women; for confirming what should be declared to be Christian doctrine by the bishops and divines, empowered by the king's commission to draw up a book intituled the *Erudition of a Christian man*; for erecting a court of wards, and another of the first-fruits and tenths; with others of too special a nature to have a place here.

But we cannot avoid taking particular notice of an act passed at this time, which declared that all marriages should be firm and good, notwithstanding any precontract, not actually carried into consummation. This was a very extraordinary act at this time, after two of Henry's own marriages had been dissolved under the pretence of an unconsummated contract, so that it obliquely condemned the proceedings in both divorces: but we are to remember, that he had a daughter living by Anne Boleyn, whose legitimacy this act justified. The same act mentions, "that all marriages shall be lawful when not within the degrees of kindred mentioned by the law of God." This, no doubt, was made with a view to make way for Henry's marriage with Catherine Howard, who was within the degree of relation prohibited by the canon-law, being cousin-german to Anne Boleyn. The last act of this parliament was a general free pardon of all heresies, treasons, felonies, and offences, but with some exceptions, of which number were Cromwell, the countess of Salisbury, mother to cardinal Pole, and others then in prison†.

As Cromwell's execution had been deferred, he was in some hopes of obtaining his pardon, and the more, as having written the king a very submissive letter: his majesty was so moved therewith, that he caused it to be thrice read over to him; but the solicitations of Norfolk and Gardiner, seconded by those of Catherine Howard, who acted in their fa-

vour, rendered the endeavours of the prisoner or his friends fruitless: a minister in disgrace finds few persons generous enough to intercede in his behalf; Cranmer was the only one who discharged the part of a true friend. On this occasion he wrote a very pathetic letter to Henry, interceding for the unhappy Cromwell, declaring his firm belief of his innocence from any disloyal meaning, and even went so far as to wish that Henry might find another counsellor equal to him in capacity, diligence, and fidelity: but the fallen favourite's ruin being resolved on, the king signed a warrant for beheading him on the twenty-eighth of July.

When he was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill, his regard for his son hindered him from expatiating upon his own innocence: he thanked God for bringing him to that death for his transgressions: he acknowledged his offences against God and his prince, who had raised him from a low degree; confessed that he had been seduced, but that now he died in the catholic faith: then he desired the bystanders to pray for the king, the prince, and for himself: and having spent a little time at his own private devotion, submitted his neck to the executioner, who mangled him in a most shocking manner. However, the care he had taken in his last moments to say nothing that might offend the king, turned to the advantage of his son Gregory, who was, a few months afterwards, created a peer, by the title of lord Cromwell: the office of vicar-general died with Cromwell, no one desiring a post so obnoxious to envy, and so fatal to the first possessor. It now remains to say somewhat concerning the rise and character of this great minister.

Thomas Cromwell was born at Putney, in Surry, about five miles from London; his father was no better than a country blacksmith; but he being blessed with a sprightly genius and a ready capacity to learn languages, acquired so great reputation in the art of war under the duke of Bourbon, whom he accompanied at the sacking of Rome in 1527, and skill in the modern tongues, and interests of the states through which he travelled, as, upon his return, recommended him to the favour and service of cardinal Wolsey. He was retained in the cardinal's service in quality of a solicitor, and discharged that office with so much integrity, resolution, and gratitude to his patron, that, after the cardinal's disgrace and death, the king, notwithstanding he had opposed him, by defending his matter in the house of commons against the articles of impeachment, esteemed him a proper agent for himself in more important affairs, and voluntarily retained him in his service. Mr. Cromwell soon improved the royal favour to his own advantage, for the king, who took a pleasure in raising men of low birth to great honours, being highly satisfied with the management of the affairs committed to him, declared him a privy-counsellor and master of the jewel-house, in 1531; and next year raised him to be clerk of the hanaper and chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1534, he was appointed principal secretary of state and master of the Rolls; and in 1535, he was created visitor general, to inspect the estates and abuses of the monks, friars, and nuns, in order to the suppression of their houses; he was afterwards nominated the king's vicar-general over all the spiritualities under his majesty

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 282.

† See Stat. 32 Hen. VIII.

as supreme head of the church; in virtue of which commission he had the superintendency of all the bishops and secular as well as regular clergy in the kingdom. On the second of July, 1536, he was sworn in lord-keeper of the privy-seal; and on the ninth of the same month was advanced to the dignity of a baron of England, with the style and title of lord Cromwell, baron of Oakham, in the county of Rutland. In 1537, he accepted of the office of chief-justice itinerant of all the forests beyond Trent; and the twenty-sixth of August, in the same year, he was honoured with the Garter. In 1538 he obtained the constablership of Carisbroke castle, in the Isle of Wight, besides many other grants from the crown, and a grant of the castle and lordship of Oakham. In 1540, on the seventeenth of April, he was created earl of Essex, and soon after he was made lord high-chamberlain of England.

Cromwell's chief fault was an excess of obsequiousness to the king's pleasure, the effect of an inordinate zeal for his master's service: in other respects he is scarce sufficiently to be admired for his prodigious parts, excellent judgment, infinite application to business, wonderful dexterity in managing affairs, great moderation in the exercise of his authority, calmness of temper in his dealings with all persons, and under provocations sufficient to ruffle the sedatest persons, an uncommon generosity and nobleness of mind, notwithstanding the meanness of his extraction, and for an unexampled condescension in the height of his pomp, vouchsafing to take notice of his old acquaintance, and shew his gratitude for favours received.

Some few days after Cromwell's death, Henry gave a terrible instance of that cruelty which seemed to have taken possession of his soul: papists and reformers were alike the objects of this infernal passion, and suffered in the same flames. Dr. Barnes, who had made a figure in an embassy to the German princes, Thomas Gerard, a reforming minister, and a favourite with the late queen Anne, and William Jerom, vicar of Stepney, who had been, unheard, attainted of heresy by the parliament, and were now condemned to the stake; but when they came there, neither they nor the sheriff knew for what they suffered. Along with them were executed Gregory Buttolph, Adam Damp-lip, Edmund Brinholme, and Clement Philpot (all bigotted papists), for denying the king's supremacy.

On the eighth of August Catherine Howard was declared queen of England, having been for some time privately married to Henry. By this marriage the popish interest was strengthened, and that party made a strong push at Cranmer; but Henry's affection for him was so unmoveable that the plot miscarried: though it is highly probable, that, had not the queen's interest been broken by her incontinency, Cranmer would have followed Cromwell.

All this time Henry was intent upon the reformation he proposed in religion; the commissioners appointed to draw up a declaration of the Christian doctrine, under the title of the Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man, presented their book to the king, who ordered it to be immediately published, and it was, by the royal authority, recommended to all persons as a rule for directing their belief and practice. Of the contents

of this book, we shall have occasion to speak in another place.

About the end of this year there were some beginnings of a misunderstanding between Francis and Henry, which at length terminated in a war. Francis had ordered a fortress to be built at Ardres, and a bridge to be made over to the English pale. But the lord Maltravers, governor of Calais, not suffering this encroachment, sent a detachment of his garrison, and beat down the bridge. The French rebuilt it, and the English demolished it a second time: whereupon Francis ordering the marshal de Biez to raise troops in Picardy in order to support the operations of his people, Henry sent a reinforcement to the garrison of Calais, under the command of Henry Howard, earl of Surry, William FitzWilliams, earl of Southampton, and John, lord Ruffel, who also took with them fifteen hundred workmen, to repair the walls and fortification of Guisnes. But the two kings, willing to avoid a rupture on so slight an occasion, it was agreed to name commissioners for ending all differences: the earl of Hertford and sir Edward Karne were appointed by Henry; but, after repeated meetings with the French commissioners, neither party receiving any satisfaction, each provided for their defence in case of an attack.

Francis was much on the same terms with the emperor, who, after refusing to perform his promise in regard to his giving up to Francis the Milanese, had offered his eldest daughter in marriage to the duke of Orleans, with Flanders to her fortune; with the title of king; but Francis, who followed his humour or resentment rather than the maxims of good policy, was resolved to accept of no equivalent for the Milanese, which he considered as his lawful inheritance: this revived the animosity between those princes to a higher degree than ever; and Francis soon had new provocation given him, for having sent ambassadors to the courts of Constantinople and Venice, as they sailed down the Po in a boat, they were assassinated by the orders of the marquis del Vasco, governor of Milan. The French king complained loudly of this outrage, for which, however, Charles refused to give him satisfaction. A war now appeared unavoidable, and both sides prepared for it, fortifying themselves with new alliances; but Francis not being ready, and the emperor engaged in an expedition against Algiers, it did not break out for some time. Such was the general state of things at the end of the year 1540.

But, before we proceed to the transactions which mark the succeeding year, it will be necessary to take notice, that the reformation intended in England, had, by Henry's orders, been carried over to Ireland, where it met with strong opposition from the papists; but in a parliament held at Dublin, in December, 1537, under the lord Grey, who was appointed by Henry his lieutenant in that kingdom, the king's supremacy was there established in the same manner as in England, and the bishop of Rome's authority abolished: but the efforts which the government made for this purpose were so generally disgustful to the people, that it appears, by a letter from Brown, archbishop of Dublin, to secretary Cromwell, that there was a very dangerous correspondence carried on betwixt the native Irish and the Romish powers on the continent. This broke out, in the year 1539, into a general insurrection,

rection under O Neil, who professed himself a champion for the old religion; but the deputy (lord Grey) being assisted by some English forces, sent from Cheshire, defeated the rebels in a pitched battle, which restored the peace of the country for some time. The lord Grey's enemies, however, prevailed on Henry, this year (1540), to send him to the Tower, on a charge of malversation and treasonable correspondence, and he suffered death in the beginning of the ensuing year.

We now return to the affairs of England, where Henry, being alarmed by frequent insurrections from the popish faction, especially in the North, resolved to strike a terror into their minds, by making them a bloody visit in person: he accordingly, in the beginning of the year 1541, gave orders for a progress into Yorkshire. But, before his setting out, the old countess of Salisbury, then upwards of seventy, was, without the least regard to her sex, high rank, or years, brought to the scaffold, on the twenty-seventh of May, for holding a correspondence with her son, cardinal Pole. The fate of this unhappy princess, who underwent her sentence with unparalleled magnanimity, drew tears from every eye but those of the obdurate Henry.

This execution, or rather barbarous murder being over, Henry set out on his progress for the North, where the terror of his presence struck all opposition dead at his feet. The people of Lincolnshire, who had been lately unruly, sought to appease his anger by a sum of money, which they offered as a propitiation for their misdemeanors; and the Yorkshiremen imitated their example: Henry accepted of the commutation, and, after a few executions of those who had been most active in raising disturbances, took the rest into his favour. And now reflecting, that by his late proceedings he had exposed himself to the resentment of all the catholic princes of Europe, who would not fail to take the first opportunity of making him feel the effect of their vengeance, he resolved, if possible, to strengthen his alliance with his nephew, James V. of Scotland, that, in case of a rupture with any other potentate, he might at least be secure from any attempts on his dominions from so near a neighbour.

With this view he sent sir Ralph Sadler to Edinburgh, to propose to James an interview at York; but cardinal Beaton, and the rest of the Scottish prelates, took care to prevent a meeting, which they imagined would prove fatal to the clergy of Scotland: they were apprehensive that Henry might, in a personal conference, prevail upon his nephew to take the same steps with himself, by seizing the monasteries and other ecclesiastical emoluments into his own hands; and therefore they used not only all the credit which they had with their master, as being his ministers, and employed by him in all his affairs, but also made him the largest promises, to divert him from entering into an engagement with Henry. James, tempted by the assurance of thirty thousand crowns a year to be duly paid him by the clergy, who were ready in any difficulty to assist him with all their fortunes, and by the prospect of upwards of one hundred thousand crowns a year which they undertook to raise for him, by the forfeitures of heretics, refused to come to the interview, which was considered as a plain declaration of a hostile disposition, and that he intended to break with his uncle. Henry, disappointed, de-

luded, and full of resentment, quitted York about the latter end of September, and, continuing his progress through several counties, returned to London, where he met with a cause of still greater uneasiness.

Henry had left the lord-chancellor Audley and the earl of Hertford to manage his affairs in London during his progress. While he was at York, one Lascelles gave the archbishop information, that the queen, in the former part of her life, had been little better than a common strumpet: to confirm this, Lascelles offered to produce the evidence of his sister, who had been a servant in the old duchess of Norfolk's house, where the queen had been educated, and had continued a criminal intrigue with two servants at the same house, Derham and Mannock. Cranmer was naturally roused by this information, especially as it regarded a person whom he knew to be the professed foe to his principles and person; but the point was extremely delicate, and the smallest trip might ruin him; he therefore laid the matter before the lord-chancellor and the earl of Hertford, and they were of opinion that he should acquaint the king with it. As the matter was of such a delicate nature that he could not well express it by word of mouth, he drew up the account in writing, and, on the second of November, presented it to his majesty, the court being by this time returned to London.

Henry, who had pretended a wonderful sagacity on this subject in the case of Anne of Cleves, had not discovered any want of virginity in Catherine Howard, and was still so much in love with her, that he had even put up a prayer in his chapel, returning thanks to God for the felicity he enjoyed in the conjugal state; and even ordered the bishop of Lincoln, his confessor, to compose a form of thanksgiving for that purpose. No words can express his surprize and trouble when he received the archbishop's relation of the queen's infamy, and was so fully convinced of his consort's fidelity, that he at first gave no credit to the information, and said to the lord privy-seal, the lord-admiral, sir Anthony Brown, and sir Thomas Wriothesley, that he looked upon the whole to be a malicious forgery; but as he could not rest till he knew the certainty of the matter, he would have it enquired into, with such precautions as might preserve the queen from any scandal if she were innocent: it was therefore resolved that the lord privy-seal should examine Lascelles, which he did, and found him steady in his information. The same nobleman next, by Henry's orders, found means to examine the sister of Lascelles, and arrest Derham and Mannock. All this being done, the probability of the charge grew stronger every day; the woman confirmed her testimony by undeniable evidence and circumstances: Derham confessed repeated acts of impurity with the queen before her marriage; Mannock did the same; and it was proved, that even since her marriage she had passed a whole night in her bed-chamber with one Culpepper, to whom she had made some presents.

It was with an inconceivable grief, and such an agonizing distraction of mind as, barring all utterance of speech, found vent only in a torrent of tears, that Henry received the report of the examinations. Archbishop Cranmer, the lord-chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Suffex, and the bishop of Winchester, being appointed to interrogate

interrogate the queen on the subject, she at first denied all; but finding them fully apprized of her practices, she confessed the whole to the archbishop, and the confession being put into writing, she signed it with her own hand. The lady Rochford particularly, the same who had been so instrumental in the death of queen Anne Boleyn, was found to have been an instrument in the queen's abominable lewdness, and both of them were at the same time sent to the Tower, and the rest of their accomplices to different prisons. Agnes, the old duchess of Norfolk, was sent to prison as being privy to the queen's crimes; the countess of Bridgewater, the lord William Howard (then Henry's ambassador in France, but recalled on this occasion) and his lady*, four other men, and five women, were all committed to prison likewise; and it was resolved to proceed against them for misprision of treason.

Any other person but Henry would have been weary of continually exposing the real or pretended infamy of his family; but he, on the contrary, determined to make it as public as possible; and being sensible that the best and readiest method to take vengeance on those who had offended him, would be to convoke a parliament, the usual instrument of his tyranny, orders were issued for it to assemble on the sixteenth of January of the following year, 1542.

The parliament being sat down, the lord-chancellor made a motion in the house of lords, to take into consideration Henry's case through his queen's lewdness: this produced an act, in form of a petition, in which, after desiring the king not to be grieved at this misfortune, they requested that the queen and her accomplices, with her procuress the lady Rochford, might be attainted of high-treason; and that all those who knew of the queen's vicious life before her marriage, and had concealed it, as the duchess dowager of Norfolk, and the other noble and common personages above-mentioned, who were already imprisoned, might be attainted of misprision of treason.

It was also enacted, "That whoever should know any thing of the incontinence of the queen (for the time being), should reveal it with all possible speed, under the pains of treason. And if the king, or his successors, should incline to marry any woman whom they took to be a pure and clean maid, if she, not being so, did not declare the same to the king, it should be high-treason; and all who knew it, and did not reveal it, should be guilty of misprision of treason. And that if the queen, or the prince's wife, should procure any person, by messages or words, to have criminal conversation with her, or any other by words or messages should solicit them, they, their counsellors and abettors, should be adjudged traitors."

In consequence of this remarkable act, the queen and lady Rochford were beheaded on Tower-hill, on the twelfth of February, about seven months after she had been married to the king. The queen confessed the misconduct of her former life, but endeavoured to persuade the world that she had always been faithful since her marriage, with regard to the king. As for lady Rochford, every one looked upon her execution as a judgment of Heaven for her having been the principal instrument of the death of Anne Boleyn, her sister-in-law, and of her own husband; and this notorious instance of her profligate life tended much to clear their characters in the opinion of the world. As to the duchess dowager of Norfolk and the others attainted of misprision of treason, the king was pleased to pardon them, and by degrees discharge them from their confinements. Derham was hanged; Man-nock got off by giving up his estate, which was very considerable; and the other criminals were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment.

Those examples being made, the parliament proceeded to other regulations, which will be found under the head of Laws, at the end of this period. But the most distinguished act of this parliament was that which passed on the twenty-third of January, declaring Henry to be King instead of Lord of Ireland; and the proclamation notifying this alteration of his style was read in the house of peers. This seems in its effects to have been a very politic step; for whether the Irish chieftains had been much weakened before, or thought it more suitable to their notions of honour to yield obedience and own a subordination to the royal dignity, James, earl of Desmond, coming over in the summer to England, made his submission; and his example was soon followed by the heads of several septs, or tribes, who were content to take titles of honour after the English manner. Thus William de Burgh, or Bourk, was created baron of Dunkellyn and earl of Clanricard; Mawer O'Brien, earl of Thomond; and his son, Conat O'Brien, lord of Ibrackain; Connac O'Neil was made earl of Tyrone; and his son Matthew, lord of Dunganon.

This parliament, before it separated, willing to approve itself as pliant to the king's will as we have shewn the last to have been, passed an act to annul all the local statutes of colleges and hospitals, and to absolve all the governors, presidents, and fellows of them from their oath of obedience to the same, because the king wanted to seize upon them, as he had done the abbeys: accordingly some of them were surrendered into his hands; but a more expeditious method was taken in the sequel. The parliament, having now answered all the king's purposes, was prorogued on the first day of April to the third of November following.

* Rapin, by mistake, supposes these to be her father and mother, whereas they were her uncle and aunt: her father was the lord Edmund Howard. As the family of the Howards spread themselves into several branches, in order to prevent confusion, it will be proper to insert here a short genealogical account of that family, which shall be carried on in due time. Sir Robert Howard (temp. Hen. VI.) married Margaret, daughter and coheir to Thomas de Mowbray, duke of Norfolk) by whom he had John, created duke of Norfolk the twenty-eighth of June, 1 Ric. III. (and slain afterwards, at Bosworth fight, who married first, Catherine, daughter of William, lord Mollins; by whom he had Thomas, created earl of Surry 1 Rich. III. and restored to the same title 4 Hen. VII. and to that of

duke of Norfolk 5 Hen. VIII. secondly, Margaret, daughter of sir John Chedworth. The said Thomas married first Elizabeth, daughter and sole heir of sir Frederick Tilney; by whom he had Thomas, the third duke of Norfolk; sir Edward, knight of the Garter, and high admiral; and Edmund, father to this queen Catherine. His second wife was Agnes, sister and heir of sir Philip Tilney; by whom he had William, created Baron of Effingham, the eleventh day of March, (1 Mary); and Thomas, who died in the Tower, 1527, where he was confined on account of Margaret Douglas, daughter of the queen of Scotland. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 265, 278.

During these transactions Henry was meditating vengeance on the king of Scotland for the affront which he had received from that monarch in the affair of the interview, and finding he was in a condition to make himself respected, by the subsidies and privileges granted in the last parliament, he resolved to lose no time to carry his designs into execution; but first of all he endeavoured to tie up the hands of the king of France, by proposing the renewal of the treaty of perpetual peace with England, that Francis might not be able to assist the king of Scotland as usual. For this purpose Paget, an able minister, was sent over to the court of France with very flattering offers; but Francis soon dived into the design of this negotiation, and, without mentioning the king of Scotland, whom he was resolved not to abandon in time of need, embarrassed Henry with a reciprocal demand of his assistance to recover the Milanese, pursuant to former treaties: to which Henry replied, that he was ready so to do whensoever Francis should fulfil his engagement of abolishing the papal authority in France. In short, this embassy, instead of strengthening former treaties, seemed only to open the breach; and, from the numerous altercations, it is plain there could be no friendship between the two courts. In the mean time the emperor, having lost his fleet and army before Algiers, Francis resolved to take advantage of his distress, and this year he invaded, by four different places, the territories of Charles; but the success of the campaign fell far short, upon the whole, of what he expected from it.

As for Henry, finding that the king of France was not to be lured over to his purpose, he resolved to act of himself; and, concealing his real motives, which were to oblige Scotland to renounce the pope's authority, he revived the old pretensions of the kings of England to the sovereignty of Scotland; he also pretended a violation of the truce by king James's denial of some lands of small value on the frontier, and his having given an asylum to some English rebels. These particulars were pompously set forth in a manifesto, but not published till his army was just ready to enter Scotland, in order that he might take the Scots unprepared: however, James soon got notice of the levies making in England; and his resentment against Henry's proceedings was kept alive and heightened by the French ambassador, who brought with him supplies of men and money, and was extremely lavish in the promises he made in his master's name.

About the beginning of October, and not before, Henry having raised an army of thirty thousand men, gave the command of them to the duke of Norfolk as his lieutenant-general, who rendezvoused his forces at Newcastle. The earl of Southampton (Fitz Williams) was appointed to command the van; but he died at Newcastle, universally regretted for his great abilities as a statesman, and his approved courage and skill as an admiral and general. On the twenty-first of October the English entered Scotland, when they were met by an herald from James, who expostulated upon the injustice of such an invasion, before any war was proclaimed; but the duke, regardless of these remonstrances, ravaged all the country bordering on the Tweed, and retired to Berwick, on account of the severity of the season. George Gordon, earl of Huntley, had been sent by James, with a body of

ten thousand men, to oppose these depredations; but he was so inferior in force to the English, that he was obliged to act upon the defensive.

James in the mean time having levied an army of fifteen thousand men, with a train of artillery, appointed the lord Maxwell, warden of the West Marches of Scotland, his general, and determined to invade England on the western side of the Solway Firth. Thither the Scottish monarch repaired in person; but he soon left the field, after having conferred the chief command upon his favourite, Oliver, lord Sinclair, an upstart nobleman, who was mortally hated by all the old nobility, who, on this occasion, chose rather to sacrifice their king, their country, and their own honour, than suffer the disparagement offered to them in putting such a person over their heads: in a word, when Sinclair read his commission in the front of the army, the officers declared they would not serve under him, and the troops, following their example, threw down their arms, while all was uproar and confusion through the ranks. All the English forces in a condition to oppose the Scottish army did not amount to above five hundred, then under sir Thomas Wharton, the bastard Dacres, and Musgrave; but this handful was formed into a hovering party, to observe the motions of the Scots; and seeing them suddenly break their ranks, and fall into a general disorder, they charged them with such fury, that the Scots, having no one to head them, and thinking that the duke of Norfolk, with his whole army, was at hand, fell into an entire rout, while the English, improving the advantage the enemy's panic offered them, pursued with great ardour, and, with very little or no opposition, took the earls of Cassils and Glencairn, the lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville, Gray, the general Sinclair, with about two hundred gentlemen, and eight hundred common soldiers with all their baggage and artillery.

This rout, or rather defeat, happened at a place called Solway Moss, near Carlisle. James was then at Caerlevaroc, where he received the mournful intelligence of the slaughter, captivity, and dispersion of his army: this unexpected account so affected his spirits, that he betook himself to his bed. News being brought him, that his queen was delivered of a daughter, it increased his melancholy, which finished his life on the fourteenth day of December, twenty-four days after the fatal field of Solway Moss, leaving behind him his new-born daughter Mary, heiress of the Scottish throne.

The death of king James, and the birth of a daughter, heiress to a kingdom, whose friendship was of so much importance to England, gave a new turn to Henry's counsels: he wisely forbore driving the Scots to despair, by taking any severe advantages of his late victory; on the contrary, he formed a scheme for uniting the two kingdoms by means of a match between Edward, prince of Wales, and the young queen of Scotland. With this view he ordered his ministers to sound the inclinations of the Scottish prisoners on the subject, and finding them well disposed to encourage such a project, he set them at liberty, on condition that they should return to London, in case it could not be effected. Together with them, Henry sent sir Ralph Sadler, with private instructions for gaining over the government of Scotland in favour of the match; the earl of Angus and his brother also returned back to their

their own country, after having lived as refugees at the English court.

The parliament of England meeting the twenty-second of January, 1543, were so well pleased with the success of the king's arms against the Scots, that they granted him a very considerable subsidy, as well for defraying his charges in the war as for his other occasions. Then they passed an act, permitting the nobility, gentry, and merchants to have English Bibles in their houses, together with certain other religious books mentioned in the statute, for the instruction of their families. This law, which was procured by the interest of Cranmer, contained a clause that mitigated the punishment of those who should be charged with heresy: but the parliament impowered his majesty to repeal or change this act as he should find it expedient.

The behaviour of Francis to Henry's ambassadors had so dissatisfied the latter, that, thinking himself sure of Scotland, from the late victory and the measures he had taken upon the death of James, he determined to enter into a league with the emperor, the mortal enemy of France, that he might convince the French monarch how impolitically he had acted in shewing so little regard to his offers. Accordingly, on the eleventh of February this year, a few days after the breaking up of the session of parliament, a treaty was concluded at London: it contained a league for England, only with what Henry held in Picardy; and on the part of Charles, for the provinces of the Low Countries under his dominion*, without any mention of Spain or Germany. The league was to this effect:

"That the emperor and the king of England should send ambassadors to the king of France, to declare to him, that by his solicitations only the Turks had invested Christendom; that therefore the two confederate monarchs exhorted him to break his alliance with the Infidels, to hold them for enemies, and renounce his correspondence with them; that they demanded, moreover, he should satisfy the damages done to Christendom by calling in those cruel enemies; that he should give over the war he had begun in several places, that the emperor might apply himself to the defence of Christendom; that he should cause the town of Muran, taken by the Turks, to be restored to king Ferdinand, and to the emperor Castro Novo, which they had besieged with the aid of twelve French galleys; that he should repair the losses the Germans had sustained by the Turkish invasion: lastly, that he should satisfy the king of England for whatever he owed him, and give him security for the payment of the hundred thousand crowns."

After these preliminaries, the two confederate monarchs agreed, that they would not make peace or truce but upon these conditions: "that Francis should pay the king of England whatever was due to him; and, for security of the annual pension, surrender into his hands the earldom of Ponthieu, Montreuil, Ardres, and Terouenne, free from all homage; for which however Henry should consent that the yearly revenues thence arising should be in lieu of the pension: moreover, that Francis should restore to the emperor the duchy of Burgundy.

"That if the king of France should delay but ten days to accept these conditions, the two confederate monarchs should proclaim war against him, with a declaration that they would never make peace till the king of England was in possession of Normandy, Guienne, and the kingdom of France; and the emperor, of Abbeville, Amiens, Bray, Corbeil, Peronne, Ham, St. Quintin, and the whole duchy of Burgundy.

"Lastly they agreed that each should take the field, and invade France with twenty-five thousand men, of whom five thousand should be cavalry: and also each of them should fit out ships, with two or three thousand armed men†."

One of Henry's chief views in this league with the emperor, was to carry his designs upon Scotland into execution; but there he found, much against his expectations, irresistible obstacles. The Scottish prisoners, upon their return home, found that unhappy country involved in the greatest confusion: the next heir to the crown (upon the untimely death of James V.) after young Mary, was James Hamilton, earl of Arran, a nobleman of a weak capacity and a peaceable disposition; he was a friend to the reformed religion, but altogether unqualified for the management of public affairs; but the friends of the new religion, which were pretty numerous in Scotland, exhorted him to claim the regency by virtue of his proximity of blood; and, thus encouraged, he resolved to demand it at the meeting of the next parliament.

But this was violently opposed by the popish faction under cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, a priest of unpopular manners and a persecuting spirit; he had been dignified by the pope, to procure him greater reverence from the people and the greater sway with his master, whom he kept firm to the see of Rome; he therefore naturally attached himself to the French interest, in opposition to the English, and was supported by the queen-mother, who was sister to the duke of Guise, and a zealous papist. Beaton had, upon the death of James, published his will (which the Scots say was forged), by which that prince left the government to him, jointly with the earls of Argyll, Huntley, and Murray, during his daughter's minority; but the nation, not bearing to see a priest at the helm of affairs, on the meeting of their parliament, in the beginning of this year, chose the earl of Arran sole regent: and the will produced by Beaton was set aside.

Sir Ralph Sadler, who had accompanied the captive noblemen from England, as Henry's envoy to the Scottish parliament, proposed to that assembly the marriage between prince Edward and their young queen. This proposal was so warmly supported by the English party in Scotland, that, after a long debate it was accepted, and the parliament appointed the earl of Angus, his brother sir William Douglas, and some other persons, to conduct the treaty of marriage and peace, which was concluded on the first day of July, importing, "that the young queen should be brought into England, as soon as she should have attained the tenth year of her age; and that in the mean time the Scottish

* The places and dominions mentioned on king Henry's part are the kingdoms of England and Ireland, the islands of Wight, Jersey, Guernsey, and Man, the castle and earldom of Guisnes, and the towns of Calais and Berwick: and on the emperor's part are named the kingdom of Spain (regna His-

paniarum), the provinces of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Anow, Artois, Limburg, Luxemburg, Namur, Friesland, and counties of Dureffel, Utrecht, and Mechlin. Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xiv. p. 769, 770.

† Rymer's *Fœd.* vol. xiv. p. 775.

parliament should send three hostages of distinction to reside in London till the nuptials should be completed: that the kingdom of Scotland should be still called by that name, and enjoy all its laws and lawful liberties, as they had been always justly and uninterruptedly maintained, observed, and approved of by the said kingdom of Scotland: and lastly, that the regent, the earl of Arran, should be accountable to the prince of Wales for all his intromissions of the revenues of Scotland, after deducting the necessary expences for the queen's maintenance*.

But though Henry's party had thus carried it in the parliament of Scotland for a peace with England and the proposed marriage, yet all their projects were rendered abortive by the intrigues of cardinal Beaton, who, by means of a large sum of money which he received from the clergy, who apprehended their superstition was in danger, should this event take place, gained over such a number of partizans, that the people in general exclaimed against the treaty with England as a union which would be productive of their own slavery. The English ambassador was insulted by the populace to the hazard of his life; and the regent had no longer any power to give him satisfaction, much less to send the hostages stipulated in the treaty. Sadler, foreseeing the consequence of these proceedings, summoned the prisoners to return to England according to their promise; but none of them had so much honour to perform their engagements, except Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Cassils, whose noble behaviour so pleased Henry, that he loaded him with presents, and dismissed him without ransom; at the same time he was so highly incensed at the perfidy of the other prisoners, the affront offered to his envoy, and the clamour raised by Beaton and his adherents against the English alliance, that he resolved without delay to declare war against Scotland.

Mean while the queen dowager and the cardinal, to strengthen their interest against the party of the Hamiltons, persuaded Matthew Stuart, earl of Lennox to return from France, where he had resided some time, assuring him that he should espouse the queen-dowager, and, in case of the infant Mary's death, be advanced to the throne in preference to Arran, whose legitimacy was liable to some objections. Tempted by this project, the earl of Lennox repaired to Scotland, and, on his arrival, consented to the breaking off the match between the queen and the prince of Wales, and assembled a body of men, in order to wrest the young queen from the hands of the regent, who, either unable or unwilling to contend with his enemies, proposed an accommodation, which was effected. And now the queen and the cardinal, who had gained this important point, and had no farther occasion for Lennox, wrote to the king of France to recall him into that kingdom; which coming to the earl's knowledge, as also that a conspiracy was formed against his life, in case he should continue his stay in Scotland, quitted the court suddenly, and withdrew to his castle of Dumbarton; and the following year he threw himself into the arms of the English.

During these transactions in Scotland, Henry, notwithstanding the many misfortunes he had met with in his former marriages, ventured once more

to enter into that state by espousing a sixth wife, in the person of Catherine Parr, widow to Neville, lord Latimer, and daughter to sir Thomas Parr, of Kendal. The marriage was consummated on the twelfth of July. The new queen was a favourer of the reformed, but she had the mortification to behold, a very few days after the celebration of her nuptials, a fresh prosecution commenced against her own party, three of whom, Anthony Personne, a priest, Robert Testwood, a singing-man, and Henry Fulmer, a taylor, at the instigation of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, were burned at Windsor, for reading the writings of the reformed; nor dared Catherine intercede for them. But while the bloody Gardiner, supported by his still more bloody master, was thus persecuting the reformers, his own German secretary was convicted of denying the king's supremacy, and executed. This seems to have been done with a view of Henry's continuing his character of impartial cruelty to protestants as well as papists. The rest of this year was spent in immense preparations for the ensuing campaign; and we are told, that, upon this occasion, cast pieces of iron cannon and mortars were first made in England, at Buckstead, in Suffex, by Peter Baud, Ralph Hoge, and Peter Van Colen, Flemish artificers†. On the twenty-third of December, the king, to shew his great regard for the queen, who, by her extraordinary tenderness and submission to his will, daily gained upon his affections, created her brother, the lord Parr, earl of Essex; and her uncle, sir William Parr, was made chamberlain of her household, with the title of lord Parr of Horton.

While these things passed in England, the war between the emperor and the king of France was carrying on in several places. In the beginning of the spring of this year, Francis gained some advantages in the Low Countries, where he took Landrecy, Emery, Bapanume, Maubeuge, and Luxemburgh; but Charles arriving, about the end of the summer, with a strong supply of Spanish troops, Francis, being inferior in numbers, was obliged to keep upon the defensive. This gave the emperor an opportunity to invest Landrecy, of which, however, he was forced to raise the siege, upon Francis's finding means to throw in succours; but he made himself amends by taking Cambray. At the same time Barbarossa, admiral of the Turks, coming to Marseilles with an hundred and ten Turkish gallies, found there the count d'Enghien, of the house of Bourbon, with two-and-twenty French gallies, and they both sailed together, and attacked Nice on the tenth of August, and on the twentieth became masters of the town; but the castle made so brave a defence, that the Turkish admiral, finding he lost both time and reputation before the place, retired and wintered in Provence, from whence he returned to Turkey in the beginning of the following year‡. As for Henry, during the whole campaign, he assisted the emperor only with a small body of troops, under the command of sir John Wallop, who left Calais on the twenty-second of July, and had the good fortune, after ravaging all the French lands through which they passed, to join the Imperial army while it lay, with Charles at its head, before Landrecy: but they both formed vast projects the next year, and it was resolved that

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xiv. p. 786, 797. and vol. xv. p. 4.

† Stowe, p. 584. Hollingshed, p. 960.

‡ Mezeray. Du Bellay.

both together should raise an army of ninety thousand foot and twenty thousand horse; that Henry should enter France by the way of Picardy, and Charles by that of Champagne; and that both armies should join in a certain place and march directly to the gates of Paris: but the sequel will shew us, that the emperor's views in this alliance were very different what he professed, and that at the bottom he only wanted to make Henry his dupe.

The parliament meeting on the fourteenth of January, 1544, its first act was to regulate the different degrees of those who, after the king's death, might lay claim to the succession. And here it will be necessary to observe, that the negotiation preceding the late treaty made with the emperor was attended with one difficulty: Charles demanded that Henry should own his daughter Mary as his legitimate offspring; and the king of England flatly refused to comply with his request: nevertheless he promised to assign her a rank in the succession according to the power bestowed upon him in parliament, and at last Charles was satisfied with this verbal promise; and Henry being now desirous to strengthen the friendship which had been re-established between him and the emperor, resolved to perform this promise. His parliament, servilely compliant with his will, now passed an act to settle the succession in the person of Edward, prince of Wales, and his issue; in default of whom the crown was to go to the lady Mary, but with certain conditions, to be limited by the king's letters patent, or by his last will in writing, sealed with his own hand: upon failure of her and her issue, the crown was to descend to the lady Elizabeth and her issue, with the conditions aforesaid. But the two ladies failing to perform the conditions, the succession was settled upon such person or persons as the king should appoint, by his letters patent, or his last will in writing: but in case the king left no such conditions, the ladies were to enjoy the crown absolutely. By the remaining part of this act, in case of the decease of the king's three lawful issue, leaving no issue, Henry was empowered to dispose of the crown by his will, signed with his own hand. Then follows a new oath against the bishop of Rome's authority, with penalties annexed to all who should refuse to take it or endeavour to interrupt the act of succession.

Another act of this parliament declared where, and before whom, all treason committed out of England should be tried: that the following titles should for ever be annexed to the imperial crown of England, viz. "king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith and church of England and also of Ireland, on earth the supreme head." It was likewise enacted, that nothing but the oath of twelve men, before authorized commissioners, could bring any person to his trial upon the offences comprehended in the statute of the Six Articles; and that all such presentments should be made within one year after the offence committed; that no person should be imprisoned without such indictments; and that all indictments against preachers, or readers, for such offences from the pulpit, should be within forty days. Thus the bloody statute of the Six Articles was in some measure qualified as to its penalties. By another act, the king was remitted all sums he had borrowed

since the first of January, in the thirty-third year of his reign, by which all claims against him, through his iniquitous loans, was at one dash struck off. Another act provided excellently for the preservation of woods, necessary for keeping up the royal navy of England.

The parliament rose on the twenty-ninth of March, and soon after the king sent an armament to invade Scotland. The fleet amounted to near two hundred ships, and had on board a body of ten thousand men: Dudley, lord Lisle, commanded the navy; and the earl of Hertford conducted the land forces, as lieutenant-general, with the earl of Shrewsbury under him. The troops were disembarked in the neighbourhood of Leith, and, after defeating a small body which opposed them, they took that town, and then advanced to Edinburgh, the gates of which they soon forced, and the English first pillaged, and then set the town on fire, which continued burning three days. The regent earl of Arran, who had been entirely gained over by cardinal Beaton, was in no condition to resist so strong an army, and therefore retired with his forces to Stirling. The earl of Hertford directed his march eastward, and, being reinforced with six thousand men, under the command of the lord Ewers, governor of Berwick, he ravaged the whole country, burned Haddington and Dunbar, and committed many outrages. All this time, Francis, who ought to have protected his allies the Scots, whom his intrigues had led into this war, sent them only a few troops and a trifling sum of money, under de Larges and de Brosse, while the ships which carried them, with all their provisions and ammunition, fell into the hands of the English, who, on the eighteenth of May, returned to England.

Henry shewed very little policy in this sudden and violent invasion, by which he inflamed the resentment, without subduing the spirit, of the Scots; however, he put the best face he could on the disappointment, for it can be called no other, which he met with in his expedition, and his next resort was to keep the Scottish lords of his party firm to his interest. He had a fair opening for this by the application of the earl of Lenox, who was shut up in Dunbarton, but found means to send his brother, the bishop of Caithness, with proposals to Henry, at Carlisle. He accordingly met with the English commissioners, the lord Wharton and sir Robert Bowes, and in a short time it was agreed, "First that the Scottish lords should cause the pure word of God to be taught in their countries. Secondly, They should continue the king's faithful friends. Thirdly, They should take care that the queen be not secretly taken away. Fourthly, They should assist the king to seize on some castles on the borders. Henry on his part promised to send armies to Scotland both by sea and land, and to make the earl of Lenox, as soon as he could, governor of Scotland; and that he should bestow his niece, the lady Margaret Douglas, upon him. And for the performance of those articles the bishop of Caithness was left as hostage in England.

The earl of Lenox upon this agreement came to London, where it was confirmed on the twenty-sixth of June, with these additional articles:

"First, The earl of Lenox was to confirm the convention made at Carlisle, and to become Henry's servant against all who should impugn his title or authority in Scotland, or elsewhere. Secondly,

condly, To surrender into Henry's hands the castle of Dunbarton, with the Isle of Bute; and to help him to win the castle of Ross. Thirdly, That the earl should assist Henry in becoming the protector of the kingdom of Scotland; that he should take care that the Scottish queen should not be carried out of Scotland; that he should do his best to deliver her into Henry's hands; that Henry should make him governor of Scotland; but that he should call no parliament, or do any acts of government, without Henry's direction."

The earl of Lenox was immediately dispatched to Dunbarton† with thirteen ships; and, in consequence of the treaty with Henry, endeavoured to persuade the governor to deliver the castle to the king of England; but he, preferring his duty to his affection for the earl, rejected all his advantageous offers; so that being obliged to withdraw, Lenox vented his rage on the isles of Arran, Bute, and Kintyre; which hostilities were revenged by the Scottish ministry on the persons and estates of the earl's friends, till a body of troops, sent from Carlisle, marched to their relief; who, in their inroads, took Jedburgh, Kelso, Coldingham, and ravaged without mercy the counties of Tiviot, Marche, and Lauderdale, compelling the inhabitants to swear allegiance to the king of England.

In the mean time the emperor called upon Henry to fulfil his engagements, in joining with him against France. On this occasion, Henry, finding that the grants of the last parliament were not sufficient for the expences of his intended expedition, took an impolitic method of increasing his finances, by raising the value of gold from forty-five to forty-eight shillings the ounce, and silver from three shillings and nine pence to four shillings; and by coining base money, not intrinsically worth above half its nominal value, which, after passing current in his reign, was cried down by Edward VI. and finally called in by queen Elizabeth.

Henry now appointed the queen regent in his absence, and the archbishop of Canterbury, with the earl of Hertford, were placed at the head of the council left to assist her, which was made up of Wriothesley (lately made a baron, and, on the death of lord Audley) chancellor, Thirlby, bishop of Westminster, Peters, secretary of state, and the queen's own uncle, lord Parr of Horton. Henry likewise provided for the peace of the several counties in his absence, by appointing proper persons to govern them.

Every thing being thus settled, Henry passed over to Calais on the eleventh of June, with thirty thousand men, and attended by the flower of the English nobility*. Soon after his arrival he was joined by the count de Buren, admiral of Flanders, with ten thousand infantry and four thousand horse, and the whole composed an army which nothing in that quarter was able to withstand; the chief force of the French army was employed on the side of Champagne, resisting the progress of the Imperialists. It had been proposed between the emperor and Henry, to join their forces together (which it was computed would amount to near one hundred

thousand men) and march up directly to Paris; and the king's council in this case had advised his landing in Normandy, a province rich, defenceless, and affording him an easy passage to that metropolis. This would have reduced France (as the cardinal du Bellay observes, who was in the scene of action) to the brink of ruin; but the emperor, after amusing himself with taking Commercy and Luxemburg, formed the siege of Didier, instead of setting out on his march to join Henry. This opened Henry's eyes; he found that he had been deceived by the emperor, and therefore thought it was reasonable that he should take towns as well as Charles; and that the latter having failed in fulfilling his engagements, he would endeavour to indemnify himself by some useful conquest, therefore, instead of advancing directly to Paris, he invested the towns of Montreuil and Boulogne.

The duke of Norfolk commanded the forces before Montreuil, and the king in person headed those before Boulogne: this last place was defended by Varvin, the governor, and held out till the fourteenth of September, when it surrendered, on the garrison being allowed to march to Montreuil with its baggage. Montreuil still held out against the duke of Norfolk.

During this siege the emperor had made himself master of Didier, after an obstinate siege; and he afterwards surprized Espernay and Chateau Thierry: but the French army, under the dauphin and the duke of Orleans, being now increased to forty thousand men, two thousand gens d'armes, and as many light horse, being posted in his way to Paris, he was obliged to march towards Soissons. Finding it difficult, through a scarcity of provisions, to keep his forces together, and impracticable, for want of strong towns, to secure them to take winter quarters in the country, he hearkened to a treaty of peace proposed by the king of France, who, knowing the extremities to which Boulogne and Montreuil were reduced, and fearing that the king of England would, after the reduction of those places, advance with his army to join the emperor, was very eager to have it concluded. Charles on his part, in order to have a pretext to abandon his ally, dispatched a messenger to the English camp before Boulogne to press Henry to perform his promise, and meet him with his army and proceed to Paris. Henry, who was by this time perfectly well acquainted with the perfidy of his ally, replied, that he was too far engaged in the siege of Boulogne to raise it with honour; and that the emperor himself had first violated the convention by forming sieges.

This answer furnished Charles with the desired pretext for concluding a peace with Francis, without including his ally of England. Accordingly a treaty was concluded between these two princes, at Crespy, in the Laonnois, on the eighteenth of September, four days after the surrender of Boulogne. The principal conditions were, "That the duke of Orleans should marry Mary of Austria, the emperor's eldest daughter, or the second daughter of the king of the Romans; and that he should have with her, as a fortune, the Milanese or the

† Or Dunbritton, the capital of a shire of that name in the west Highlands of Scotland, situated at the conflux of the rivers Leven and Clyde, twenty miles from Glasgow.

* The van was commanded by the duke of Norfolk; the main body was led by the duke of Suffolk, under whom served the earl of Arundel, as marshal of the field, Pawlet, lord St.

John, and sir Anthony Brown, master of the horse; the rear was lead by Russel, lord privy-seal, which office he had obtained upon the death of the earl of Southampton, and under him served the earls of Surry and Oxford, the lord Grey of Wilton, the lord Ferrers of Chartley, lord Montjoy, and sir Francis Brian. In this division marched the Welsh and Irish.

Low Countries, with the earldoms of Burgundy and Charolois, at the option of the emperor; but if he gave them Milan and Cremona until there was a son from the marriage: and then should give them the Low Countries, Francis was, for himself and heirs, to renounce for ever all pretensions upon the Milanese and Naples." Many other articles were likewise inserted, material to the history of those two princes, but not for ours, only that all their late conquests on either side were given up; and Francis promised to submit to Charles the arbitration of his differences with the king of England.

The first effect which the treaty of Crespy had, was the withdrawing, by orders from Charles, all the Imperial troops at the siege of Montreuil, under the count de Buren, which weakened the duke of Norfolk so much, that Henry sent him orders to raise that siege entirely, and to join him. This was done on the twenty-fifth of September, after the duke had laid the adjacent country waste. And Henry hearing that the dauphin was in full march with all his army, to give him battle, left a strong garrison in Boulogne, under the command of the lord-admiral Lisle, whom he made governor, and departed for England on the thirtieth of the same month, gaining a few days march upon the French, who, upon this disappointment, exerted all their efforts to retake Boulogne before the breaches were repaired, but without success. The public records inform us, that whilst these hostilities were going forward, overtures were made for a treaty between France and England, and that the earl of Hertford and sir William Paget met the French commissioners at Calais for that purpose; but the French insisting upon the restitution of Boulogne as an indispensable preliminary, the conferences were broken off.

From these and other proceedings of the French court, Henry having great reason to imagine that Francis would attempt an invasion of England next year, on his return home he put Gravesend, Tilbury, Portsmouth, Dover, and all other places on the sea-coasts liable to surprize from the French fleet, in a posture of defence.

The king had been at a very great expence in his French expedition*, and the keeping of Boulogne being likely to cost him a great deal more, to provide for this growing charge, and to replenish his exhausted Exchequer, he had recourse to the extraordinary way of a benevolence. The commissioners appointed to levy it in London, meeting in January, 1545, at Baynard's castle, found the affair liable to very great difficulties, some of the richest citizens absolutely refusing, and others excusing themselves on account of inability, through their not being paid for the corn with which they had supplied the army: in a word, there appeared a general reluctance among such as were able to advance money; and one alderman Read, who shewed himself more refractory than the rest, was, by a detestable stretch of arbitrary power, sent to serve as a soldier in the Northern Marches. This severity so intimidated the rest of the recusants, that they at length consented to the royal demand. It appears from authentic accounts, that Henry on this occasion raised upwards of seventy thousand pounds, exclusive of the cities of London and York,

and the counties of Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham.

Henry's suspicion of a French invasion was shewn this year to have been well founded; for Francis had employed all the last winter and great part of this spring in making preparations for the recovery of Boulogne, and a descent on the coast of England. He had fitted out one hundred and fifty large ships of war with sixty of a smaller size, and brought twenty-five galleys from Marseilles to Havre de Grace. This fleet he sent, under the command of admiral Annebaut, to invade England; who, setting sail in July, arrived, on the eighteenth of that month, off St. Helen's in the Isle of Wight, and, after some skirmishes with a squadron of sixty English vessels that lay at Spithead, but whom he durst not follow close in shore, for want of pilots, landed on the island, which he cruelly ravaged; but his troops being repulsed by the militia of the country, they fled to their ships, which soon after set sail for France, but were again driven upon the coast of England, where they were again encountered by the English fleet, now increased to upwards of one hundred sail; both sides engaged with equal fury, but night parting them after they had fought two hours, the French got into Havre de Grace, and the English admiral (lord Lisle), steering towards Normandy, ravaged the coasts of that province, and took a great number of the French ships.

In the mean time Francis was exerting all his efforts to distress, block up, and take Boulogne, and had fitted out this great naval armament principally with a view to shut up that port; but his schemes for that purpose, though supported by a land army of two hundred thousand men, proved abortive; all that the French monarch could do, was to ravage the little territory of Oye, whence the garrison of Calais used to have their forage and some cattle for their subsistence; and this done, he retired to Amiens, dismissing his forces. The English, in this campaign acted only on the defensive; ten thousand lancequenets and four thousand horse, which had been levied in Germany, being hindered by Henry's good ally, the emperor, from passing through his territories. While the French were thus employed, the duke of Orleans died at Chateau Montier, to the unspeakable regret of his father Francis, whose peace with the emperor in a great measure depended upon the life of that young prince.

Francis seeing all his measures had miscarried, that his kingdom was exhausted, and himself threatened with a new war by the emperor, as the conditions of the treaty of Crespy were dissolved by the death of the duke of Orleans, began to be very desirous of reconciling himself to Henry: for this purpose he engaged the princes of the Smalcaldic league to offer themselves as mediators. This interposition appeared the more natural, as they were menaced by the emperor, who had entered into a negociation with the Turks, and could not be supposed to find out a better expedient for their own safety than effecting a reconciliation between the kings of France and England, and soliciting the protection of these two princes. They accordingly offered their mediation, which was accepted with great seeming cordiality, and they mediated so earnestly, that conferences for a peace between the two

* Lord Herbert says five hundred and eighty-six thousand seven hundred and eighteen pounds.

nations were appointed between Ardres and Guisnes: but as Henry would neither admit the Scots, with whom he was at war, to be included in the treaty, nor consent to the restitution of Boulogne, the conferences broke off without any effect; though Henry, in order to frighten Francis into a compliance, sent the bishops of Winchester and Westminster as his ambassadors to Charles, to propose terms of reconciliation with him.

On the other hand, Francis, who thought that a diversion in Scotland would be the most likely means to work upon Henry, sent the sieur de Lorges, count de Montgomeri, over thither with five thousand men, and ordered him to use his utmost endeavours to persuade the Scots to make a powerful inroad on the frontiers of England. Montgomeri arriving in Scotland, joined his troops with those of the regent, and both, making together fifteen thousand men, advanced towards the Tweed. For some days several parties passed the river, and did some damage to the English; but the French general could never persuade the Scots to venture over with the whole army; on the contrary, upon news that the earl of Hertford was advancing, at the head of twelve thousand men, they hastily retired, and presently after disbanded as usual. This was all that passed in Scotland, worthy notice, during the campaign of 1545.

The English parliament meeting on the twenty-third of November, the convocation continued for two years the subsidy given the king of six shillings in the pound: at the same time the commons suppressed, by an act, all the colleges and hospitals, and gave their lands to the king: the motive, or rather pretence of this suppression, was the abuse of these foundations, but the parliament really designed it towards the defraying the expence of the wars with France and Scotland; but this not sufficing, the commons raised him a much larger sum: and then, after passing several acts, which cannot have a place here, the parliament was prorogued, on Christmas-eve, till the fourth of November in the year following. However, before the session ended, the king came to the house in great solemnity, and, having ordered the attendance of the commons and both houses of convocation, he addressed them in a speech, which, for its curiosity we shall here insert, as handed down to us by the lord Herbert, in his Complete History.

“ Although my chancellor, for the time being, hath, before this time, used very elegantly and substantially to make answer to such orations as hath been set forth in the high court of parliament, yet is he not so able to open and set forth my mind and meaning, the secrets of my heart, in so plain and ample a manner as I myself am and can do; wherefore I, taking upon me to answer your eloquent oration, Mr. Speaker, say, that where you in the name of our well beloved commons have both praised and extolled me for the notable qualities that you have conceived to be in me, I most heartily thank you all, that you have put me in remembrance of my duty, which is to endeavour myself to obtain and get such excellent qualities and necessary virtues, as a prince or governor ought to have, of which gifts I recognize myself both bare and barren; but of such small quantities as God hath endued me withal, I render to his goodness my most humble thanks, intending, with all my will and diligence, to get and acquire to me such not-

able virtues and princely qualities as you have alleged to be incorporated in my person. Those thanks for your loving admonition and good counsel first remembered, I eftsoons thank you again, because that you, considering our great charge (not for our pleasure, but for our defence; not for our gain, but to our great cost) which we have lately sustained, as well in defence against our and your enemies, as for the conquest of that fortress which was to this realm most displeasing, and shall be (by God's grace) hereafter to our nation most profitable and pleasant, have freely of your own mind granted to us a certain subsidy, here in an act specified, which verily we take in good part, regarding more your kindness than the profit thereof; as he that setteth more by your loving hearts, than by your substance. Besides, this hearty kindness, I cannot a little rejoice when I consider the perfect trust and confidence which you have put in me, as men having unfeigned belief in my good doing and just proceedings for you, without my desire or request, have committed to mine order and disposition all chantries, colleges, hospitals, and other places, specified in a certain act, firmly trusting that I will order them to the glory of God, and to the profit of the common wealth. Surely if I, contrary to your expectation, should suffer the ministers of the church to decay, or learning, which is so great a jewel, to be diminished, or poor and miserable people to be unrelieved, you might say that I, being put in so special a trust as I am, in this case, were no trusty friend to you, nor charitable to mine, even as a Christian; neither a lover of the public, nor yet one that feared God, to whom account must be rendered of all our doings. Doubt not, I pray you, but your expectation shall be served more godly and goodly, than you will wish or desire, as hereafter you shall plainly perceive. Now, sith I since find such success in your part towards me, I cannot chuse but love and favour you, affirming that no prince in the world favoureth his subjects more than I do, nor no subject or commons more love and obey their sovereign lord than I perceive you do, for whose defence my treasure, or (if necessity required) my person, shall not be unadventured. Yet although I wish you, and you wish me, to be in this perfect love and concord, this amity cannot continue except you, my lords temporal and my lords spiritual, and you my loving subjects, study and take pains to amend one thing, which surely is amiss and out of order, to which I most heartily require you; which is, that charity and concord is not among you, but discord and dissention beareth rule in every place. St. Paul saith to the Corinthians, in the thirteenth chapter “ Charity is gentle, charity is not envious, charity is not proud,” and so forth: in the same chapter behold then, what love and charity is amongst you when one calleth another “ heretic, anabaptist,” and he calleth him again, “ papist, hypocrite, pharisee.” Be these tokens of charity amongst you? Are these signs of fraternal love between you? No, no; I assure you, that this lack of charity among yourselves will be the hindrance and affwaging of the fervent love betwixt us. As I said before, except this wound be salved, and clearly made whole, I must judge the fault and occasion of this discord to be partly by the negligence of you, the fathers and preachers of spirituality; for if I know a man that liveth in adultery, I must judge him a lecherous and carnal

carnal person: if I see a man boast and brag himself, I cannot but deem him a proud man. I hear daily, that you, of the clergy, preach one against another, without charity or discretion; some be so stiff in their old mumpsimus; others be too busy and curious in their new mumpsimus: thus all men almost be in variety and discord; a few or none preach truly and sincerely the word of God, according as they ought to do. Shall I judge you charitable persons, doing this? No, no; I cannot do so. Alas! how can the poor souls live in concord, when you preachers sow among them, in your sermons, debate and discord? Of you they look light, and you bring them to darkness. Amend these crimes, I exhort you, and set forth God's word, both by your preaching and good example given; or else I, whom God hath appointed his vicar and high minister here, will see these divisions extinct, and these enormities corrected, according to my very duty, or else I am a very unprofitable servant and untrue officer. Although, I say, the spiritual men be in some fault, that charity is not kept amongst them, yet the temporality be not clear and unspotted of malice and envy: for you rail on bishops, speak slanderously of priests, and rebuke and taunt preachers, both contrary to good order and Christian fraternity. If you know surely that a bishop or preacher erreth, or teacheth perverse doctrine, come and declare it to some of our council, or to us, to whom is committed by God the high authority to reform and order such causes and behaviours, and be not judges of yourselves, of your fantastical opinions and vain expositions. In such light causes you may slightly err; and although you be permitted to read the holy scriptures, and to have the word of God in your mother-tongue, you must understand, that it is licensed you so to do only to inform your own consciences, and to instruct your children and families, and not to dispute and make the scriptures a railing and taunting-stock against priests and preachers, as many light persons do. I am very sorry to know and hear how irreverently that most precious jewel, the word of God, is disputed, rhimed, sung and gangled in every alehouse or tavern, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the same: and yet even I am as much sorry that the readers of the same follow it in doing so faintly and so coldly: for this I am sure, that charity was never so faint amongst you, and virtuous and godly living was never less used, nor God himself among Christians was never less revered, honoured, or served. Therefore, as I said before, be in charity one with another, like brothers; love, dread, and serve God, to which I, as your supreme head and sovereign lord, exhort and require you; and then I doubt not but that love and league which I spake of at the beginning, shall never be broken or dissolved betwixt us.

“To the making of the laws which you have now made and concluded, I exhort you the makers to be diligent in putting them in execution, as you were in the making and farthering the same, or else your labour shall be in vain, and your commonwealth nothing relieved. And now, to your petition concerning our royal assent to be given to such acts as have passed both houses, they shall be read openly that you may hear them.”

In the course of this year died Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, who had always continued in the

highest degree of favour with the king, and universally beloved and esteemed by all ranks of people for his courteousness and readiness on all occasions, to assist the distressed: he was, in his heart, a friend to the reformed, but did not chuse to hazard his interest with the king by any unseasonable or violent interposition in their favour, though he let slip no opportunity of doing them service, when he found the king in a favourable disposition for such a tentative. He died on the fourth of August, and lies buried in St. George's chapel, at Windsor, near the remains of Henry VI. He had four wives: his third was Mary, daughter to Henry VII. and widow of Lewis XII. of France; he had a son by her, who died before him, and two daughters: he had two other sons by his last wife, who both died without issue.

The beginning of the campaign in the year 1546, was unfavourable for the English in France. The earl of Surry, who had been sent to command in Boulogne, instead of the lord Lisle, met with a rude check in attempting to intercept a convoy of provisions going to the fort of Outre Eau, which the French had built at the mouth of the port. This was followed by a more considerable defeat given the English, under the same general, by the marshal de Biez, who, being attacked as he was conducting a much larger convoy, routed the earl, killing about eight hundred of his men, among whom was sir Edward Poynings, and taking one hundred and twenty prisoners. The king, who did not like unfortunate generals, made William, lord Grey of Wilton, governor of Boulogne, and at the same time recalled the earl of Surry, and sent over the earl of Hertford with a body of forces, to oppose the enemy, and provide for the security of the place, which he did by erecting forts at Ambleuse and Blackness, places that the French had intended to seize and fortify, in order to cut off the communication between Calais and Boulogne. But while the war seemed to be recommencing with greater fury than ever between France and England, the Protestant princes again endeavoured to get their mediation accepted, and met with all the success they could wish.

Henry, whose animosity against Francis was not violent or personal, had sufficiently gratified his humour by the short war he had carried on against him; and having reason to apprehend, from his great increase in corpulency, and visible decay of strength, that his end was not far off, he was desirous of finishing a quarrel, which might prove dangerous to his kingdom during a minority: Francis likewise, on his part, was not averse to an accommodation with England, because, having now lost his son, the duke of Orleans, he was afraid that Charles should again attack him when he was unprovided either of men or money to make a suitable defence.

With such circumstances on both sides the two princes readily listened to the proposals of their friends, and agreed to treat at Campes, a place between Ardres and Guisnes; the plenipotentiaries for Henry were the lord Lisle, sir William Paget, and Dr. Hatton: those for Francis were the admiral Annebault, and Mr. Raymond, first president of the parliament of Rouen. After several conferences, a treaty was concluded on the seventh of June, the purport of which was to the following effect:

“ That the king of France shall pay regularly the pension due by the treaty of Moore, the thirtieth of August, 1525, confirmed by several subsequent treaties; as also the pension of salt, in a treaty of the twenty-fifth of April, 1527, valued afterwards at ten thousand crowns a year. But as Henry pretends the said pension, given in lieu of the salt, is to be perpetual, and as Francis maintains on the contrary, that it is to cease on Henry's death, it is agreed that if the disposition shall be found to be perpetual, Francis shall pay it to Henry and his successors for ever.

“ Moreover, Francis shall pay to the king of England, on the feast of St. Michael, 1554, or within a fortnight after, the sum of two millions of crowns de soleil, as well for the arrears of the pension of the ten thousand crowns, as for Henry's expence of the siege of Boulogne, undertaken solely to procure his money, in keeping and maintaining that place.

“ As to the article of the five hundred thousand crowns, which Henry presented to Francis, on condition he punctually observed the treaties; as the two kings differ in point of fact, it is agreed the dispute shall be decided by commissioners appointed on both sides, within such a time; or by four impartial lawyers, in case the commissioners end not the affair.

“ It is farther agreed, that the king of England shall keep Boulogne, with its territories (the limits whereof are settled by the treaty), till he receive whatever is due to him.

“ That when all the sums shall be paid to Henry, Boulogne shall be restored to France; and nothing that is fastened to the ground, shall be impaired or carried away.

“ That, from the date hereof to the surrender of Boulogne, neither of the two princes shall raise any fort or new fortification within the territory of Boulogne; but those already begun may be finished.”

The emperor was included by both parties in the peace: as for Scotland, Henry agreed it should be included, on condition that the Scots gave him no cause to make war upon them; and in case they did, they were to be included no otherwise than according to the treaty of April 5, 1515.

The wax was hardly cold upon this treaty, when a new quarrel had like to have arisen between the two kings; for the earl of Hertford, pursuant to the last article, going on to complete a fort which he had begun about three weeks before the treaty, the French set to work in erecting another fort, called Chastillon's Garden, at Portet, near the mouth of the harbour of Boulogne, on pretence that the marshal de Biez had formerly began one there, by entrenching himself on the place; but the difference between a trench and a fortification was too well known to Henry for him to suffer this piece of chicanery, and the lord Grey demolished it by his orders. The peace was hereupon proclaimed in London, on the thirteenth of June, though it was not ratified by the king of France till the first day of August, fifteen days after the term prescribed for the ratification was expired.

Some time before the treaty was in agitation, the Protestants of Germany sent Philip, brother of the elector Palatine, to demand succours from Henry, and in particular to solicit a supply of one hundred thousand crowns, for the defence of the league;

but, instead of money, he sent them seven propositions, containing the terms upon which he was willing to engage in a defensive league with them. In the mean time the emperor and the pope formed an alliance for their destruction; his holiness supplied him with money and a strong body of troops, under the command of Octavian Farnese. The Protestants armed in their own defence, under the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse; but neither side cared to hazard an engagement. At length the king of the Romans falling into the territories of the elector of Saxony, that prince was obliged to go to the relief of his own subjects; and the landgrave being weakened by his departure, retired into his own dominions, so that the emperor, being left master of the field, reduced Francfort, Ulm, and several other towns of the league.

While Henry, against all the maxims of right policy, continued an unconcerned spectator of Charles thus swallowing up the liberties of Germany, those who favoured the reformation in Scotland, were persecuted by that hot-headed zealot cardinal Beaton, who governed every thing with an uncontrouled sway, though under the mask of the regent's authority: several persons were condemned to the flames for heresy, and the cardinal is said to have taken an inhuman pleasure in being spectator of their sufferings: but he did not long triumph in his cruelty, for he was himself this year assassinated by Norman Lesly, eldest son to the earl of Rothes, on account of some quarrel between them.

Nor were the Protestants less harrassed in England, where daily persecutions were carried on against them. This severity was chiefly encouraged by Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and the lord Rich, assisted by Wriothesley the chancellor; nor was the duke of Norfolk behind-hand in promoting the same cruel measures: and Henry's natural ferocity being increased by the anguish of an inveterate ulcer in one of his legs, he readily gave into all the schemes of bloodshed and barbarity that Gardiner and his popish counsellors thought proper to inspire him with. Among other persons who suffered on account of their opinions, was Mrs. Anne Askew, or Aске, a gentlewoman of good birth and excellent parts, who was well known to many persons at court: this lady, being convicted of denying the real presence in the eucharist, was condemned to the flames, and chose to suffer death, rather than purchase pardon at the expence of abjuring her faith. Chancellor Wriothesley, who was a zealous papist, imagining that her resolution proceeded from the encouragement given her by persons of distinction about the court, who were friends to the reformation, caused this poor woman to be put to the rack in prison, though already under sentence of death; and is even said to have assisted with his own hands in administering the torture, which was done in such a merciless manner, that almost all her bones were dislocated. This she bore, however, with amazing fortitude; nor could they extort a syllable from her in accusation of any one: at length she was conveyed to the stake, where she suffered with four men, condemned on the same account; Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury, who had been imprisoned for refusing to conform to the Six Articles, but had saved his life by recanting, attending them to the place of execution, where he preached a sermon, reproaching them in the harshest terms for their obstinacy and heresy.

Gardiner

Gardiner and the popish faction perceiving that the king was now more furiously than ever incensed against the sacramentarians, made another effort to destroy Cranmer, but still without effect; for Henry, retaining his affection for the archbishop, preserved his person from the plots of his enemies, and even obliged them to be outwardly reconciled to him; but they were very near wreaking their vengeance on a person of still higher dignity.

The queen was then past the bloom of life, but continued still agreeable; she had lived with prudence, and free from envy; and in the main, her conduct was irreproachable. In her heart she was a favourer of the reformed, but she understood the king's humour so well, that she never presumed to stand up openly in their defence: this prudent conduct, and her extraordinary submission to Henry's will, had so greatly won upon his affections, that he even suffered her to have sermons preached in her privy-chamber, before some of her ladies. The popish faction could not observe this without great regret, and they at last ventured to whisper in the king's ears, that she was the life of all the heresy with which the land was pestered. The king, at first, took no notice of these insinuations, and even suffered her to dispute with himself on some religious points, imagining that she did it only for instruction. This liberty, however, being by custom carried somewhat too far by the queen, Henry expressed his dislike at her presuming to differ in opinion from him, and shewed more coolness than usual towards her; he even went so far as to discover his dislike to Gardiner, who failed not to cherish his resentment by aggravating the queen's known attachment to the Lutheran principles, and the pains she took to instil her religion into the ladies of the court, who attended on her. This being also confirmed, and other accusations of the like sort laid against her by Wriothesley, who had the bloody impudence to propose taking off the queen's head, as the only means to crush for ever those of her sect, Henry was at once so weak and inhuman as to subscribe the articles urged against her, and upon which she was to be tried for her life.

The two blood leeches, Gardiner and Wriothesley, now exulted in the supposed success of their schemes, and looked upon the queen's ruin as inevitable: but Heaven, who delights to turn the wisdom of the wicked into folly, interposed to snatch the innocent victim from the toils of her enemies. The lord-chancellor dropping the copy of the articles, with Henry's subscription to it, it fell into the queen's hands, who, upon seeing it, concluded her life lost: however, being advised by one of her friends to go to the king and try to appease him, she took their advice, and, being a little recovered from her consternation, she went into the king's apartment, who received her with his customary kindness, and began with her, as usual, upon the head of religion; but she declined the subject, and expressed uncommon deference to his majesty's opinion, to whose learning and judgment she said she perfectly resigned herself. "Not so, by St. Mary! (replied Henry, in some perturbation), you are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us, as we take it, and not to be instructed or directed by us." The queen, feigning much surprise, answered very mildly, "that she should ne-

ver have presumed to argue with him upon any subject, except to amuse the pain of his infirmities, or with a view to profit by his superior erudition in these matters." "And is it even so, sweetheart (replied Henry, kissing her with great tenderness), then we are friends again." He then dismissed her, with very tender assurances of his inviolable love to her.

This reconciliation passed in the presence only of a third person, the lady Herbert, the queen's sister, so that Wriothesley and Gardiner still thought their work of death went smoothly on; but they were soon undeceived, to their no small mortification; for on the morrow, which was the day appointed for carrying the queen to the Tower, the king, going to take the air in the garden, sent for her; and soon after came in the chancellor, with forty of the guard, in order to arrest her; but the king, taking him aside, was observed to speak to him in a very angry tone of voice, and even overheard to order him, with reviling language, out of his presence. Upon the king's return to the queen, she perceiving him in a rage with the chancellor, endeavoured to intercede for him; but she received no other answer from Henry, than that she little knew how ill he deserved at her hands.

However liable Henry was to be wrought up to a fury by the artful suggestions of evil-intending persons, to the prejudice of any one, he never liked the accusers: this appeared strongly in the present instance, for he took such a dislike to Gardiner, for the base part which he had acted with regard to the queen, that he could never after bear the sight of him; and though the bishop sought by the vilest adulation to reinstate himself in his favour, he totally discarded him; and Henry at this time being to make his will, it was proposed that Gardiner should be one of the executors; but the king would not hear of it, saying "that he was so contentious and troublesome a fellow, that he would be continually stirring up dissention amongst the other executors."

If the reformed were over-joyed at the disgrace of their rancorous persecutor Gardiner, they had still greater cause to triumph in the downfall of the duke of Norfolk, a nobleman equally averse to their religion, and, by his great credit and influence at court, capable of hurting them in a more effectual manner than even the bishop. It is more than probable that Norfolk had a hand in the late attempt against the queen; at least it is certain that he took the lead in all the designs formed against Cranmer, whom he had lately treated with the greatest indignity at the council-board, for which he received a most severe reprimand from the king himself. Whether the part he had acted in these affairs contributed to his disgrace, or whether Henry, who had lately began to discourage the popish party in his councils, and, finding his end approaching, thought it unwise to leave them in a capacity of making head against the future government, the ruin of the duke of Norfolk and his son, the earl of Surry, seems about this time to have been concluded on.

The duke, though possessed of no great genius, had all the requisites of a complete courtier, and had acquired no inconsiderable degree of military fame; long experience in business had rendered him wise and cautious; and he had served the king with fidelity and success. His son, the earl of Surry,

Surry, was a young gentleman of great courage, an aspiring mind, quick parts, and uncommon learning for the age he lived in; but proud, ambitious, headstrong, vindictive, rash; capable of saying any thing in a passion, and of doing every thing to gratify his resentment. He had been greatly incensed at being recalled from the government of Boulogne, and at the earl of Hertford's being sent to command the forces in that country; this had provoked him to say, that "within a little time they should smart for it," and to use other expressions favouring of revenge, and shewing as well a dislike of the king as a hatred of his counsellors.

The old duke, his father, to prevent the ill consequences of his son's resentment, and the ruin which the dissention between him and the Seymour family might one day beget, as the earl of Hertford was likely, after the king's death, to be at the head of the administration, as guardian of the minor successor, would fain have had the earl of Surry, then a widower, marry one of the earl of Hertford's daughters, to which the latter was not averse; he likewise proposed a match between his own daughter the duchess dowager of Richmond (relict of the duke of that name, the king's natural son), and sir Thomas Seymour, brother to Hertford.

The high spirit of Surry would not brook this alliance, and the contemptuous manner in which he rejected it so exasperated the Seymour family, that they insinuated to Henry, that the earl entertained the ambitious hope of a marriage with the princess Mary, in which case the great interest the Howard family had, might endanger the government of young Edward: they even hinted, that he raised his aspiring views to the crown, and that he actually bore the arms of Edward the Confessor, without any mark of difference or diminution. This was a matter which affected Henry in the most sensible part; and this consideration, added to the sentiments he already entertained, determined him to sacrifice the Howards to his jealousy; and the division that prevailed in that illustrious family contributed greatly to facilitate his design.

There was a secret grudge subsisting between the earl of Surry and his sister, the duchess of Richmond: the earl had also had a dispute with his father, and they were scarcely reconciled at this time. The duke of Norfolk had also a quarrel upon his hands with his own duchess, Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Stafford, late duke of Buckingham; and, by an effect of his free way of living, or her jealousy, they had been parted for four years, and expressed their rancour against each other so openly as gave no small scandal. On this occasion, the duchess, eager to satisfy her revenge, informed against her husband to the ministry, and disclosed all she knew of his secrets or resentments; and was joined in this perfidious part by Mrs. Holland, a woman whom the duke had kept for some years, but

had lately turned off; though all their evidence amounted to scarcely the colour of an accusation. That of the duchess consisted in little more than complaints of the duke's infidelity to her, and his using her ill. Mrs. Holland swore that the duke had, in confidence, told her that he was hated by the king's council, many of whom were upstart noblemen; and, because of his affection to the popish doctrines and sacraments, that he even thought himself slighted by the king, who had not of late called him to the cabinet or privy-council: she likewise said, that the duke bore the arms of England, with a badge of labels of silver, which were appropriated to the prince of Wales.

The duchess of Richmond deposed against her brother, the earl of Surry, that he had expressed an aversion to the earl of Hertford; and that he had said, if the king died, the new men (meaning the council) should smart for the affront they had put upon him, in sending that nobleman to supersede him in command. She said also, that her brother had dissuaded her from reading the scriptures; and disclosed some other trifling indecencies of which he had been guilty. Upon these general accusations the king ordered both father and son to be arrested, which was accordingly done on the twelfth of December; the one was carried to the Tower by water and the other by land, without either knowing of the other's apprehension. After that, declaration was publicly made in the king's name, that all persons who had any accusation to prefer against the two imprisoned noblemen, should be graciously heard; and that the royal pardon and protection should be granted to any one concerned in any plot with them, who would come and make a discovery. Upon this sir Richard Southwell, a member of the privy-council, declared that he had some matters of treason to disclose against the earl of Surry; but the latter disclaimed his charge, and offered to maintain his innocence against his accuser in single combat, which was denied him.

In the beginning of January, 1547, the unfortunate earl was brought to his trial, by a jury of commoners, picked by the court, and before the lord-chancellor, the lord-mayor, and other commissioners, at Guildhall in London; when, notwithstanding a most spirited and eloquent defence made by the noble prisoner, the jury, being commanded rather than instructed, found him guilty of high-treason, and he received sentence of death, which was executed by beheading him upon Tower-hill, on the nineteenth of January*.

The old duke presaged his own fate in that of his son; and, by the advice of the few friends adversity had left him, he endeavoured to appease the king's resentment by the most submissive letters: but Henry's breast was insensible to all the emotions of pity; and neither the duke's submission, nor his innocence, could satisfy the tyrant, unless he should own himself guilty, under his own hand. A com-

* Henry Howard (eldest son of Thomas, third duke of Norfolk, by Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham) died much pitied, being a man of great parts and high courage, with many other noble qualities. His sentence was generally condemned as an act of high injustice and severity, which loaded the Seymours with a popular odium they could never overcome. Sir Richard Southwell deposing, that he knew certain things of the earl, which touched his fidelity to the king, the earl vehemently affirmed himself a true man, and offered to fight in his shirt with his accuser. As to the

using the arms of the Confessor, he said he did it according to the opinion of the king's heralds. His sister Mary, duchess of Richmond, being examined, confessed that the earl her brother should say, "These new men, (meaning the Seymours) loved no nobility; and if God called away the king, they should smart for it;" with some other passionate words and circumstantial speeches little for his advantage. He was buried at Framlingham in the county of Suffolk. Herbert, p. 263, &c. Burnet, vol. i. p. 345, &c. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 275.

mittee of council was sent to examine him; and, after some conference, obtained from him, partly by threats and partly by promises of the royal clemency, a paper intituled his voluntary confession, signed by his own hand, and containing the following articles: "I. That he had, at sundry times, and to different persons, disclosed the secrets of the king's council. II. That he had concealed his son's treason in using the arms (called Edward the Confessor's) appropriated to the king of England, and to which neither he nor his children, nor his ancestors, had any title. And, III. That he had, ever since his father's death, borne in the first quarter of his arms the arms of England, with a difference of the labels of silver, being the proper arms of prince Edward, which was done to the prejudice and disherison of the king and prince, and gave occasion for disturbing or interrupting the succession to the crown, and destroying the prince's inheritance." This he acknowledged to be high-treason, and confessing he deserved to be attainted for it, humbly threw himself upon the king's mercy.

The parliament, which was then sitting, taking this paper into consideration, and having been properly prepared for the bloody compliment they were to pay their inhuman master, passed a bill of attainder against the duke of Norfolk and his son, the earl of Surry, well knowing that the accusation against the duke was too frivolous, and too ill supported, to bear his being brought to a public trial before his peers; and this act received the royal assent on the twenty-seventh of January, by the lord-chancellor and other commissioners appointed for that purpose by Henry, who was unable to stir abroad, and immediately thereupon a warrant was ordered for cutting off the duke's head: and this seems to have been the last act of Henry's life.

He had, so far back as the thirtieth of December, made his will; but before that time he was grown so unwieldy and diseased that he could not write: sir Anthony Denny, John Gates, and William Cheek, three of his domestics, were empowered to sign all acts of government; as were a committee of council to put a stamp, imitating the king's hand-writing, and the royal signet, to all acts which required either. Those circumstances furnished matter to the advocates for the posterity of his eldest sister, Margaret, who apprehended they were unequally dealt by therein, to dispute the validity of this will, denying that it was ever signed by Henry: and even so late as the reign of queen Anne, this dispute was again revived, when a committee of the house of commons were appointed to search for it, but the original was not to be found; they did indeed find, in the chapter-house of Westminster, a roll consisting of several sheets of paper tacked together with a braid of green and white ribbond, written in a mean and slovenly character, and pretended to be signed by king Henry's own hand on the top of the first and the end of the last page; but, upon comparing the same with his stamp and his usual hand-writing, it agreed with neither, being fairer than ever he could write, and stiff like a counterfeit hand: and Maitland, secretary to Mary, queen of Scots, in a letter of his to Cecil, queen Elizabeth's secretary, insisted, "that as this will was not signed, but only stamped, and that not being according to the act of parliament,

which in such extraordinary things must be strictly taken, the will was of no force." The objections of the Scottish writers have, indeed, been strenuously opposed, and an attempt made to refute them by the late learned Mr. Horrabin, in his treatise of the Hereditary Right of the Crown of England. But, be this matter as it may, it was taken for granted that Henry had made his will, in which, according to the power given him by parliament, in the year 1543, he settled the succession to the crown of England in the following manner.

"First, upon the prince of Wales and his posterity. Secondly, upon the children of his present queen, or those of any future marriage he might make. Thirdly, upon the princess Mary and her issue, but with the express condition, that she should marry with the consent of the executors of his will and testament. Fourthly, upon the lady Elizabeth, with the same proviso. Fifthly, upon the lady Frances Brandon, daughter to his sister the queen of France, by the duke of Suffolk. Sixthly, upon the lady Eleanor Brandon, youngest sister to Frances. Lastly, failing all those, upon the next of kin." By other clauses of his will he named sixteen executors, who were as follow, viz. the archbishop of Canterbury, lord chancellor Wriothesley, the earl of Hertford (young Edward's uncle), lord St. John, lord Russell, lord viscount Lisle, bishop Tunstall, sir Anthony Brown, sir Edward Montagu, justice Bromley, sir William Paget, sir Anthony Denny, sir William Herbert, sir Edward Wotton, and Dr. Wotton his brother. To the lords who were his executors he left five hundred marks each, and to the commoners three hundred; and ordered his executors to pay all his debts. He made the prince of Wales heir to all his moveables, but charged him to be subject to the advice of his council until he was eighteen years old. He left three thousand pounds a year to each of his daughters, with ten thousand pounds of addition, as their whole fortune, if the executors thought proper. To the queen he left three thousand pounds in jewels or plate, with a thousand pounds in money."

Henry perceiving that his dissolution was fast approaching, was absolutely bent to send his noble prisoner, the duke of Norfolk, out of the world before him, and had for this purpose sent to the lieutenant of the Tower to have the duke executed on Tower-hill, on the twenty-ninth of January; but, fortunately for that nobleman, Henry himself was called to answer for the wickedness of his past life the very night preceding.

The rapid approach of Henry's last moments was very visible to all about him; but as, by an act passed in his reign, it had been declared high-treason to foretel the king's death, no one would run the risk of acquainting him with his situation, not knowing but, in the violence of his passion, he might execute the law in all its rigour upon the author of such friendly intelligence, especially as he had so lately given an instance in his treatment of the Howard family, that his cruelty was not at an ebb with his life.

At length, however, sir Anthony Denny ventured to disclose to him the fatal secret, and exhorted him to prepare for that transition which was so near at hand, as his legs were already mortified; for which Henry, contrary to all expectation, thanked him, and desired that Cranmer might be sent

for; but he was speechless before the archbishop arrived. When that prelate besought him to give some sign of his trust in God, through the merits of Christ, he squeezed his hand with great fervency, and immediately afterwards expired, in the fifty-fifth year and seventh month of his life, and the thirty-seventh year and tenth month of his reign, on the twenty-eighth of January, 1547, about two in the morning.

The conduct of Henry VIII. was so different and inconsistent with itself in the several periods of his life, that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to give a just description of his character, which, as his historian, the lord Herbert, observes, may be best learned from his actions. While the natural modesty of youth restrained the violence of his turbulent passions, Henry's government was the admiration of foreigners, and caused him to be almost adored by his own people: but in his more advanced years he became rapacious, arbitrary, forward, fretful, and so cruel that he seemed to delight in the blood of his subjects. The gratification of his own sensual and brutal appetites appears to have been the grand object of all his pursuits: to this he sacrificed every obligation of justice, every dictate of conscience, and every feeling of humanity: the cruel fate of the unhappy Anne Boleyn will fix an eternal mark of infamy on his character. Nevertheless, it must be owned, that, with all his vices, foibles, and imperfections, Henry had many great and agreeable qualities, both by nature and education: he had a deep judgment in all affairs to which he applied; he was not only liberal and indulgent to his family and court, but even to strangers. He made choice of able and good men for the clergy, and of able counsellors for his state affairs. It is full as undeniable (as sir Thomas More observed) that he was superior to all the princes his cotemporaries in knowledge and learning; that he was a great encourager of the sciences, and literature; that his court was fuller of learned men than most universities, he making them his companions as well as counsellors, and advancing them to high dignities both in church and state. He was particularly careful to give his children a taste for learning; and by his example introduced a fashion among the nobility, of educating theirs in the same manner. There were two fundamental defects in Henry's nature, to which all his faults in government may be ascribed, these were pride and avarice; to the latter of these passions cardinal du Bellay, who knew him well, ascribes the prosecution of Wolsey, in order to get possession of that prelate's riches: as for the pride of his heart it was immeasurable, and hence arose that excessive obstinacy and wilfulness, which (as Wolsey with his dying breath told sir William Kingston) "would make him sacrifice half his realm, rather than not have his will." After all, it must be owned, that this nation under him rose to a very high pitch of honour and consideration among its neighbours; and it is incontestable, that he was the first who delivered the English church from its slavish and disgraceful subjection to the see of Rome; and by that step laid the foundation of civil liberty: though in this work he seems to have been actuated rather by the impulse of his vicious and unruly passions, than by the motives of conscience or religion. We shall conclude this short character of the eighth Henry with the following remark, that while his political abilities entitle

him to the appellation of a Great Prince, his tyranny, cruelty, and oppression seem to exclude him from the character of a Good Sovereign.

Henry was goodly in his appearance; his presence had the stamp of majesty: he possessed a ready wit, an easy and flowing eloquence, and an incomparable activity, grace, and dexterity, in those military exercises and elegant diversions which were the usual entertainment of those times.

The following account of the ceremonies of Henry's interment cannot be displeasing to the curious reader, as it will furnish him an opportunity of drawing a comparison between the ideas of magnificence in those days, and the taste which prevails in this enlightened age.

His body remaining privately in a chamber, was there cased and put in a coffin of lead, while a sumptuous hearse of virgins wax was prepared within the chapel at Whitehall, with six goodly pillars, weighing by estimation two thousand pounds, under which hearse was a canopy of rich cloth of gold, whose valences were half gold and half black silk, into which the corpse was conveyed, covered with a pall of cloth of tissue; an altar being erected at the east end, richly adorned with black velvet and escutcheons of the king's arms; the hearse was railed about with timber, covered with black cloth, with which the chapel, cloister, hall, and chamber, were likewise hung. Within the rail were seats for the twelve lords mourners, to kneel or sit; and here the corpse remained from the second of February to the fourteenth, served with day and night-watches, a herald standing at the west end of the hearse, and desiring the people to pray, saying, "You shall of your charity pray for the soul of the most famous prince, king Henry VIII. our late most gracious king and master."

On the fourteenth of February, about ten in the morning, the king's body set forward towards Windsor, in a stately chariot, his effigies lying on the coffin, with the true imperial crown on the head, and under it a night-cap of black sattin set full of precious stones, and apparelled with robes of crimson velvet, furred with minever powdered with ermin; the collar of the Garter, with the order of St. George, about the neck; a crimson sattin doublet, embroidered with gold; two bracelets of gold about the wrists, set with stones and pearls; a fair armouring sword by the side; the sceptre in the right hand and the ball in the left; a pair of scarlet hose, crimson velvet shoes, gloves on the hands, and several diamond rings on the fingers; drawn by eight horses trapped with black, adorned with escutcheons and a shaffedon on their heads, on each of which rode a child of honour, carrying a bannerole of the king's arms. Thus, with an exceeding great train, of four miles in length, the body was conducted to Sion, where it was received at the door by the bishops of London, Bristol, and Gloucester, who performed dirge that night, and next morning the corpse, being brought into the church, was placed in a hearse like that at Whitehall, but the effigies was conveyed into the vestry.

The next morning, about six o'clock, after the third sound of the trumpets, the whole company, the marquis of Dorset being chief mourner, proceeded for Windsor, and brought the corpse to the castle college gate about one of the clock; from which place to the west door of the church a large way was railed in on both sides, and hung with black

black cloth and escutcheons; the church and choir being likewise hung round with black; the bishops of Winchester, London, and Ely, in their pontifical robes, with the sub-dean of the king's chapel, and all the singing-men of the same, and the dean of Windsor, with all the canons and their whole choir, received the corpse at the aforesaid place, whence, after incensing and such like ceremonies, it was carried into the church, the singing-men of the king's chapel on the right hand, and those of Windsor on the left, preceding it. Thus the effigies was first conveyed into the choir by divers knights and gentlemen, and then the coffin, by sixteen yeomen, with black staves in their hands, was brought into a hearse made in the midst of the choir, under which was provided a goodly vault to bury the corpse in, over which was laid a grate, whereon stood the said hearse with the coffin and picture. The hearse was like that at Whitehall, only it consisted of thirteen great pillars, and weighed, by estimation, four thousand pounds, having about it the twelve banners of descents. Thus the usual ceremonies being performed, the body remained there that night.

Wednesday being the sixteenth of February, about four o'clock began the Communion of the Trinity, performed by the sub-dean of Windsor and the sub-dean of the king's chapel, where, after an offering of gold by the chief mourner, of the knights of the Garter of St. George, and of the king's hatchments, banneroles, banners, and other trophies, as also of the king's hearse, richly trapped, came four gentlemen ushers, and took away the pall of cloth of tissue, the picture being conveyed away before by six knights into the vestry; after which sixteen strong yeomen of the guards took the coffin, and with five strong linen towels, which they had for their fees, put it into the vault, near unto the body of queen Jane Seymour, his third wife, the grate being first taken away: then the lord chamberlain, the lord great-master, the treasurer, the comptroller, and the serjeant-porter, breaking their white staves upon their heads in three parts, as did likewise all the gentlemen ushers, threw them into the grave; when Garter, assisted by the bishops of Canterbury and Durham, declared the state and the name of the most goodly prince their master, king Edward the sixth. Thus the funeral ending, the trumpets sounded in the rood loft, and the company departed.

Henry had issue as follows.

By his first wife, Catherine of Spain, he had a son named

Henry, born January 1, 1511, who died on the twenty-seventh of February following.

Another son, born the latter end of the year 1514, who died an infant. And a daughter,

Mary, born February 11, 1516, who came, after her brother Edward's death, to be queen of England.

By the second, Anne Boleyn, he had the famous queen Elizabeth. And

A male child, still-born on January 19, 1539.

By the third, Jane Seymour, he had a son, named

Edward, who succeeded him immediately in the throne.

By his three last, Anne of Cleves, Catherine Howard, and Catherine Parr, he had had no issue.

By Elizabeth, daughter of John Blount, and widow of sir Gilbert Taillebois, he had a natural

son, named Henry Fitz Roy, who, not being yet seven years old, was, on the eighteenth of June, 1525, created knight of the Garter, earl of Nottingham, duke of Richmond and Somerset, and made lieutenant of all the king's forces north of the Trent, and warden of the Marches of Scotland. On the twenty-sixth of July next following, he was constituted admiral of England; and, about five years after, made lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The handsomeness of his person, the quickness of his parts, his expertness in all kinds of military exercises, his excellent disposition, and the rare endowments of his mind, gained him the character of the finest youth of the age, and raised the expectation of the world very high in his favour. These accomplishments, the honours he had received, and the extraordinary fondness which Henry always expressed for him, raised a notion that, in defect of legitimate male issue, he would have found a way to raise this natural son to the throne. But whatever designs he had for his advantage, they proved abortive by this youth's too early death, when he was about seventeen years old, and before he had consummated his marriage with the lady Mary Howard. He died on the twenty-fourth of July, 1536, and was buried at Thetford, in Norfolk.

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES.

In his ninth year happened a sweating sickness, whereof infinite multitudes in many parts of England died, especially in London; and was so violent, that in three, and sometimes two hours, it took away mens lives, and spared neither rich nor poor; for in the king's court the lord Clinton, lord Grey of Wilton, and many knights, gentlemen, and officers died of it. It began in July, and continued to the midst of December.

In his fifteenth year, after great rains and winds, there followed so severe a frost, that many died for cold, and some lost fingers, some toes, and many their nails.

About his fifteenth year, divers things were newly brought into England; whereupon this rhyme was made:

Turkeys, carps, hops, piccards, and beer,
Came into England all in one year.

In his nineteenth year, by extremity of rain in seed-time, there followed a great dearth of corn, which would have caused great calamity, but that it was relieved in London by merchants of the Steel-yard, out of Germany, and a thousand quarters supplied out of the king's own provision.

In his twentieth year, in the end of May, began in London another sweating sickness, which afterwards infected all places of the realm, by reason whereof the term was adjourned, and the circuit of the assize also; many died in the court, as sir Francis Poynes, sir William Compton, knights, and William Carew, esq. of the king's privy-council: the king himself, for a space, removed almost every day, till he came to Tittinghanger, a place of the abbot of St. Alban's, where he, with the queen and a small number, remained till the sickness was passed.

In his thirtieth year, the manner of casting pipes of lead for conveying water under ground without using of solder, was first invented by Robert Brocke, clerk, one of the king's chaplains: a profitable invention. Robert Cooper, goldsmith, was the first that made the instruments, and put this invention in practice.

In his three-and-thirtieth year, there was a great mortality in the realm; and withal so great a drought, that small rivers were clean dried up; much cattle died for want of water, and the Thames was grown so shallow, that the salt-water flowed above London bridge, till the rain had increased the fresh water.

In his six-and-thirtieth year was a great plague in London; so as Michaelmas term was adjourned to St. Alban's, and there kept.

In his seven-and-thirtieth year, on Tuesday in Easter-week, William Foxley, pot-maker for the mint of the Tower of London, fell asleep, and could not be waked, either by pinching, burning, or any other means, till the first day of the next term, which was full fourteen days: and when he awoke, was found in all points as if he had slept but one night, and lived in perfect health forty years after.

EDWARD VI. the third King of ENGLAND of the House of TUDOR. A. D. 1547.

EDWARD VI. the only son of king Henry VIII. by his third wife, Jane Seymour, was, at the death of his father, only nine years and three months old, but a prince of most promising parts, as appears by the united testimony of all his historians, both cotemporary and others. When the eighth Henry resigned his breath, Edward was with his sister, the princess Elizabeth, at Hertford, whither Edward, earl of Hertford, and sir Anthony Brown, knight, were sent by the council to bring the young king to London: but they did not inform him of their message till they had brought him as far as Enfield, where they notified to him his father's death, and paid their homage to him as their sovereign. The next day, the thirty-first of January, they conducted him safe to London, and, having lodged him the Tower, the council repaired in a body to pay their respects to him, and proclaimed him king of England on the same day.

We have before shewn that Henry, by virtue of an act of parliament, had settled the succession of this prince by will; he had also appointed him a privy-council, being the same persons whom he had nominated the executors of his will: therefore, on the first of February, these counsellors met, opened the will, and found that the late king had nominated them regents of the kingdom and governors of his son, till he should attain the age of eighteen years. These were,

Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury.

The lord Wriothesley, lord-chancellor.

The lord Ruffel, privy-seal.

The earl of Hertford, lord high-chamberlain.

The viscount Lisle, lord admiral.

Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham.

Sir Anthony Brown, master of the horse.

Sir William Paget, secretary of state.

Sir Edward North, chancellor of the court of augmentation.

Sir Edward Montagu, lord chief-justice of the Common pleas.

Judge Bromley, } chief gentlemen of the
Sir Anthony Denny, } privy-chamber.
Sir William Herbert, }

Sir Edward Wotton, treasurer of Calais.

Dr. Wotton, his brother, dean of Canterbury and York.

Besides these sixteen, who were to exercise the sovereign authority during the minority of the present king, Henry had nominated twelve other per-

sons to be as assistant counsellors to them, to be called in as need should require. These were

Henry Fitz Allan, earl of Arundel.

William Parr, earl of Essex, brother to the queen dowager.

Sir William Petre, secretary of state.

Sir Richard Rich, counsellor at law.

Sir John Baker.

Sir Ralph Sadler.

Sir Thomas Seymour, the king's uncle, and brother to the earl of Hertford.

Sir Richard Southwell.

Sir Edmund Peckham.

Sir Thomas Cheney, treasurer of the household.

Sir John Gage, comptroller.

Sir Anthony Wingfield, vice-chamberlain.

The executors having taken the proper oaths, notifications were made to all the courts of Europe concerning the new establishment; and all the commissions to judges and justices under the great seal, were renewed. But no sooner had the regents settled the form of government agreeable to Henry's last will, which was publicly read, but a change was proposed: some of the regents observed, that it would be very troublesome for the people, and particularly for foreign ministers, to be forced to apply to sixteen persons of equal authority, and moved that one should be chosen from amongst them, to be head and president, with the title of Protector of the king's realm, and Governor of his person."

How reasonable soever this change might appear to the majority, for the dispatch of business, the lord-chancellor Wriothesley, fearing, as in fact it happened, that the choice would fall upon the king's uncle, the earl of Hertford, who was not his friend, and that this would absolutely deprive him of that sway in the government, which otherwise he might have expected from his high office of chancellor, opposed this proposal with all his might, declaring that the regents had no power to depart from the late king's will, authorised by act of parliament; but matters had been so well prepared before hand, that the chancellor's objections were over-ruled; it was resolved to appoint a protector, and that the earl of Hertford should be the person. He was accordingly declared, on the first of February, Governor of the king's person and Protector of all his realms; but, at the same time, he was bound down to act nothing without the consent of the other

Engrav'd for Mortimer's History of England.



EDWARD VI.

London, Printed for J. Wilson & J. Fell, in Stater Noster Row.

S. Wale delin.^t

C. Crinion sculp.

other regents, so that, in fact, he had only pre-eminence without power. On the sixth of the same month the new protector exercised the first act of his high authority, by knighting the young king, in the presence of the lord-mayor of London and many other lords and gentlemen; then the king, rising up under his canopy of state, dubbed the lord-mayor (Henry Hobberthorn) knight; which appears to have been the first act of sovereignty done by Edward VI.

The next thing which fell under the care of the regents and council was to make preparations for the funeral of the deceased king, and the coronation of his successor. The first of these ceremonies was performed in the manner we have related at the end of the former reign, on the fifteenth of February; and two days after (on the seventeenth), the regency took an extraordinary step, on pretence of fulfilling the intention of the late king, who had resolved to make some promotions among his courtiers: evidence was examined touching Henry's design, and, in consequence of their depositions, the following promotions were made, though with some little difference from Henry's intention:

The earl of Hertford was created duke of Somerset, with the high offices of lord-treasurer and earl-marshal, vacant by the attainder of the duke of Norfolk, then under sentence of death.

The earl of Essex, marquis of Northampton.

Dudley, viscount Lisle, earl of Warwick.

The lord-chancellor Wriothesley, earl of Southampton.

Sir Thomas Seymour, lord Sudley.

Sir Richard Rich, sir William Willoughby, and sir Edmund Sheffield, had the title of barons, by the names of their families*.

It had been at first resolved, that the coronation should have been performed on the nineteenth of February, and the marquis of Dorset had commission for being high-constable of England that day; but it was thought more proper to defer the ceremony till the twentieth, which was Shrove Sunday, and the lord Russell was made lord-high-steward for the same day. Accordingly, the young king, being conducted in great state from the Tower through the city of London, took up his lodgings in his palace of Westminster on the nineteenth, and the day following was crowned with the royal diadem, anointed in a solemn manner, and consecrated by Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by other bishops and all the chief nobility of the realm. There was a new form for the coronation of this king, which the curious reader may see in bishop Burnet's Collections.

To grace this ceremony forty knights of the Bath were made†; and, on the Tuesday following, the king dubbed fifty knights of the carpet‡. At the same time a free pardon was granted and proclaimed throughout all the king's dominions, out of which were excepted the duke of Norfolk, cardinal Pole, Edward Courtney, eldest son to the marquis of Exeter (lately beheaded), Mr. Throgmorton, and Dr. Richard Pates, or Pate, who, having been bishop of Worcester in the late king's reign, had, some years before, gone out of the kingdom to Rome, rather than acknowledge the king's supremacy over the church of England. It appears as if the council thought that the release of these persons would be too considerable an accession to the Romish party, and check the schemes of reformation that had been already planned.

But now the secret enmity between the protector's family and the lord-chancellor Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, broke out into a violent flame, which brought on the disgrace of the latter, and in the end proved the ruin of the protector. Southampton was an obstinate, restless, proud, man, impatient of the least controul, and, from the time of Somerset's elevation, had determined to make him as uneasy as possible in his high station by opposing all his measures; and, that he might give himself up entirely to the affairs of the cabinet, he, without any warrant from the king, lord-protector, or other of the regency, of his own authority ventured to put the great-seal in commission, and appointed four lawyers, Southwell, Tregonel, Oliver, and Pallasir, to execute, in his absence, the office of high-chancellor of England. A measure so replete with arrogance and presumption, could not fail of giving great umbrage to the government, who, influenced by the protector, gladly seized such an opportunity of ruining Southampton. The judges being consulted, declared, that the commission he had granted was contrary to the laws of the land; and that the chancellor, for such an unconstitutional step, ought not only to be deprived of the seals, but might likewise be subjected to the severest punishment: thereupon the council summoned him to attend, when his behaviour was so indecent and haughty, defending his own power, and calling theirs and the protector's in question, that he provoked them to use him with greater severity than they at first perhaps intended. Accordingly he was commanded to his own house, not to stir from thence till farther orders; and then the council came to this resolution, to deprive him of the chancellorship, and to keep him under arrest, to prevent his interfering in the regency, from

* According to the evidence, Henry declared his intention to be that the earl of Hertford should be made duke of Somerset, earl-marshal, and lord-treasurer, two great offices vacant by the attainder of the duke of Norfolk; and his son to be earl of Wiltshire, with eight hundred pounds a year of land, and three hundred a year out of the next bishop's land that fell void; the earl of Essex to be marquis of Essex; the viscount Lisle to be earl of Coventry; the lord Wriothesley to be earl of Winchester; sir Thomas Seymour, to be baron and lord-admiral; sir Richard Rich, sir John Leiger, sir William Willoughby, sir Edward Sheffield, and sir Christopher Danby, to be barons.

† Their names not being found in our general historians, we shall give them here, from an authentic record, for the honour and satisfaction of their posterity.

‡ The duke of Suffolk, the earl of Hertford, the lord Talbot, the lord Charles Brandon, the lord Scrope's son and heir, sir Francis Russell, sir Anthony Brown, sir John Gates, sir Alex-

ander Umpton, of Oxfordshire, sir Valentine Knightley, sir George Vernon, of the Peak, sir — Holcraft (Thomas, who perhaps was knight marshal), the earl of Oxford, the earl of Ormond, the lord Herbert, the lord Cromwell, the lord Windsor's son and heir, sir Richard Devereux, sir Henry Seymour, sir Thomas Houffelyn, sir Edward Molineux, sir William Balthrope (Babthrope perhaps,) sir Thomas Nevyl, of Hold, sir Henry Tirrel, sir Wymond Carew, the lord Maltravers, the lord Strange, the lord Lisle, the lord Hastings, sir Anthony Cook, of Essex, sir George Norton, sir Robert Litton, sir John Port, of Derbyshire, sir Christopher Barker, Garter, sir James Hales, sir Thomas Brycknell, sir Angel Marcin, sir John Cutts, of Essex, sir William Scarington, and sir William Snahe.

† The chief of whom were sir John Radcliff, sir Thomas Grey, sir Anthony Aagier, sir John Mafon, sir John Wyndham, and sir John Vaughan.

which they did not presume to remove him, as he sat there by the same authority by which they themselves acted. The seals were given, on the seventh of March, to sir William Paulet, till another chancellor should be appointed. The earl of Southampton was not released from his confinement till the twenty-ninth of June following, when he entered into a recognizance of four thousand pounds to pay what fine they should be pleased to impose upon him.

The protector, exulting in the downfall of a person from whom he naturally expected much opposition, now thought himself at full liberty to controul the councils of his sovereign, and aspired at nothing less than to engross the sole management of affairs into his own hands. With this view he resolved to get his powers put upon a broader foundation, and obtained from the young king a patent constituting him protector, with full regal power, and appointing him a council, composed of all the former executors, or regents, except Southampton; but he had also power given him of choosing any other counsellors at pleasure, and was at liberty to consult such only whom he should think proper. By this patent, which was passed on the thirteenth of March, Somerset made himself absolute master of the government, though in so doing he entailed upon himself the hatred and envy as well of the co-executors of the late king's will (which had in this case been manifestly infringed), as of many other noblemen.

The commotions and revolutions in the regency did not, however, so far engross their attention as to render them forgetful of the public weal, for we find in the records of state*, two new treaties concluded with France; one to renew the ancient alliances subsisting between the two crowns, and the other to explain the articles of peace which the late king Henry had made with Francis, relating to the bounds and territories of Boulogne, and the fortifications erecting by both parties in the neighbourhood of that place. Both these treaties were signed at London, on the eleventh of March; but Francis I. dying the thirty-first of the same month, prevented their being ratified: he was succeeded by his son the dauphin, who assumed the sceptre by the name of Henry II.

The death of Francis introduced a considerable alteration in the affairs of Europe, and a total one in those of France; for the new sovereign, ruled by the pernicious counsels of the cardinal of Lorraine and his brother, the duke of Guise, could not be prevailed upon to confirm the treaties with England; and the two brothers being zealous champions for the popish authority and religion, resolved at all events to prevent the projected marriage of Edward with Mary, queen of Scots, their niece: with this view they persuaded their master to recover Boulogne out of the hands of the English at any rate, to reject the treaties, and even to disown the ambassadors which had been sent by the deceased king Francis to London, to conclude them. In this state stood affairs at this time between England and France.

As to those of Germany, the Protestants, who had been ill used by the emperor in the last campaign, found themselves, by the death of Francis I. and Henry VIII. wholly deprived of the assistance

which they expected from France and England: Henry II's ministers did not think proper that he should engage in a war with the emperor, to support a religion for which they had an implacable hatred; but, as policy seemed to require that some efforts should be made by France to oppose the progress of the Imperial arms, which had, during the last year's campaign, carried every thing before them, they intimated to Henry the expediency of first recovering Boulogne, after which it would be still time enough to protect Germany, in case the emperor grew too powerful there. Mean while, the princes of the Smalcaldic league having sent to Edward for aid, fifty thousand crowns were privately given them by the regency, as it was not thought prudent to offend the emperor just at this time.

In this condition stood matters at the commencement of the new government; and we cannot chuse a more proper place for introducing the reader to a knowledge of the characters and views of the several chief personages that had the management of affairs at home; the more especially as the history of this reign will be found not so much the history of the king himself, as of his governors and ministers.

We shall begin with Edward, duke of Somerset, the protector, whose character is thus collected by a late impartial writer. He was a person of very great virtues, eminent for his piety, courteous and affable in his greatness, sincere and candid in all his transactions, a patron of the poor and oppressed, but a better general than a counsellor: and though he was not without his faults, yet they were only such as human infirmity exposes most men to, when they are advanced to a high station. He had, indeed, a tincture of vanity, and a fondness for his own notions; and being a man of no extraordinary parts, was too much at the disposal of those, who by flatteries and submissions insinuated themselves into his esteem and confidence. He made likewise too great haste to raise a vast estate, to be altogether innocent. But, to balance these defects, he was never charged with personal vices, nor guilty of falsehood, of perverting justice, of cruelty, or of oppression.

Of a very different character was his brother, Thomas Seymour, lord Sudley; he was proud, haughty, and ambitious. Being uncle to the king, he could not bear the distinction made between him and the duke of Somerset by their royal nephew, thinking himself, by his birth and natural endowments, as worthy as his brother Edward, of having a share in the administration of the government, and finding himself excluded therefrom by the will of the deceased king, he immediately made his addresses to the princess Elizabeth, hoping by that means one day to compass the throne itself. However, his project being not like to succeed, he, for the present, fed his ambition by taking up with the relics of royalty, and married the queen dowager, before her royal consort had been dead a month, which he kept private till he found means, unknown to the protector, to procure a letter from the king, recommending him to the queen for an husband. Upon this the marriage was declared, without using any ceremony with his brother. From this event we may date the breach between the protector and admiral, which was never made up,

* Rymer, vol. xv. p. 126, 135, 139.

though the protector, who was a man of great moderation, prevented the quarrel from breaking out: But the admiral, looking upon every promotion and act of power in his brother, to be a lessening or eclipsing of his own birth and affinity to the crown, gave way to all the means that passion, envy, and malice, could invent, to supplant him; he joined the discontented and plotting nobles, and attempted to corrupt the king himself in prejudice to the duke.

Wriothesley, the earl of Southampton, seems to have been a man of parts; but he was too troublesome to his equals, and too violent in his measures, to keep his footing in this government. The severity, however, that it had shewn him did not discourage him from continuing his intrigues; and, perhaps, he was the author of that dark management which wrought the downfall of the protector-duke. But he was personally, and not undeservedly, hated for the cruelty of his persecutions when in power.

The character of Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, is sufficiently known by what has been said of him in the foregoing reign; we shall only add two things: the first, that he did not much love to meddle with state-affairs, for which he was not very properly qualified by reason of certain maxims of candour and sincerity, which he followed, and which were very opposite to those generally observed in the government of states. The second thing concerning Cranmer, is that he was extremely zealous to promote the reformation. Since he was no longer restrained by such a master as Henry, he was so far from concealing his opinions, that he even laboured with all his power to establish them by public authority: he was the first mover of whatever was done with regard to the reformation. But his zeal was tempered with a maxim which he believed absolutely necessary, namely, to proceed by degrees, and retrench first the gross abuses, that the people might be gradually accustomed to the changes before the tenets of greater consequence were crushed.

John Dudley, earl of Warwick, was son of Edmund Dudley, who had suffered for oppressing the people in the beginning of the late reign: king Henry VIII. however, was pleased, after he had sacrificed the father to the resentment of the people, to dignify his son John with the title of lord Dudley; and after with that of viscount Lisle. The young favourite improved this happy revolution of his affairs by a diligent observance of the king's pleasure: he made a considerable figure in those employments at court with which he was entrusted, to the king's satisfaction, and distinguished himself so remarkably by his bravery and conduct in the wars, that he was first made governor of Boulogne, and afterwards admiral of a fleet fitted out against France. He was, in a word, both a brave soldier and an artful courtier, but of very indifferent morals: he was blindly addicted to his pleasures, and would sometimes run into excessive debaucheries; nor was he very scrupulous with regard to honour and virtue, for as his ambition was boundless, he did not stick at the worst of means to accomplish his ends; from whence we may readily suppose that he was not very scrupulous in religious matters: while Henry VIII. reigned he kept strictly the bounds prescribed by that prince; and he no sooner saw the majority in

king Edward's council for the reformation, but he declared openly on their side, as the only way to please the king, and to advance his own fortune. But as his scheme to make religion only a means to raise himself, was easily discovered by the Protestant party, they never put any confidence in him, nor would consent to his promotion to the chancery, as he expected, upon the disgrace of Wriothesley; and therefore, from this disappointment, we may date his disgust with the protector, and a resolution to try to ruin him, as we shall find he effectually did, though he had attained by his means the titles of earl of Warwick and duke of Northumberland; and gained his daughter in marriage for his son viscount Lisle. So implacable is hatred founded upon ambition, that neither the ties of gratitude, nor affinity, are able to reconcile it.

These characters, properly considered, will furnish the reader with a just idea of the several revolutions in the ministry during this short reign; and for that reason we thought it necessary to introduce them. It may have been expected, that we should have begun with the character of Edward himself; but the reader is to consider, that he was at this time only nine years of age, and consequently could not be said to have any determinate character: he indeed, before his death, acquired a character; but this is not the proper place to treat of it: we shall therefore defer, to another opportunity, any farther account of the disposition of Edward, and resume the thread of our history.

Henry VIII. had, some time before his death, determined to force the Scots to give their young queen Mary in marriage to his young son Edward; and this match appearing most advantageous to the crown of England, Henry had, during his last illness, given positive directions to execute his project at all events; therefore the protector resolved to put in force the dying injunctions of his royal master, and, if possible, to unite the two kingdoms by uniting the hands of their two youthful sovereigns. Previous, however, to taking the necessary steps for that purpose, he thought it advisable to settle the internal government of the kingdom, and to put the reformation, for which he was a staunch friend, upon such a footing as might enable it to baffle the attacks of its open or concealed enemies.

In this he was not a little assisted by the affection young Edward himself had to the reformed principles, and by the cool and politic councils of Cranmer. This prelate had, without being seen to stir in the matter, procured several of the best books written abroad against popery, to be translated and published in England. The queen dowager, Catherine Parr, not only assisted in publishing, but translated great part of the Paraphrase of Erasmus upon the New Testament. Cranmer had likewise published a Catechism, which he translated and improved from the Latin, and which was chiefly aimed against the abolished worship: he also composed several Homilies, to be delivered by priests in the nature of sermons. A book, of which the late king was the reputed author, concerning the true difference between the regal and the ecclesiastical powers, was translated and published: at the same time an excellent treatise of reformation, by Herman, archbishop of Cologne, was rendered into English, and printed; part of the English service for the Evening Prayer, was already, before any

act of parliament passed for that purpose, openly performed in the king's chapel: the sacrament had for some time been administered in both kinds, the doctrine of purgatory was exploded among the reformed, and the marriage of the clergy was allowed.

The chief opposers of the reformation were the princess Mary, Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, Tunstall, bishop of Durham, Bonner, bishop of London, and Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, with some other of the bishops, and many of the inferior clergy, consisting of the suppressed monks, who had been recommended to livings; these stuck out against every measure that did not square exactly with the state of things as they were left by king Henry VIII. and the hint was given to all the papists in the nation to pursue the same argument, in which they were warmly seconded by their leaders, who charged the protector with destroying the form of government and religion established by Henry's will, from which alone all their authority was derived.

But all these remonstrances and efforts produced no effect; an act of parliament had bestowed a legislative power on the crown, and royal proclamations, even during a minority, possessed all the force and authority of laws: the protector availed himself of this statute, and, the present juncture being so favourable for the reformation, he, and such of the council as were of his sentiments, resolved to improve it. To that end they ordered a general visitation of all the churches: the whole kingdom was divided into six circuits, each of which was assigned to a certain number of visitors, who were partly laymen and partly ecclesiastics. The chief purport of their instructions was to abolish certain gross abuses that were introduced into divine service, and particularly with regard to images; but at the same time they were directed to proceed with the greatest delicacy and reserve. With this visitation commenced the execution of the design already formed of perfecting the reformation, which was properly but just begun in the former reign.

The protector now turned all his attention to the war with Scotland; and in prosecution of this plan assembled an army of eighteen thousand men, and equipped a fleet of sixty sail, one half of which were ships of war, the other loaded with provisions and ammunition; the command of the fleet he bestowed upon lord Clinton, while himself, assisted by the earl of Warwick, was to conduct the land forces. While this armament was getting ready, the French ambassador, by orders from his court, applied to the regency, desiring them to consent to a negotiation, in order to compromise matters if possible without the effusion of blood. The protector, who was desirous of keeping fair with the French court, readily prevailed on the regents to comply with the ambassador's request, and Tunstall, bishop of Durham, and sir Thomas Rowe, were appointed, on the part of England, to meet the Scottish commissioners at Newcastle, at which place conferences were opened on the fourth of August; but as Tunstall and his colleague had orders to break up the congress immediately, if the Scottish ambassadors had no power to consent to the marriage, and as they declared no such powers were vested in them, the negotiation proved fruitless, and the protector- duke, with his army, entered Scotland, by the way of Berwick, on the second of September.

The pretence for these hostile proceedings was to revenge some depredations committed by the Scottish borderers: but, besides that the protector renewed the ancient claim of the superiority of England, which was pompously asserted in a letter set forth by bishop Tunstall; and the protector himself issued a manifesto, in which he enforced the necessity and expediency of a marriage being immediately concluded between the young queen of Scots and Edward, by a variety of arguments. These were deduced from the situation of the two kingdoms, which nature, by cutting them from all communication with foreign states, and surrounding them by the ocean, seemed to have designed for one empire; from the similarity of the inhabitants in laws, language, manners, and customs, by which means they might the more easily be united into one people; the equality of the young king and queen in point of age and fortune; the imminent danger to which Scotland was perpetually exposed from the hostile attempts of a richer and more powerful neighbour; the many and great advantages that must necessarily result to the natives of both countries from living in a state of peace and security: and the protector added, that, besides all these considerations, positive engagements had been made for concluding this alliance; and that the Scots were bound in honour to perform what their interest and safety so loudly demanded.

He soon found, however, that all these remonstrances were rendered ineffectual by the arts and intrigues of the queen-dowager of Scotland, who was warmly attached to the interests of France and to the Roman catholic religion: and, much against his will, found nothing left but to compel the Scots by force of arms to submit to a measure, which no motives of policy or prudence could induce them to embrace: accordingly, leaving Berwick, he continued his march towards Edinburgh, without meeting with any resistance, except from some small castles which were forced to surrender at discretion.

The earl of Arran, governor of Scotland, had collected the whole force of the kingdom, and his army, which was twice as numerous as that of the English, had taken post at Musselburgh, on a very advantageous ground, secured by the banks of the river Esk, about six miles from Edinburgh. The English army lay at Preston Pans. Several encounters happened while they were in this situation, and one in particular, in which the earl of Warwick was in great danger of being taken prisoner. It is not improbable that the English army, notwithstanding all the precautions that had been taken, found itself greatly distressed in its late march; for we find that the protector- duke, on the approach of the Scottish army, sent a letter to the earl of Arran, in which he assured that nobleman of his good intentions towards the kingdom and people of Scotland, and declared himself ready to return to England, and to pay all the damages they had suffered from his army, provided they would allow their infant queen to be educated in England, and to continue unbetrothed till she should come to years of discretion, and that then she should be left to her own liberty to make choice of a husband. All these offers were rejected by the Scots, and several bravading messages came from their camp, which exposed their insolence rather than discovered their courage.

The protector-duke now resolved upon a general engagement as soon as a proper opportunity should offer for the same with a prospect of advantage. The river Esk ran between the two camps, and both armies continued inactive until the English ships arrived in the Firth of Forth, and lay so as to flank the Scots: the English then made a feint, as if they designed to take up a ground which commanded the enemy's camp; this had the desired effect, for when the Scots saw the protector-duke alter his position, and advance towards the sea-shore, they made not the least doubt that he intended to re-embark and make his escape on board his ships, which at that very time moved into the harbour of Musselburgh. Deluded by these appearances and their own vanity, orders were given for advancing to charge the flying foe, which they could not do without passing through a plain which lay before the English camp, and expose themselves to all the fire as well from the ships in the harbour as the enemy's army.

The Scottish regent drew up his men in three bodies; the earl of Angus commanded the first line, which was formed of their best troops; the second line was commanded by the earl of Arran himself; the third by the gallant George Gordon, earl of Huntley; and the earl of Argyll headed a body of Highland archers, who served upon the flanks of the second and third lines, and as a guard to their artillery.

The protector-duke was not a little delighted when he saw the Scots make their movement, which assured him a cheap and easy victory. He drew up his troops in two lines; the earl of Warwick commanded the first, the protector-duke the second, and the lord Grey of Wilton commanded a reserved body of cavalry, with orders to attack that flank of the enemy which was not exposed to the fire from the English shipping. While the enemy were advancing on the plain, they received a full discharge from the cannon on board the ships in the harbour, which threw the Highland archers into such confusion, that the lord Grey could not resist the tempting opportunity of attacking them before they could recover themselves; but this disobedience of orders had well nigh lost the English the victory, for the Scots rallying behind a deep slough, and Grey attacking them there with his heavy-armed horse, met a severe repulse; he himself was dangerously wounded, lord Edward Seymour, son to the protector-duke, was unhorsed, the English standard was narrowly saved from falling into the enemy's hands: but the earl of Warwick and the duke of Somerset, being determined either to die or to conquer, advanced with so much speed to the support of the cavalry, that the latter formed again behind their infantry, and the battle became more obstinate. The ill-armed Scots could not long sustain the dispute: the camp-artillery of the English, which was planted conveniently for the purpose on an eminence, played full upon their flank, while the ordnance from the shipping (anchored close in shore) galled them on the other; and the lord Grey, eager to repair his error, charged them in front with his rallied horse with so much resolution, that their first line gave way. The Highland archers taking to flight, spread the alarm of a general rout through all the ranks, and rendered the

whole one general scene of confusion, terror, flight, and consternation. The bravest of the Scots were put to the sword, and the rout and slaughter became so general, that, from the field of battle to Edinburgh (a space of upwards of five miles) the whole ground was covered with the dead and dying. Never was victory more decisive: according to the lowest calculation, there fell in the fight above ten thousand of the Scots, and about fifteen hundred surrendered themselves prisoners. The Scottish nobility behaved very gallantly, and many of them were either killed or taken prisoners. The loss sustained by the English was so inconsiderable as hardly to deserve mention, it being assured that not above two hundred were slain in the action.

So dreadful a defeat, with other misfortunes that followed it, seemed to threaten Scotland with utter ruin. The regent retired to Edinburgh, and, after he had garrisoned the castle, shut himself and the queen up in Stirling, with the remains of his army. The protector marched directly to Leith, which he took without opposition; and entering Edinburgh, made an attack upon the castle; but being repulsed, to make amends for the disappointment, he plundered the town, while the fleet, under lord Clinton, burned all the places on the sea-coast, and took all the shipping of the Scots in the firth of Forth.

The duke of Somerset, had he taken all the advantages his late victory gave him, must doubtless have forced the young queen out of the Scottish regent's hands, and compelled him to agree to any terms he might have thought proper to impose: but he was impatient to return to England, where he heard that some of the regency, and even his own brother, were forming cabals against his authority. Accordingly, after having given orders for fortifying the island of St. Columba, which, with the help of the English fleet, commanded the Forth and the castle of Broughty, which lay in the mouth of the Tay (the two chief rivers of Scotland), he departed for England on the eighteenth of September, taking his route through the counties of Marche and Tiviotdale: he left a garrison in the castle of Hume, and made sir Ralph Palmer governor of Roxburgh, which he ordered to be repaired; and, at his return to London, on the eighth of October, the mayor and aldermen went in their formalities to meet him in Finsbury Field*.

In the mean time the business of the reformation proceeded with great advances: nor were any of the prelates found hardy enough to obstruct the commission of visitation issued by the crown, except the bishops Gardiner and Bonner, who were thereupon committed to prison: and though the princess Mary, on this occasion, wrote to the protector, signifying her dislike of all the changes which were making in religion, he replied, in very strong terms, that he did not think himself obliged to conform to her sentiments. About this time archbishop Cranmer, in the king's name, invited into England the famous Peter Martyr, a native of Florence; Ochinus, who was made a canon of Canterbury, with a dispensation of residence; Fagus, who was made Hebrew professor at Cambridge, with a pension of one hundred pounds per

* Now called the Artillery-ground.

annum; Bucer, who was seated in the divinity-chair at Oxford, as Peter Martyr was at Cambridge, each with a pension of one hundred pounds a year.

The protector was no sooner arrived at London, than he found that his brother Thomas, who had been lately created by patent lord high-admiral of England, had not only caballed with his enemies, but had made vigorous efforts to supplant him in his high post, having gained such an ascendancy over Edward, that he had persuaded him to write, with his own hand, a letter to the house of commons, recommending him to their choice as governor of the king's person, a post to which he said he was intitled by the former usages of parliaments, as being uncle to the king. This pretension struck at the root of all the protector's greatness, but still he endeavoured to reclaim his brother by methods of gentleness and munificence; but finding him still determined to push his point, the duke saw that nothing but a parliament could either save or serve him. Summons were therefore issued for holding a session on the fourth of the following month.

In the mean time he informed the council of the letter his brother had obtained from the young king, and that he proposed to offer the same to the house at its meeting; whereupon several lords were sent by the council to dissuade the admiral from so gross a proceeding: and when they returned with a report of his confirmed resolution to carry the letter, they next day sent an order to him to appear before them in council, which he at first refused to comply with, till they threatened to deprive him of all his offices, commit him to the Tower, and indict him upon the statute which made it death for any person to disturb the established government. These menaces brought him a little to consider the danger he should run by disobeying the council, and at last to pretend a reconciliation with his brother, and submission to the regency; I say to pretend a reconciliation, for he never ceased privately to incense the king against the protector and his other ministers, which was diligently observed by the spies set over him, and made the protector ever after look upon him as a very dangerous enemy.

The chancellorship being at this time vacant, since the disgrace of Wriothesley, a few days before the parliament met, the privy counsellor lord Rich was made chancellor. He was grand-son to Richard Rich, a wealthy mercer, and sheriff of London; this gentleman had been bred a lawyer, and, by his pliant temper, raised himself to the pinnacle of the law. On the third of November, the day before the meeting of the parliament, the council ordered the great-seal to be fixed to a patent, to warrant the protector "to sit in parliament upon a stool under the cloth of state, on the right hand of the throne, whether the king was present or not." The duke, by the same patent, was intitled "to all privileges and pre-eminences ever enjoyed by any former uncle, either by father's or mother's side, to a king of England, or by any protector of the kingdom during the minority, with a Non obstante to all statutes to the contrary*." These honours were not so necessary as they were invidious, particularly to the old nobility, and created the duke a great many enemies, who scrupled

not to take occasion from hence to accuse him of aspiring too high, and of an intention to destroy the form of government established by the late king.

But if Somerset discovered his vanity and weakness in assuming so much state and grandeur, he merits the highest praise on account of the laws enacted, through his influence, in the session of parliament, which now met on the fourth of November, and by whom the rigour of former statutes was greatly softened, and some security given to the privileges of the people. The first act was to repeal all laws which extended the crime of treason beyond the statute of 28 Edw. III. All laws passed during the late reign extending the crime of felony; all the former laws against Lollards, or heretics, together with the bloody statute of the Six Articles; no person was to be accused of words but within a month after they were spoken. By these repeals some of the most severe laws that ever were enacted in England were annulled, and the people began to have the happy prospect of enjoying some share of civil and religious liberty. Heresy, however, was still a capital crime by the common law, and was liable to the penalty of burning; but there was no precise standard by which that crime could be ascertained, a circumstance which might either be advantageous or prejudicial to the public security, according to the rigour or lenity of the judges.

The parliament also repealed that law, the destruction of all laws, by which the king's proclamation was made equal to a statute; they likewise mitigated that other law, passed in the twenty-eighth of the late reign, by which the king was empowered to annul all laws enacted before he had attained his twenty-fourth year: at the same time they left him at liberty, after he should come to the said age, to annul them for the future by his letters patent; but he could not reverse any effects which had already ensued from them.

There were likewise several laws enacted, which contributed greatly to promote the reformation; the cup was restored to the laity; private masses were abolished; the king was invested with a power of creating bishops, without any election of the chapter; and all processes in the bishops courts (those of Canterbury excepted) were to be carried on in the king's name, and sealed by his seal, as in courts of common law.

In this parliament a statute was made against vagrants, by which it was enacted, "That any man or woman not being disabled by age, accident, or sickness, and not having lands or other means sufficient to maintain them, that wandered up and down idly for three days together, without employment, such persons, being brought before two justices of the peace, were to be slaves two years to the person that brought them, and marked with the letter V."

It appears upon the face of this act, that it was chiefly levelled against the ousted monks, and other religious persons, who being destitute of all provisions, except a small ill-paid pension, which some of them had, were obliged to go about the country for subsistence, and, it seems, gave the people unfavourable impressions of the reformation.

But the bill, which made the greatest noise in this parliament, was that which gave chantries and col-

* Rymer, vol. xv. p. 164.

leges to the crown. The pretext for pushing this bill, was to enable the king to pay part of his debts; the reason was, the hopes which the courtiers had, by sales or gifts of them, to enlarge their own estates. Cranmer and several bishops were of opinion, that the revenues of the church, by the impropriation of the tythes, and other methods of alienation were already too much reduced; he therefore strenuously opposed the bill, and was joined by the bishops of London, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Hereford, Winchester, and Chichester: but it passed the house of peers; and, notwithstanding some opposition, that of the commons likewise. An act had passed in the late reign, granting those chantries to the crown; but, it seems, the commissioners entrusted with this act had neglected to take possession of them, and therefore this new act became necessary. By this act no fewer than two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and other religious foundations fell to the crown, with a few reserves of pensions to be paid to the ousted incumbents.

It was likewise decreed, that all who denied the supremacy of the king, or maintained that of the pope, should, for their first offence, forfeit their goods and chattels, and be imprisoned during pleasure; for the second offence, should be subject to *Præmunire*; and for the third offence, be attainted of high-treason.

The penalties of this last crime were denounced against all who should endeavour, by writing, printing, or any overt-act or deed, to deprive the king of his estate or titles, particularly of his supremacy, or to bestow them on any other, as well as against the heirs of the crown who should attempt to usurp upon one another, and to break the established order of succession.

The convocation assembled at the same time with the parliament; and as it appeared the freedom of their debates were greatly hampered by the rigour of the Six Articles, the king indulged them with a dispensation from that statute, before it was annulled by parliament.

The lower house of convocation presented a petition, desiring that they might have the liberty of sitting with the commons in parliament; or, if this privilege, which they pretended to claim by ancient right, was denied them, they required that no law concerning religion might be enacted in parliament without their consent and approbation.

But the principles of that age were more favourable to the civil than the ecclesiastical power; and, though it is probable that the lower clergy had a right of sending representatives to the house of commons, yet that practice had been discontinued for above two centuries, and the present juncture was by no means a proper season for endeavouring to revive it.

This parliament, having gone through its business, broke up on the twenty-fourth of December, after having granted the king a subsidy, and passed an act of grace, by which bishop Gardiner and Bonner were discharged from the Fleet, none being excepted but such prisoners as were confined in the Tower of London.

In the course of this year the face of affairs in Germany was entirely changed; the emperor de-

feated and took prisoner John Frederick, elector of Saxony, and declared his cousin Maurice elector, who at the same time took possession of the electoral dominions. After this disaster, the landgrave of Hesse, finding himself unable to maintain the war, made the best terms he could with the emperor, and came to him upon the faith of a safe-conduct, which expressly ran, that he should not be liable to *any* imprisonment; but, by a gross fraud, instead of the German word *einig*, which signifies *any*, the word *einig*, which signifies *perpetual*, was inserted; by this base artifice he was detained a prisoner, to be released at the emperor's pleasure. The imprisonment of the two heads rendered the protestant party very weak, and the emperor's triumphant, who now made sundry alterations, tending to destroy the reformation in Germany*.

In the beginning of the year 1548, the council made several alterations in the ceremonies of religion: it forbade the superstitious blessing of candles on the day of the Purification (February 2, thence called Candlemas-day), the blessing of ashes on the first day of Lent (Ash Wednesday), and of palms on the Sunday next before Easter (or Palm Sunday); all Wakes and Plough-Monday days were forbidden, and ordered to be suppressed. A few days after, they approved of the people's zeal in pulling down images, and ordered that they should be removed out of all churches. They also did what lay in their power to abolish auricular confession, that badge of popish slavery which kept the deluded people in eternal subjection to the tricks and impositions of the priests. But these great points against popery were not carried without some opposition, though confirmed by the king's proclamation, in virtue of his supremacy: Gardiner, though so lately released from confinement, once more attempted to obstruct the great work of reformation, by publicly protesting against all changes in religion during the king's minority. This drew upon him the resentment of the administration a second time, who sent him to the Tower; and this act of severity to their head intimidated the popish party to such a degree, that they conformed to the new ordinances without hesitation.

The lord high-admiral Seymour had for some time continued pretty quiet; but now he returned to his former practices of caballing with the servants about the king's person. As the public had a very indifferent opinion of his morals, it was suspected that the death of his wife (Catherine Parr, the queen-dowager), which happened about this time, in child-bed, was hastened by his arts, that he might be at liberty to renew his addresses to the princess Elizabeth. It is certain that he was charged with this courtship before the council, and that it was afterwards made an article against him; nor did he deny it. But we are now to attend the affairs of Scotland.

Upon the return of the protector-duke last year from that country, he received a letter from the earl of Arran, in Stirling, begging he might be allowed to send commissioners to treat of an accommodation; on which Somerset, who was very desirous of terminating matters with the Scots in an amicable manner, named Berwick as the place of meeting, and invested the earl of Warwick with full powers to settle the preliminaries; but no com-

* Sleidan. Burnet.

missioners from Scotland ever appeared, this proposal of the Scots being only an artifice to gain time, until they could receive assistance from France, whose ministry had given them the strongest assurances of a powerful support; and in the mean time they laid siege to Broughty castle, which the English had garrisoned. This obliged the protector, contrary to his inclination, to continue the war, and to send Francis Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, against the Scots, in the character of his lieutenant-general, having granted him a commission for this purpose by the authority of a new patent, which was afterwards urged as an article of accusation against him. In the mean time the lord Grey of Wilton took and fortified Haddington, which gave him the command of the most fruitful part of Scotland, and from whence he made excursions to the very gates of Edinburgh, from which it was distant not above twelve miles. Soon after he took the fort of Lauder also, without the Scots thinking proper to attempt the retaking either till they heard of the French succours landing at Leith, about the beginning of June.

These succours consisted of six thousand men, the best troops, and commanded by d'Esse, one of the best officers in France; they would not, however, act offensively against England till the young queen of Scotland was put into their hands, and sent into France: she was accordingly committed to the care of Mr. de Villegagnon, the French admiral, who conducted her north-about, in order to avoid the English fleet, under the lord-admiral Seymour, who made several fruitless descents upon the coast; but having missed the chief object of his expedition, he returned home, after doing very little damage to the enemy.

The French having thus obtained their ends, joined the Scots in forming the siege of Haddington, which was nobly defended by Wilford, whom the lord Grey had made its governor. While they were before the place, they had the good fortune to surprize and cut off a party of thirteen hundred men, sent under sir Robert Bowes and sir Thomas Palmer to its relief; but were themselves forced to raise the siege at the approach of the earl of Shrewsbury, with twenty-two thousand men, among whom were three thousand Germans, hired of the princes of the league. With such a force it would seem that the earl had it in his power greatly to distress the enemy; but, by an infatuation not to be accounted for, after having supplied the castle with provisions, he retired abruptly into England, which gave the French so much spirits, that they made an inroad into England as far as Newcastle, and, meeting with no resistance, returned laden with spoil. The French general, d'Esse, flushed with this success, began to behave with so much imperiousness towards the Scots, that the queen-dowager wrote over to his court to desire he might be recalled; but the French ministry, though they granted her request in this particular, gave her and the Scots much greater reason of complaint, by forcing upon them Mr. Montluc, bishop of Valence, to be chancellor of Scotland, who was sent over, under the protection of a new general, Mr. de Thermes.

While the war was thus carrying on in Scotland, the protector was indefatigable in pushing the progress of the reformation. The public offices in the church were reviewed; a new Catechism was pub-

lished by Cranmer; and a new Liturgy, drawn up after a long consideration and debate. The protector, to take off as much as possible, all opposition to these proceedings, affected an extraordinary regard for the princess Mary, and procured for her a grant from the crown of lands to the amount of three thousand five hundred pounds a year; but we do not find that all those extraordinary indulgences made any impression on her in favour of the reformation, on the contrary, she both spoke and wrote publicly against the late innovations. All this summer the plague raged in London and Westminster, so that the court removed, in September, to Hatfield, from which place a proclamation was published for adjourning the term on the same account; and another was soon after published for preventing the exportation of all corn and other victuals, on account of the prevailing scarcity.

About this time the emperor, on occasion of a dispute between him and the pope, to shew his independence, proposed articles of accommodation to the Protestants: these were known by the appellation of his Interim, because they were no other than expedients to be used until a council should be held in some town of Germany. Though the expressions were softened, they at bottom contained almost all the doctrines of the Romish church; yet they allowed that a man's marriage should be no objection to his receiving the order of priesthood; and that the communion in both kinds should be allowed to those who might demand it in that manner. This interim was presented in a diet convoked at Augsburg, and enacted into a decree, notwithstanding the protests of several towns of the empire. But all this while the emperor behaved with the greatest complaisance to Hoby, the English ambassador at his court, in hopes that by their means he might prevail on the Germans to accept his Interim; but, after repeated trials, finding he had nothing to hope for from England, he began to act with great haughtiness. A tariff had been settled in the beginning of Edward's reign, which was to continue during all his minority, with regard to the English commerce in the Low Countries: this tariff was now broken, higher duties were exacted from the English than what had been stipulated, and they, receiving no redress for their complaints transmitted over to the council here, withdrew from Antwerp with all their effects.

As the proceedings of the French with regard to Scotland, and other matters, since the accession of Edward, had greatly disgusted the court of England, it was thought that a war between the two nations would soon be the consequence of their mutual resentments; hereupon the Danes offered their mediation between England and France, a motion which the protector was far from discouraging. Several steps were taken towards maturing this project, but in the end it proved abortive. Such were the state of affairs at home and abroad, when the parliament met, on the twenty-fourth of November. This parliament distinguished itself by confirming all the orders of council concerning the reformation in religion; and farther, allowed priests to marry, and confirmed the new Liturgy, in compiling which commissioners had been employed the preceding summer. This is nearly the same liturgy which is now used in the church of England.

Whilst

Whilst these things were transacting in parliament, to the no small satisfaction of the friends of the Reformation, the protector found himself called upon to exert all his power and abilities to counteract the attempts of his enemies, and to secure the king's person against the violent projects of the admiral, his brother, who, finding every other step to the supreme power sufficiently guarded against his designs, had determined to convey away the person of the young king to his house at Holt, in Denbighshire, to displace the protector, and seize the government into his own hands, with the assistance of ten thousand men which he had privately enlisted into his service in divers places.

The council having gotten information of these his factious and treasonable designs, issued a warrant, on January 19, 1549, for the apprehending Thomas Seymour, lord Sudley, lord high-admiral, and confining him prisoner in the Tower. They next issued a joint commission to the earl of Southampton, the lord Ruffel, and secretary Petre, to receive the deposition of witnesses against him; when, after having proceeded upon the matter, they reported to the council, on the twenty-second of February, that the admiral was accused "of committing many misdemeanors in the discharge of his office of lord high-admiral; of protecting and taking a share with pirates in their robberies, and of refusing justice to those that demanded it; of having obstinately persisted in his courtship with the lady Elizabeth (notwithstanding the admonitions of the lord-protector and the council), whom he designed privately to marry, as he had done the deceased queen-dowager; and lastly (which served to stamp his offence the deeper), his having engaged in a confederacy with one Sharrington, who had put the Mint of Bristol into the admiral's hands, and had supplied him, by defrauding the king and kingdom, with vast sums of money, to enable him to carry on his treasonable purposes†."

Matters being carried to this length, the protector made another attempt to bring the admiral to a suitable temper, offering to stop all proceedings, if he would make a submission and retire from court and all public business: but nothing could cure his ambition, or moderate the hatred he bore to his brother. This unexpected stubbornness proved fatal to him; for the examinations being laid before the council, as has been already said, a charge was drawn up against the admiral in thirty-three articles, the particulars whereof, (as they are entered in the council-book) were so manifestly proved by witnesses, and by letters under his own hand, as not to admit of a denial. The chancellor and several members of the council went to him the next day, read the charge, and pressed him for an answer thereto, either excusatory or confessional; but he refused to make any answer, and demanded an open trial, and to be brought face to face before his accusers: yet, though he was a peer of the realm, lord high-admiral of England, and uncle to the king, this point of justice was denied him, and a bill of attainder was ordered into the house of lords, which was read on the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth of February, and passed on the twenty-seventh.

This bill being sent down to the commons, met with strong opposition there, on account of passing

an attainder in the absence of the condemned party, and it was desired that the admiral might be brought to the bar, and plead for himself: but, on the fourth of March, a message came from the king to the house, importing, "that it was not necessary for the admiral to appear before them; but that, if the house required it, the lords should attend to affirm their evidence*": upon this the bill was read the third time, and passed, in the fullest house known in those days (upwards of four hundred members being present, and only ten or twelve voting in the negative); and the royal assent being given to the bill, the admiral was beheaded on the twentieth of the same month, by warrant from the regency, to which were set the hands of Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and of his brother the protector. On the scaffold his behaviour was very undaunted, and he persisted with his dying breath in declaring, that he had never committed, or intended, any treason against the king or kingdom. Thus fell Thomas Seymour, baron of Sudley, contrary to the most essential rules of justice, without being heard in his own defence. And here let every Briton congratulate himself on the invaluable accession our liberties have obtained since that period, inasmuch as the proceeding which was then held legal in the case of the greatest subject, would now be deemed infamous in that of the meanest felon. We are told by Strype, that the admiral's hatred to his brother was carried even beyond his life, for he left behind him two letters for the princesses Mary and Elizabeth, calculated to incense them against the protector, whom he charged with endeavouring to alienate the king's affection from them, and to deprive them of their right of succession.

Somerfet, when he signed the warrant for cutting off his brother's head, did in effect lay his own down upon the block; for they who had been most forward in pushing the admiral to his fall, were the first to charge the protector with his blood. The nobility hated both, but thought it most prudent to attack them separately; they received but too good encouragement from the protector's unguarded conduct: he had begun a magnificent palace, since called Somerfet-house, in the Strand; the ashes of the dead were disturbed that its foundations might be laid, and churches robbed of their sacred ornaments to decorate the rising pile. Whatever private sentiments the protector might entertain of those matters, it was certainly impolitic at so critical a juncture for him to give so fair a handle to his enemies; but he trusted to the popularity he had acquired, and in that to a broken reed, as the sequel will shew.

In the last session of parliament, the lords passed an act, giving licence to every one to inclose his own grounds, if he pleased; but the bill was thrown out by the commons: nevertheless the lords and great men went on inclosing their lands. This bred an universal discontent among the lower people, who imagined that a scheme had been formed to ruin them, and reduce them to slavery; and their discontents now broke out into a storm of civil commotion, short indeed, but violent. The populace first took up arms in Wiltshire and Somerfetshire; but sir William Herbert dispersed them, and caused some to be hanged. Soon after

† Burnet, vol. ii. p. 98.

* Ibid. p. 99.

there were the like insurrections in Suffex, Hampshire, Kent, Gloucestershire, Suffolk, Warwickshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Leicestershire, Rutlandshire, and Worcesterhire.

The protector, perceiving the flame was kindling all over the kingdom, sought to prevent the direful consequences of its spreading: pardons upon pardons, and proclamations upon proclamations, were issued in favour of the discontented, even after they had in many places committed overt-acts of rebellion. This lenity, instead of curing, fed the disease; the people thought the protector to be on their side; that both the king and he were under awe of the great men; and that it was the business of the commonalty to give liberty to them, and relief to themselves.

The chief insurrections were in Devonshire and Norfolk; in the former the people assembled in an armed body of fifteen thousand stout able-bodied men, under several leaders, the chief of whom was Humphrey Arundel, esq. It was hoped at court, that this might as easily be dispersed as the other risings; and the protector, being averse to extremities, sent the lord Russel, with a small force, to stop their proceedings. This nobleman being too weak to encounter them in the field, treated with them at a distance, and encouraged them to make known their complaints, offering to send the same to the council. He hoped by this condescension to prevent the flames of rebellion from encreasing to a rage too formidable; but the rebels, who in this county were more united than in other counties, being mostly papists, and the priests having gotten in amongst them, had the insolence to insist on the following articles, without which they declared they would not lay down their arms. They demanded,

"I. That all the general councils, and the ancient canons of the church, should be observed.

"II. That the act of the Six Articles should be again in force.

"III. That the mass should be in Latin, and the priest alone should receive.

"IV. That the sacrament should be lifted up and worshipped, and those who should refuse to do it, should suffer as heretics.

"V. That the sacrament should be only given to the people at Easter, in one kind.

"VI. That baptism should be administered at any hour, and at all times.

"VII. That holy bread, holy water, and palms, be again used, and images set up, with all the other ancient ceremonies.

"VIII. That the new liturgy should be laid aside; and the old offices, as well as the processions, be restored.

"IX. That all preachers, before their sermons, and priests in their mass, should pray for the souls in purgatory.

"X. That the people should be forbid to read the Bible.

"XI. That Dr. Moreman and Mr. Crispin should be restored to their livings.

"XII. That cardinal Pole should be restored.

"XIII. That every gentleman might have only one servant for every hundred marks of yearly rent belonging to him.

"XIV. That half of the abbey-lands should be taken from possessors, and adjudged to two of the chief abbeys in every county; and all the church-boxes for seven years should be given to the said houses, that devout persons might live in them, who should pray for the king and commonwealth.

"XV. That for their particular grievances, they should be redressed, as Humphrey Arundel and the mayor of Bodmyn should inform the king and council."

The regency received these articles with that indignation they merited; and when the rebels found they were entirely rejected by the council, and solidly refuted by archbishop Cranmer, they reduced their demands to eight articles; but, as these were as intolerable as the former, the court broke off all manner of negotiation with the Devonshire rebels, who, on the second of July, laid siege to Exeter, and reduced the citizens, who alone defended it, to such extremities, that they were obliged to live on horse-flesh and every kind of vermin. They were chiefly encouraged to the noble defence they made by an aged citizen, who, in the beginning of the siege, brought forth all his stock of provision into the market-place, and openly declared, "that he would feed with one arm and fight with the other, before he would consent to surrender the city to a rebel army." Which declaration so animated the protestants, that they held out till the lord Grey of Wilton joined the lord Russel with a large body of forces, and giving the rebels battle on the sixth of August, put them to a total rout, numbers of whom suffered by martial law; and Arundel with some of the chiefs were executed at London; while the citizens of Exeter, being relieved, experienced the gratitude of the king by grants of new privileges, and of their country by an universal applause of that loyalty which they inherited from their ancestors.

This, and the other insurrections above-mentioned, and not yet entirely suppressed, made it necessary for the government to put each county into the best posture of defence human policy and the present exigence of affairs required and suggested; and as the number of the king's forces were unequal to the service they were daily called upon, it was prudently resolved in a council to constitute and appoint lords lieutenants of counties, whose commissions are dated July 24, and are therein styled the king's justices as well as lieutenants. They were, amongst other very extensive powers, commissioned to suppress all riots, routs, and rebellions, and to exercise martial law. These commissions were to be renewed every year*.

The Devonshire insurrection was hardly quelled when another broke out in Norfolk, under the direction of one Ket, a tanner, one Flowerden, a gentleman of fortune, and others. There, inclosures were first adopted as the chief grievance, as religion had been in Devonshire; but when their numbers increased to twenty thousand, nothing would serve them but the suppression of the gentry, placing new counsellors about the king during his minority, and that something should be done in favour of what they called the old religion. The government rejecting these insolent demands, the insurgents marched to Norwich, their leader, Ket, assuming the title of Master and King of Norfolk and

* Strype's Mem. vol. ii. p. 178.

Suffolk, forcing all persons to follow his camp, and loading with irons all such as made any opposition to his will. The rebels took post at Menshold-hill, which overlooks the whole city, and which being destitute of all fortifications, they entered at pleasure. Their leader, Ket, affecting great austerity and regularity of conduct, held a court of judicature under a great oak (called the Tree of Reformation) on the top of the hill, forcing the neighbouring gentry to obey his lawless ordinances, and committing a thousand enormities, under the pretence of redressing some abuses.

The lord-protector sought to heal up these sores of the commonweal by gentle applications: but the rebels having refused, with aggravating insolence, a pardon that was offered them, the marquis of Northampton, a better courtier than a soldier, was sent against them, with about a thousand English, and a body of Italian horse, under Malatesta, an experienced officer; but the marquis advancing, contrary to his orders, to Norwich, he was routed, with the loss of an hundred men slain (among whom was John lord Sheffield, ancestor of the late duke of Buckingham), and about forty taken prisoners. The king then proposed to send his uncle Somerset, with a royal army, to put an effectual stop to these outrages, and, by letters under his royal signet, ordered all the gentry of Essex to join him, on an appointed day: but whether the duke was afraid of losing his popularity, or was swayed by any other motive, he very impolitically declined going on the service, and suffered the command of six thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse to be given to his enemy the earl of Warwick; who marched with great expedition against the rebels, came up with them at Dussingdale, and, after a bloody engagement, put them to flight, killing upwards of two thousand: their chieftains being taken, Ket was hanged on the walls of Norwich castle, his brother William on the top of Windham steeple, and nine of his principal followers on as many branches of the oak where Ket had exercised his arbitrary judicature.

At the same time that the malecontents of Norfolk began to rise, those of Yorkshire also took arms, but their numbers never exceeded three thousand. They assembled at Semor in the North Riding, and committed several outrages at first; but the victorious Warwick, after suppressing the Norfolk rebellion, marched against, and quickly defeated them. Their ringleaders, Dare and Ambler, being taken, were hanged at York, on the twenty-first of September.

But whatever accession of strength accrued to the royal authority within the realm by the crushing of these rebellions, the raising of them was a great disadvantage to the king's affairs in other countries. It had diverted the forces designed for Scotland; and Mr. de Thermes landing there, with fresh succours from France, endeavoured to starve the gallant garrison of Haddington into a surrender. The place, however, was supplied, from time to time, during the summer, with provisions, though with great hazard and difficulty; but it being thought impracticable to supply it in the winter, the earl of Rutland, lately made warden of the East Marches, in the room of lord Grey, marched thither with a strong body of forces; and having demolished the fortifications, on the first of October brought off the garrison. De Thermes soon

after took Broughty castle by storm, putting all the defendants to the sword, except the governor: so that nothing was left to the English of their conquests in that country, besides the castles of Lauder, Douglas, Eymouth, and Roxburgh.

Nor were these all the ill consequences of the late commotions. Henry II. of France, encouraged by the intestine troubles in England, made an effort to execute his favourite scheme of recovering Boulogne to his crown. The court had been for some time apprehensive that he had such a design, and had employed sir William Paget, ambassador at the Imperial court, to renew the alliance between the late king and Charles V. and to engage that prince to join in the defence of Boulogne; but Charles being now at peace with France, and not thinking it convenient for his affairs to be involved in a new war with that crown, rejected the proposal. In the mean time Henry, like a good French politician, entered the territory of Boulogne at the head of an army, took several castles, equipped a powerful fleet, and attempted a descent on the isles of Guernsey and Jersey; but a stout fleet of English men of war being sent to sea, attacked the French near Jersey, and obliged Leo Strozzi, the French admiral (though an Italian by birth), to retire, with the loss of a thousand men slain in the action; and Boulogne was defended against the whole power of France for a considerable time.

But now Somerset finding himself disappointed in the wished-for alliance with the emperor, began seriously to think of concluding a peace with France and Scotland: he not only found himself unable to support such ruinous and expensive wars, but he also knew that he could not cope with the enemies of the state without money, and had experienced the difficulties and dangers that attend ministers in demanding and raising new subsidies; again, he was fully bent to fulfil the great work of reformation, which had been carrying on from the beginning; and in fine, a war gave the enemies of a prime minister too great an advantage over him, on account of the ill accidents it may produce; whereas a peace enables him to guard against their attacks; and he had received certain information, that the earls of Warwick and Southampton, his mortal enemies, were forming schemes destructive of his authority. In this situation then he resolved to sacrifice Boulogne, and to gain Henry to his assistance; but when he came to propose the restitution of that place in the council, though he backed his proposal with the best arguments he could, it was rejected by the board with indignation; and seeing him unable to continue the war, they resolved for that very reason to thwart his measures for an accommodation, and to embrace the first favourable opportunity that should offer for depriving him of his dignity.

The present disposition of the nation seemed to promise them great success in the execution of their designs. The nobility and gentry were highly chagrined at the preference the protector seemed to have given the people in the affair of the inclosures, and the commotions consequent thereupon; and as they imputed all the insults they had lately received from the multitude, to his dilatory measures, and the countenance he had shewn the populace, so they dreaded a renewal of the same disorders from his present affectation of popularity. He had erected a court of requests in his own house, for the

the benefit of the poorer people; and he readily embraced every other measure, by which he could promote their safety and welfare. But though Somerset courted, and thought he had acquired (as he most certainly deserved), the affections of the people, the interest which he had amongst them was far from being considerable; the popish party, which still made a great part of the vulgar illiterate commonalty, were his inveterate enemies, and greedily laid hold of every opportunity to condemn his conduct: the prosecution of his own brother, and the signing the warrant for his execution, appeared in the eye of the world so unnatural, that they exceedingly hurt his character; and the parade he shewed of his wealth in erecting that magnificent palace in the Strand, which still bears his name, and the havock he made of sacred edifices on that occasion, gave great offence to all degrees of men. These imprudent and impolitic actions had given Somerset's enemies but too great advantages, and they were resolved to make use of them as a plausible pretext for effecting his ruin.

After several complaints, disputes, and fruitless treaties for an accommodation, the lord St. John, president of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton, and Arundel, with five other counsellors, met on Sunday, the sixth of October, at Ely-house, in Holborn, where the earl of Warwick then resided; and, assuming to themselves the whole power of the council, sent for the lord-mayor and aldermen of London, and, after arraigning the protector's conduct in every point for which they had the least pretence, required them to obey no orders but such as should be issued by themselves. The king being informed of this separate meeting of his counsellors, sent secretary Petre to demand the reason thereof; but the junto forced him to stay with them till they deliberated on the state of the nation; when, after having laid all the troubles and miscarriages in the affairs of the state to the charge of the protector, they sent orders to the lieutenant of the Tower and the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, expressly forbidding them any longer to acknowledge Edward, duke of Somerset, for protector*.

The protector, upon the news of this proceeding, removed the king to Windsor, and armed such as he could assemble at that place and Hampton-court. This step, by giving the discontented party an additional and plausible pretext for complaint, added strength to the council; for the lord-chancellor Rich, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Shrewsbury, sir Thomas Cheney, sir John Gage, sir Ralph Sadler, and the lord chief-justice Montagu, pretending to dread the fatal consequences of such a violence on the person of their sovereign, joined the other counsellors the very next day after their meeting; and they then wrote a most dutiful letter to the king, setting forth, that they meant not in any wise to behave as undutiful or contumacious subjects, but that they were disgusted with the conduct of the duke of Somerset and his malversation, particularly for his having gathered an armed force about the royal person of their sovereign, and requested that the duke might be ordered to appear and give the council satisfaction.

Somerset, having the person of the king in his power, was inclined to set all the attempts

of the council at defiance, and it was even reported that he should say, "the king should die first, if they proceeded to extremities against him." This spirit, however, was but of short duration; for, upon finding that the city and Tower had declared for his enemies, and that even his best friends and confederates had abandoned him, he laid aside all thoughts of resistance, and offered to submit himself to the council, on condition they would promise to treat him gently; with the hopes of which he was for the present indulged: nevertheless, on the twelfth of October, he was committed to the Tower, with some of his friends and adherents, among whom was Cecil, who afterwards made such a considerable figure at the court of Elizabeth. On the fourteenth, the duke was brought before the council, when they read to him his impeachment, which consisted of the following articles.

"I. That he had not observed the conditions on which he had been made protector.

"II. That he had treated with ambassadors, without notifying it to the council; and by his own authority had disposed of governments and bishoprics.

"III. That he had held a court of requests in his own house." The intent of this court was to hear poor men's petitions and suits; and upon hearing them he either decided their business, or sent his letters to the Chancery in their favour; which was reckoned stopping the proceedings of the court, or influencing the judges.

"IV. That he had embased the coin.

"V. That he had issued out proclamations in the affair of inclosures, against the mind of the whole council.

"VI. That he had not taken care to suppress the late insurrections, but had even supported and encouraged them.

"VII. That he had occasioned the loss of the forts in the territory of Boulogne, by neglecting to furnish them with provision and ammunition.

"VIII. That he had endeavoured to instil into the king a bad opinion of his counsellors, by persuading him they intended to destroy him; and had even ordered some persons to put the king continually in mind of it, lest he should forget it.

"IX. That he had caused the lords of the council to be proclaimed traitors.

"X. That he had maliciously not only put the king in great fear, by carrying him so suddenly to Windsor, but cast him into a dangerous disease.

"XI. That he had armed himself and servants, and left the king's servants unarmed; and that he intended to fly to Jersey or Guernsey."

The duke not being prepared with an answer, was remanded back to the Tower, and the king was the same day carried back to Hampton-court; the marquis of Northampton, the earls of Warwick and Southampton, with the lords St. John, Russel, and Wentworth, being appointed governors of his person, while the principal administration of the government was tacitly deposited in the hands of the earl of Warwick, without any title that might give him a particular authority. In the mean time a revocation was published, by letters patent, of the authority of the governor of the king's person and protector of the realm, granted

* Hollingshed, fol. 1058. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 135, 136.

to the duke of Somerset: the cause of this revocation was expressed to be, "because of the ill government, rule, and direction of the king's person, whereby it was brought into great danger; the subjects, by civil dissention, much annoyed; the laws subverted, and the king's realms brought into peril of utter ruin." But all the arts of the earl of Warwick, and his other enemies, could not bring the wiser and the well-meaning part of the council to believe the duke guilty of any thing that was intentionally bad against the king or the constitution: they indeed thought him too obnoxious to the landed interest of England, to continue longer at the head of affairs, and therefore willingly engaged in measures that were taken for removing him, as well as for excluding him from ever returning to the same.

The disgrace of the protector-duke, and the change in the administration filled the papists with the most pleasing hopes, on the presumption that the earl of Warwick, whose religious principles were those of the popish communion, would restore the ancient faith and mode of worship; but herein they were miserably mistaken, for Warwick had no religion but ambition, and, finding the king had imbibed a strong attachment to the protestant doctrines, he was resolved to humour his inclinations, and not to run the risque of losing his point (which was to succeed Somerset in his title and power) by any violent measures. With this view he publicly declared his intention to promote the reformation; and he threw such discouragements on Southampton (who thought, by his interest, to have recovered the great seal, and) who was the chief support of the Romanists, and regarded by Warwick as a dangerous rival, that he withdrew from court, and soon after died of chagrin. Several other changes were also made, all tending to shew the popish party that they were to expect no merit from their being instrumental in the downfall of the duke of Somerset. The earl of Warwick was made lord high-admiral of England, which office had been vacant ever since the execution of Seymour, the protector's brother; the lord St. John was created earl of Wiltshire, and made treasurer in the room of the duke of Somerset; Wootton was made secretary of state in the room of secretary Smith; and Bonner, bishop of London, was committed to the Marshalsea, for refusing to comply with the late alterations and amendments made in the rites of the English church: and an attempt was made to oblige the princess Mary to dismiss certain priests she kept to celebrate mass in her house, and to conform herself to the new-established liturgy; but the princess having gotten the emperor to intercede powerfully, that she might be indulged in these respects, the court who did not chuse to offend him at this juncture, winked at her conduct, and a stop was put to some proceedings that had been actually begun against her upon this head.

On the fourteenth of November the parliament sat, agreeable to its prorogation in the beginning of the year. It was the same parliament that had been called together by the duke of Somerset, and which had been so pliable to his will. We meet with but few acts of civil import passed in this session: among the private acts, there was one for restoring Mary, daughter of the late lord-admiral Sey-

mour, to her blood; and another for pardoning Sharrington, who had been concerned with that nobleman in several dangerous and infamous practices.

On the twenty-third of December, the late protector-duke of Somerset was brought to subscribe the articles against himself, and to petition the lords for their intercession for the king's pardon to himself and family: this being read in the house of lords, it was looked upon as so abject a step, that they could not help suspecting it had been extorted from him, and therefore four temporal lords and as many bishops were deputed to know the truth from the duke's own mouth, who reported from him, that he had voluntarily signed the confession. Upon this a bill was brought into parliament against him, upon the articles above-recited, and his signed confession was urged as a proof of the charge: the bill went through the house; the duke was turned out of all his places, he was stripped of all his goods, and fined in two thousand pounds a year in lands. That we may finish the period of this great man's fall, we shall observe, that, on the sixth of February following, he was set at liberty from the Tower, but confined to live within four miles of his own house at Sion; nor was he to come to court or council, without being summoned: and for the performance of all this, he was obliged to give bond for ten thousand pounds; after which he received the king's full pardon for all treasons, offences, misdemeanors, &c.

After this the parliament, which was truly protestant, to stem the current that was likely to run through the nation in favour of popery, upon the disgrace of the duke of Somerset, thought proper to take such measures as might guard the infant church from any attacks: thus we find they confirmed the new Liturgy; ordered all the prayers to saints to be struck out of the primers published by the late king, and all missals, breviaries, &c. to be delivered up to such persons as should be appointed for that purpose; and commanded that they who had preserved any images taken out of churches, should burn or deface them by a day fixed: they then granted the king a subsidy, after which they were prorogued, on the first of February. It was during this session that the eldest sons of peers were first permitted to sit in the house of commons, in the person of sir Francis Russell, who, by the death of his brother, becoming heir-apparent to the lord Russell, it was carried, after a debate, that he should abide in the house as he was before: so it is entered in the original journal of the house of commons, which is the first journal that was ever taken in that house*.

On the second of February, 1550, the day after the rising of the parliament, William Parr, marquis of Northampton, was made lord high-chamberlain of England; the lord Wentworth, lord chamberlain of the household; sir Thomas Dacre, vice-chamberlain and captain of the king's guard; and sir Anthony Wingfield, comptroller†.

The beginning of the year 1550 was taken up in negotiations for a peace between France and England; for, notwithstanding the violent clamours which Warwick and his party had raised against the administration of Somerset, they found themselves obliged, now that they were invested

* Hist. of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 143.

† Stowe, p. 603. Rymer, vol. xv. p. 203.

with the supreme authority, to pursue the same, or rather worse measures than that nobleman had adopted; but as Warwick had particularly signalled himself against the proposal for giving up Boulogne, he was forced to contrive to have it delivered up in such a manner, that it might appear to be the act of the council, without himself being liable to the imputations he had so lavishly cast upon another on the same occasion. For this end he employed one Guidotti, an Italian merchant of Southampton, to engage the French ministry to propose a treaty, upon assurances that they might obtain Boulogne, upon which their king had so much set his heart.

The artful Italian performed his commission so well, that he prevailed on the French court to offer to make peace upon equitable terms, and to give a sum of money in consideration of the redelivery of Boulogne; which proposal being laid before the English council, then entirely under the influence of Warwick, it was resolved to send plenipotentiaries to treat with those of France, at a certain place in Picardy. Monsieur de la Rochepot, of the house of Montmorency, Gaspar de Coligny, afterwards the famous admiral de Coligny, and two more, were appointed by France; and the court of England made choice of Paget, lately created baron of Beaufort, the lord Russell, secretary Petre, and sir John Mason: and in such a hurry were the new ministry to have a peace at any rate, that by the end of February the treaty was concluded, the English being obliged to give up many of their strongest demands. The terms of the treaty were as follow.

“ I. All claims of either party to stand as they were. That the acts of private persons, if not unpunished by the masters, should not affect the peace: that there should be on both sides a general release of prisoners, and commerce between the two crowns restored, and all ships of war to be recalled on either side.

“ II. Boulogne, with the new conquests, to be restored to the French, with all the ordnance in it, which had belonged to the French, and that within six months.

“ III. The French to pay four hundred thousand crowns, each crown six shillings and eight pence (or one hundred and thirty-three thousand three hundred and thirty three pounds six shillings and eight pence sterling), for the charges and expence the English had been at upon the place; one half upon the delivery, the other six months after; and either side to give six hostages for due performance.

“ IV. That the forts of Douglas and Lauder, built by the English, with all the cannon, &c. be delivered to the Scots, except the cannon that was brought from Haddington: but if these two forts be not in the hands of the English in the event, the king of England shall be obliged to demolish the towns and castle of Roxburgh and Eymouth; nor shall it be lawful for the English, French, or Scots to rebuild them.

“ V. Though the king of England shall restore Douglas and Lauder, yet he shall demolish Roxburgh and Eymouth, provided the queen of Scotland do the same with the castles of Douglas and Lauder; in which case it shall not be lawful for the sovereigns of France, Scotland, or England,

nor their successors, ever to rebuild Roxburgh or Eymouth.

“ VI. The kingdom of Scotland shall be comprehended in this peace; and the English must not invade Scotland without a new and just offence given; and the queen of Scotland is obliged, within forty days after the date of this treaty, to certify to the king of England, under her great seal, that she accepts the said comprehension.”

Thus, says Mr. de Rapin, all the pains taken by Henry VIII. to secure a pension, or rather a tribute, in lieu of the title he pretended to have to the crown of France, were rendered fruitless by this treaty, which contained in favour of England only one indeterminate reservation of the claim, which had occasioned the effusion of much blood since the reign of Edward III. There remains to the kings of England only the empty title of king of France; none of Edward VI's successors having ever seriously thought of prosecuting their pretended right. This treaty, signed on the twenty-fourth of March, was duly executed by the contracting parties; and Boulogne being delivered on the twenty-fifth of April, lord Clinton, the governor, was made high-admiral, the arrears of the garrison were paid, the foreign soldiers dismissed, and the English well rewarded for their gallant defence: Guidotti had a present of a thousand crowns, with a pension of the same value for life to himself, and two hundred and fifty to his son, for the pains he had taken in accomplishing the treaty. It doth not appear whether mention was made therein of a match between Edward and the French king's eldest daughter Elizabeth, which Henry offered the English monarch as a sort of amends for disappointing him of the queen of Scotland; but it became next year a serious affair. It seems, that when the treaty was brought to London to be ratified, the earl of Warwick feigned sickness, not to be obliged to sign a peace he had so much exclaimed against; but this was only to impose on the public, since it is notorious that he signed all the orders and instructions, in virtue whereof the plenipotentiaries had concluded it.

Great were the rejoicings ordered by the government for the celebration of this peace, but the nation in general was far from being pleased with it; the restitution of Boulogne, the proposal of which had been made such a fault in the duke of Somerset, opened the eyes of the people, who began to be sensible that the king's glory and the good of the state are but too often made use of by those at the helm to cover their own private schemes, without any regard to the public welfare. The murmurs on this occasion soon reached the ears of the attentive and politic Warwick, who, to divert any bad consequences that the public resentment might bring against the administration, undertook the popular office of enquiring into certain misdemeanors of those who had been entrusted with the management of the public money, many of whom he brought to a severe account. He also thought it necessary to make all the friends and well-wishers of the duke of Somerset easy, rather than to provoke them; the lord Russell was made earl of Bedford; Cecil had a promise to be made secretary of state; the duke of Somerset had hopes given him of being restored to his seat in the council; and, as a mark of sincere reconciliation, Warwick's son, the

the lord Lisle, was contracted to a daughter of the duke's, and several of that nobleman's friends, who had been imprisoned on his account, were discharged upon their own recognizances. All the church-preferments at this time went likewise in the channel of the reformation, as we shall have occasion to observe elsewhere.

This year the famous Polydore Virgil, an Italian, who had been now forty years in England, had leave to go and spend the residue of his days in his own country, the king at the same time permitting him to enjoy his preferments here (viz. the arch-deaconry of Wells and a prebend of Hereford), in consideration of his having employed the best part of his life in writing an history of England.

This year likewise the city of London purchased of the king all the liberties of the borough of Southwark, for the sum of one thousand marks.

Little more remains of a domestic nature, deserving the notice of this part of our history for the year 1550: however, before we proceed to the next, it will not be improper to mention what had passed in foreign countries, connected with this kingdom.

Paul III. dying on the thirteenth of November, 1549, the cardinals, who entered the conclave the twenty-ninth of the same month, agreed in a few days to raise cardinal Pole to the papal throne, and even came in the night to his chamber to adore him, according to custom; but he desired them to defer the ceremony till it was day, telling them it ought not to be a work of darkness. This scruple, unheard of till then, seemed to them so extraordinary, that some imputed it to stupidity; others were afraid, if Pole was pope, he would reform the court of Rome, and the college of cardinals in particular; however this might be, from that moment they thought of electing another pope. After which, being divided into three factions, they could not agree upon the person till the February following, when they chose the cardinal de Monte, who took the name of Julius III. He gave a strange omen of what advancements he intended to make, when he gave his own hat (according to the custom of the popes, who bestow their hats before they go out of the conclave) on a mean servant of his, who had the charge of his money; and being asked, what he saw in him to make him a cardinal? He answered, as much as the cardinals had seen in him, to make him pope. But it was commonly said, that the secret of this promotion was an unnatural affection to him*.

In Germany, the emperor, having opened the diet of the empire about the end of July, would have obliged all the protestants to submit to the determinations of the council, now removed back to Trent. Maurice, elector of Saxony, strongly opposed it, but with so much caution and regard to the emperor, that he did not lose his favour; on the contrary, the emperor agreed that the diet should declare him general of the army of the empire, to end the war by the siege of Magdeburg, the only protestant town which yet held out. Maurice had great designs which the emperor knew not, till it was too late to hinder the execution.

Scotland enjoyed great tranquility after the conclusion of the peace. James Hamilton, earl of Arran, in Scotland, and duke of Chatelereault, in

France, still governed the kingdom as regent; but he was himself governed by the archbishop of St. Andrew's, his natural brother, a man of a very lewd and infamous life. Let us return now to England, and see what passed during the year 1551.

As soon as the king found himself disembarassed from the war in Scotland, by that kingdom being included in the late peace with France, and that all foreign alarms were at an end, he followed the dictates of archbishop Cranmer, to promote the great work of reformation; and as the earl of Warwick was determined to preserve the king's favour, he appeared very forward in assisting therein. On the twenty-eighth of January a commission passed, for certain bishops, laity, and clergy, to enquire after, repress, and extirpate the errors of the anabaptists, libertines, and heretics. On the thirteenth of February, Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and Bonner, bishop of London, were deprived of their sees for attempting to obstruct the reformation; as were likewise Day, bishop of Chichester, Heath, bishop of Worcester, and Vessy, bishop of Exeter; who, though they had ever complied with the new doctrine in some particulars, were yet unwilling to embrace it in its full extent, and were known to have a strong attachment to the old superstition, and had even done their utmost to restore it. By these severe, but necessary, proceedings, the whole nation was soon brought to an uniformity of worship.

The princess Mary alone continued to adhere to the mass, and to reject the new liturgy: several attempts were made, both by the king and council, to persuade her to embrace the principles of the reformation, but to no purpose, she persisting in her declaration of abiding by the religion of her forefathers. This subjected her to several mortifications, and she was at length so apprehensive of the effects of her brother's displeasure, that she actually resolved to quit the kingdom, and had even concerted a scheme for that purpose with the governante of the Low Countries; but her design was discovered, and measures taken to prevent its execution. Her obstinacy greatly incensed the king, who had conceived an inveterate aversion to the errors of popery, and, in all probability, gave occasion to the earl of Warwick's scheme to exclude her from the succession, by setting up the lady Jane Grey upon the English throne at the demise of Edward, as will be more particularly related hereafter.

In April this year, the kingdom was visited with the sweating sickness. It first began at Shrewsbury, and spread towards the North, continuing till the month of October. Whoever was seized with it, died or recovered within ten hours; if the patient took cold, death ensued in less than three; if he slept, he expired raving mad within six: and this pestilence raged chiefly amongst young men of robust constitutions: and as it did not affect foreigners in England, so it spread amongst the English alone residing in foreign countries. This sickness carried off several of the nobility also, amongst whom was the duke of Suffolk, son of Charles Brandon by his second wife; as also, four days after him, his brother, who had succeeded him, by which means the title of Suffolk became extinct in the family of Brandon, which was next in succession to the crown,

after the two daughters of Henry VIII. The earl of Warwick, who had already formed a design upon the crown in favour of his own family, caused Henry Grey, marquis of Dorset to be created duke of Suffolk, and himself duke of Northumberland, a title then also extinct by the death of Henry Piercy, the last earl of Northumberland: and he promoted his intimate friends, William Pawlet, lord St. John and earl of Wiltshire, lord high-treasurer, to the dignity of marquis of Winchester, and sir William Herbert was created earl of Pembroke: at the same time William Cecil was made secretary of state, and knighted; and sir Robert Dudley, one of the duke of Northumberland's sons (the same who was afterwards the great earl of Leicester), was sworn one of the six ordinary gentlemen of the king's chamber, which perhaps (says sir Richard Baker, in his Chronicle) had better never been, for after his coming into a place so near about him, the king enjoyed his health but a short time: and indeed, by Warwick's forming his projects for the advancement of his family so early, it looked as if he knew that the king had not long to live.

Soon after these promotions, the marquis of Northampton, the bishop of Ely, and some other persons of distinction, to the number of twenty-six, were sent in embassy to the court of France, to carry over to Henry the order of the Garter, and to desire, in Edward's name, that commissioners might be appointed, on the part of France, to treat of some matters of high importance which they had in charge: hereupon the cardinal of Lorraine, the duke of Guise, and admiral Chatillon, were appointed to confer with the English ambassadors, who opened the conference by demanding that the young queen of Scots might be sent over to England, in order to perfect the marriage between king Edward and her; but to this the French answered, that this could not be, it having been long since determined that the young queen should espouse the dauphin of France. Then the English proposed a marriage between Edward and the lady Elizabeth, the French king's eldest daughter, which proposal was very cordially received by the French commissioners; but when they came to treat of the portion to be given with the lady, the English demanded at first a million and half of crowns, then fell to fourteen, and at last to eight hundred thousand. The French, on their part offered at first one hundred thousand crowns, then rose to two hundred thousand, and higher they would not go, alleging it was more than had been given with a daughter of France. Upon this the conferences were broke up: however, Henry returned his brother of England's compliment, by sending the marshal de Montmorency, at the head of a splendid embassy, with the order of St. Michael to Edward. After this the affair of the marriage was again resumed, the two hundred thousand crowns were at last accepted, and the treaty of alliance and marriage actually signed at Angers; but the death of Edward happening before the princess Elizabeth was of age, prevented the consummation of their nuptials.

During these transactions, the queen dowager, who had been on a visit to her daughter and her own relations at the court of France, took England in her way back to Scotland, having obtained a safe-conduct from Edward, and landing at Port-

mouth, was there met by several of the English nobility, who conducted her to London, where she took up her lodgings in the bishop's palace: after a stay of near a week, during which time she was magnificently entertained by Edward at Whitehall, she departed, being attended by the sheriffs of all the counties, till she arrived on the borders of Scotland. One Stuart, a Scotchman, being apprehended in England about the latter end of the summer, on a charge for intending to poison the young queen of Scots, was imprisoned, and afterwards sent over to France, to be there dealt with according to justice. This summer likewise a treaty was set on foot for the marriage of the princess Elizabeth, the king's youngest sister, with the king of Denmark's eldest son; but the negociation was rendered fruitless by the lady's positively declaring she would not entertain thoughts of marriage with any one.

Very many excellent regulations were, in the course of this summer, set on foot for the furtherance of commerce, the meliorating the coin, and other purposes of national import: but all these useful schemes were likely to be interrupted, if not entirely defeated, by the civil commotions arising from the unbounded ambition of the earl of Warwick, now duke of Northumberland, who considered all increase of titles or possessions, either to himself or his adherents, only as steps to farther acquisitions; and finding that the duke of Somerset, though deprived of his dignity, and even lessened in the public opinion by his late pusillanimous conduct, still possessed a considerable degree of popularity, he resolved to ruin a man whom he regarded as the chief obstacle to the accomplishment of his towering projects.

The alliance which had been so lately concluded between their families, had not been productive of any cordial union, and only afforded Northumberland the means of effecting with more ease the destruction of his rival. He began his infamous design by alienating the affections of the young king from his uncle, whom he represented as a most dangerous subject: he caused a report to be spread abroad, that the duke of Somerset had caused himself to be proclaimed king in several counties, and that he was endeavouring to raise an armed force in order to possess himself of the king's person. His doors were watched, and notice given of all that went in or out; new insults were every day offered him, in order to drive him into action. Thus beset, the unwary Somerset often let fall some menacing expressions against Northumberland; sometimes he formed the rash design of washing out the indignities offered him in the blood of his persecutor; and at others resolved to wait with patience till the king, being of age, should be able to do him justice.

In the mean time his treacherous confidants, who had been placed as spies about him by Northumberland, informed his enemy of every passionate word which he uttered; they discovered the projects which they themselves had suggested to him; and all this being made known to the king, who too readily believed the infamous tale, he abandoned his unfortunate uncle, and agreed to a motion which Northumberland made, to have him put under arrest.

Accordingly, on the seventeenth of October, at night, the duke of Somerset, the lord Grey, David and

and John Seymour, Hammond and Newdigate, two of the duke's servants, sir Ralph Vane, and sir Thomas Palmer, were apprehended and committed to prison: next day the duchess of Somerset, with her favourites, Crane and his wife, sir Miles Partridge, sir Michael Stanhope, Bannister, and others, were taken into custody. Sir Thomas Palmer, who had all along acted the part of a spy upon the unfortunate duke, charged him, upon oath, with a design "to excite a rebellion in the North; to attack the horse-guards on a muster-day; to take possession of the Tower; and to raise an insurrection in London." But the accusation which seemed to be best founded was, that Somerset had formed a project to murder the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke, at an entertainment which was to be made for them at lord Paget's. Crane and his wife corroborated Palmer's evidence with regard to this last design; and it appears that some rash scheme of that nature had been proposed, though no regular plot had been formed, nor any measures taken for its execution; and Hammond acknowledged that the duke had armed men to guard him one night in his house at Greenwich.

Upon these depositions, the duke was brought to his trial before his peers in Westminster-hall, on the first day of December. He pleaded, "Not guilty," and desired he might be confronted with his accusers: but the measure he had given to his own brother was now returned into his breast; he was denied this reasonable request, and the court proceeded to trial, when the duke was acquitted of treason, but condemned to death for felony, on a statute passed in the reign of Henry VII. declaring it felony for any person to harbour the thought of killing a privy-counsellor. And here we must observe, that among the peers who constituted his jury were Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, whom decency as well as justice should have restrained from sitting as judges on the trial of a man, against whom they had declared an open enmity: add to this, that the marquis of Winchester, another of his severe enemies, was appointed high steward on the occasion.

After the court had passed sentence, the duke fell on his knees, thanked them for the fair and open trial they had given him, and asked pardon of the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, &c. for the enmity he bore them; but plainly declared that he never intended the least act of rebellion against the crown or person of the king his nephew. The people, who sincerely loved the duke of Somerset, hearing the first part of his sentence, by which he was declared "Not guilty of the treason," and seeing the axe thereupon turned from him, (because he was condemned to be hanged), imagined he had been entirely acquitted, and manifested their joy by repeated shouts and acclamations, which was soon converted into sorrow when they were fully informed of his doom.

We are now to attend the duke of Somerset from the prison to the block. From the time that he received sentence his behaviour was calm, resigned, and unaffected: he employed himself in reading and composing exercises of devotion. He made decent applications to the king for favour to his wife and family; and on the twenty-second of January, 1552, he was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill, where he was to suffer. He was at-

tended by Dr. Cox; and, after performing some devotions, he addressed himself in a speech to the people, in which he declared his innocence towards the king, and his fidelity towards his country, both in words and deeds: he submitted to his sentence because it was awarded by the law: he professed his zeal and affection for the protestant religion, and a great satisfaction in what he had done to promote it.

When he had proceeded thus far in his speech, a kind of panic all at once seized the people. Great precautions had been taken by the council for keeping the citizens of London within doors, until the execution should be over; and its hour, which was seven in the morning, was so carefully kept a secret, that some of the inhabitants of the Tower Hamlets were not sufficiently apprized of it, though it was their turn of duty to have assisted in guarding the scaffold at the time of execution: when they heard that the duke was brought out, they came in great confusion towards Tower-hill; and in pressing through a postern-gate, through which they were to pass, the confusion increased so much, that the spectators at the execution were seized with a sudden panic, as thinking some dreadful event to be at hand. Upon this every man began to shift for himself, and in the hurry several fell into Tower-ditch, and some were hurt otherwise. During the consternation, which was increased by still seeing the people running up to the scaffold, with arms in their hands, sir Anthony Brown came up on horseback, through curiosity probably; but the few who remained about the scaffold imagined he brought a pardon, and the air was filled with a general cry of "God save the king!" By this time the tumult somewhat abated, the guards took their posts, and the people recovered from their fright: Brown declared he brought no pardon, and a mournful silence ensued. The duke, who well knew that his fate was determined, remained all this time unmoved upon the scaffold; but by his actions endeavoured to appease the tumult, and then proceeded in his speech.

He professed all kind of regard for the person of the king; he exhorted the people to obedience, both to him and the council; he begged they would compose themselves until he had received the penalty of the law; he declared that he died in peace with all mankind; he asked pardon of all whom he had offended; and besought the prayers of all present.

Having finished his speech, he adjusted himself with the utmost calmness to the block, on which he received the blow which finished his life.

Sir Ralph Vane, a brave old soldier, and sir Miles Partridge, were hanged; and sir Michael Stanhope with sir Thomas Arundel beheaded, as the duke's confederates: they all died as Christians, but denying to the last the crimes for which they were suffered. Arundel, Stanhope, and Partridge, seem to have died protestants, for there is an order in the council-book, dated the eleventh of February, for allowing them three protestant divines to attend them in their last moments. The lord Paget, chancellor of the duchy of Somerset, and known to be in the interest of the duke, was, on some frivolous pretence, tried in the Star Chamber, and condemned in a fine of six thousand pounds, with the loss of his office: to render his punishment the more severe, he was degraded from the

order of the Garter, being deemed unworthy to enjoy that honour, on account of the meanness of his birth. Lord Rich, chancellor of the kingdom, was also deprived of his office, for having sent a letter to Somerset, warning him of the designs of the council: and it is remarkable that this lord, though a peer, and one of the highest officers of the state, was not summoned to sit upon the trial. The seals were given to Goodrich, bishop of Ely, with the title of lord-keeper.

The day after the execution of Somerset (January 23), the king convoked a parliament, in which several laws were enacted, as well of a civil as of a religious nature. A bill was brought in and passed, for authorizing a new Common Prayer Book, according to the alterations which had been agreed upon last year. Another act was made for the people's more regularly frequenting divine service. Another bill passed, concerning treason; and to this bill the commons annexed a clause, which was of infinitely more consequence than the bill itself, viz. "That none should be attainted of treason on this act, unless two witnesses should come and to their face aver the fact for which they were to be tried, except such as should make a voluntary confession; and that none should be questioned (i. e. sued) for any thing said or written (against the king or government) but within three months after it was done*." This equitable and constitutional bill was strongly opposed by all Northumberland's faction, as it carried on the face of it a direct condemnation of their late proceedings in the case of the unhappy duke of Somerset: but, notwithstanding all their arts, the bill passed both houses, and has remained ever since one of the chief bulwarks of English liberty.

In this parliament the case of Tonsal, bishop of Durham, made a great noise: he was one of the most eminent prelates of the age, as well on account of his learning and abilities, as of the unblemished integrity of his life and manners. Though he had opposed, by his vote and influence, all the late innovations in religion, yet they were no sooner passed into laws than he had always submitted, and conformed himself to every system of doctrine which was established by authority: but not all his obedient and tractable conduct, or the unimpeached rectitude of his life and morals, could secure him against the rapacious Northumberland, who, having fixed his eyes on the rich revenues of the see of Durham, determined to get it into his hands, and to erect to himself a principality in the northern counties. To effect this scheme it was necessary to deprive Tonsal of his see.

With this view he caused a bill to be brought into the house of lords, charging that prelate with misprision of treason, in having neglected to give information of a design for raising a rebellion in the North, in the year 1548, which had been communicated to him. Northumberland had interest enough to carry the bill through two readings in the house of peers; but when it was sent down to the commons, they insisted that witnesses should be examined; that the bishop should be confronted with his accusers, and be permitted to speak in his own defence: and that not being complied with, the bill was dropped. Nor was this the only mortification Northumberland met with from this par-

liament; for a bill ratifying the attainder of the duke of Somerset and his confederates was likewise thrown out by the commons, though it had passed the upper house: the minister therefore determined to part with this parliament, and get one to his mind; accordingly it was dissolved on the fifteenth of April, after having sat near four years. Just before the breaking up of the session, Northumberland procured the vacant Garter, which had been Paget's, for his own son, the earl of Warwick.

The affairs of Scotland underwent some alterations this year: the queen-dowager, on her return home from France, persuaded Hamilton, earl of Arran, to resign the regency, agreeable to the desire of Henry II. and his ministers, who, to lure him into a compliance, granted him a patent, by which he was created duke of Chatelerault in France, with a pension to support that dignity: and the earl, sensible that he could not hold his office against their will, acquiesced in the proposal, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of his brother, the archbishop of St. Andrew's, against his resigning his dignity. The prelate then entered into a powerful league against the queen-regent; but she having had the address to promise the reformed a free exercise of their religion in their own houses, found herself so strengthened by their assistance, that she established herself in the government, in spite of the archbishop's attempts.

The revolution in the affairs of Germany, in the course of this year, was much more considerable. The emperor's detaining the landgrave of Hesse in prison, contrary to his word of honour given to Maurice, duke of Saxony, and the marquis John of Brandenburg, had extremely irritated those two princes; and neither they nor the other potentates and states of the empire could see with patience the liberties of Germany invaded, and the freedom of religion destroyed. There was no way of procuring redress of these grievances, but by force; and making a league with the king of France, they resolved to take this method, and made preparations for war with all possible secrecy. The emperor had entertained some suspicions of Maurice's designs, but was outdone by him in his own talent of dissimulation; this prince's apparent frankness, and the artful management of one of his chief counsellors, whom he knew to be in the emperor's pay, serving to dispel all his jealousy. Thus were matters carried on for some months, till Maurice and the marquis of Brandenburg, having on a sudden assembled their forces, came, on the first of April before Augsburg, and in two days time made themselves masters of that city. Then the confederates, seizing the passes of the Alps, to stop the march of foreign troops into Germany, forced the pass de l'Ecluse; and their way thus being opened into Tirol, they advanced with so much diligence thither, that the emperor, who, in order to be near the council, had resided there for some months past, had only a few hours time to fly thence with his court into the mountains of Trente, and, after wandering there all night, got to Vistach, a town of Carinthia, on the borders of the Venetian territories.

He was still averse to an accommodation, in which his brother Ferdinand acted as mediator; but the king of France having at the same time ad-

* See Statutes at large, temp. Ed. VI.

vanced into Lorraine, with a strong army, and declaring that his only design was to assert the liberties of Germany, which the emperor meant to enslave, found admittance into the cities of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and advanced as far as Strasburgh. Charles V. seeing no remedy, was obliged to enter into a treaty. The confederates hereupon put a stop to the king of France's farther advance into the empire: but this prince, though he complied with their request, yet, not caring to lose so fine an opportunity for conquest, fell with an army into the county of Luxemburg, took Damvillers and Stenay, and invested Ifoy. This progress of the French determined the emperor to submit to the necessity of his affairs, and consent to the famous pacification made at Passau, in the beginning of August. The chief conditions were, "That a diet should be assembled in six months, to consider the most easy and proper means for appeasing all disputes about religion, for which an equal number of pious, prudent, and pacific persons on both sides should be chosen: that, in the mean time the emperor, nor any other person, should force the conscience, or put a constraint upon the will, of any body, in point of religion; nor, by any act of violence, or under pretence of instruction, do any thing to the prejudice or slight of any person whatsoever on the subject; but suffer all the world to live in peace and tranquility: that the princes of the Augsburg Confession should not molest the Romish ecclesiastics or seculars, but let them enjoy their estates and revenues, and exercise their jurisdictions and ceremonies: that the Imperial chamber should do justice to all, without regarding their religion; and the protestants, having in it the number of seats belonging to them, should, as well as the parties who had suits in the court, be at liberty to swear by "God and the saints," or by "God and the gospels," at their option: and, in fine, that if they could come to no agreement in articles of religion, this agreement should still continue for ever in its full force and vigour." Thus was the Interim, which had been executed only in very few places, entirely annulled; the landgrave of Hesse was set at liberty, as John Frederick, the deprived elector of Saxony, had been a little before; and all differences with the emperor in Germany were terminated.

This prince had still a war on his hands with France, and applied to the court of England, pursuant to his treaty with Henry VIII. A. D. 1542, for a succour of five thousand foot, or seven hundred crowns a day for four months, and for a declaration of war against France, within a month after making the request, according to the articles of that treaty, in case the Low Countries, in which Luxemburg was deemed a province, was invaded. It was not proper for a king, during his minority, to be involved in an expensive war, or to break with the crown of France after an amity so lately contracted and sworn on both sides; and the Imperial minister was told, "That Edward was not bound by his father's treaty against the interest of the realm; that the emperor, being pressed to a new treaty, had declined the overture; that he had not performed the articles of that in question, stopping the horses, arms, and ammunition which the king had provided in the Low Countries for his late war with France; and not sending him succours against the French ravages about Calais, so that Edward was

under no obligation to comply with his demands, though he was willing to assist him against the Turks, and ready to use his good offices for a peace with France, in quality of a mediator." Of all the powers in Europe, the king had certainly the most reason to be jealous of the emperor, whose projects for getting the princess Mary out of England were not calculated for his advantage, or for furthering his designs of a reformation in his dominions, for the better carrying on of which it was very convenient that he should have no disputes with any of his neighbours; and accordingly those debatable lands on the borders of Scotland, were settled on the twenty-fourth of September, by the lords Wharton and Conyers, sir Thomas Wharton, and sir Thomas Chaloner, in conjunction with the Scottish commissioners.

Thus, at peace with all the world, he was not diverted from attending to the work he had most at heart, and caused the Common Prayer to be translated into the French language, for the use of the inhabitants of the isles of Jersey and Guernsey. It was probably not so easy to find proper persons capable of translating it either into the Welsh or Irish languages, so that it did not appear in the former till the fifth of queen Elizabeth; and if it hath not been translated since into the latter language, it had been chiefly owing to the power which the Romish priests had over the ignorant, and consequently bigotted, people, for whose use it must have been intended, who would never suffer a book to remain in their hands, so useful for their instruction, and so proper to bring them to a conformity in religious worship.

The acts for abolishing the papal supremacy and asserting the regal, for suppressing monasteries, levying the twentieth of ecclesiastical preferments, and appointing the order of consecrating bishops, with some other of the late king's regulations, had passed in the parliament of Ireland; but the council of England did not think it prudent, during Edward's minority, to push matters farther among a people so tenaciously addicted to the superstitions of the church of Rome, and of a nature not so tractable as the English: their chief concern was to keep that realm quiet; with the additional force of four hundred men they attained their end to a surprising degree, there not being the least disturbance there during all this reign; a strong argument of the prudence, integrity, care, and vigilance of those entrusted with the government. Notwithstanding this extraordinary precaution, the English liturgy was carried over thither, and, without any law of their own parliament to impose it, was used in most churches of the English plantations. John Bale was made bishop of Offory; Goodacre, primate of Armagh; and other vacant sees filled with persons zealous for the reformation, which gained ground continually among the English, though, for want of instructors, the Irish septa remained in their wonted ignorance.

It was likewise about this time that Thomas Sternhold, a groom of the privy-chamber, translated some of the Psalms into a barbarous English metre, and the rest being soon after put into verse by John Hopkins and others, in imitation of what had been done abroad by Clement Marot and Theodore Beza, people, fond of foreign customs, especially of the Geneva fashion, began to sing them in their private houses: the practice spreading from thence

thence to the churches, they sang them there, without any authority or licence, before and after the liturgy and sermon; so that not interfering with the established worship, it grew into a custom by connivance, and hath continued ever since, without any express allowance.

About this time the corporation of German merchants, who lived in the Steel-yard, was dissolved, because it was become detrimental to England, by engrossing the whole woollen trade. The regent of Flanders and the city of Hamburgh earnestly solicited to have the company restored, but it was to no purpose. The court also set on foot a project for the advancement of the trade of England, by opening the two ports of Hull and Southampton, as free ports: but the execution of this project was defeated by the king's death.

In the course of this year three great ships were fitted out, at the king's charge, for discovering a passage to the East Indies by the north seas: the chief pilot and director in this voyage was Sebastian Cabot. These ships sailed as far north as the confines of Russia; but they lost their commander, sir Hugh Willoughby, who, with all his ship's crew, were frozen to death.

On the twenty-fourth of April this year, sir Andrew Dudley and the earl of Westmoreland were elected knights companions of the order of St. George. Some time before this, Edward had felt some scruples in countenancing this order upon the legendary footing on which it then stood, and at last resolved entirely to alter it. A commission had been accordingly issued to the duke of Somerset, and some other noblemen, for that effect; and, after mature deliberation, the popish story of St. George was totally erased from the jewels and institution of the order; and it was appointed that, instead of a George, the jewel pendant to the collar should contain the figure of a knight, carrying a book upon the point of a sword; the book to be intitled "VERBUM DEI (the word of God)," the sword, "PROTECTIO (protection)." Some other stiff doctrinal alterations took place: and bishop Burnet has, amongst Edward's remains, published a paper, containing the whole. But those alterations were disused under queen Mary, and the old forms took place and still continue.

The king had been at no extraordinary expence since the treaty of Boulogne, and had received four hundred thousand crowns for the restoring of that place; and the companies of London had paid him twenty thousand pounds by way of composition for the annuities charged upon their lands by donors thereof, to defray the charges of their obits, and the chantries they had endowed: immense treasure had been brought into his Exchequer, by the spoil of images and shrines, and the sale of lands belonging to chantries, colleges, and free chapels; yet he was plunged in a debt of two hundred and fifty-one thousand pounds; which he was the less able to discharge, because the old revenue arising from the crown-lands had been much impaired since his accession. In this situation it was thought proper to reduce the expences of his household, by suppressing the tables that used to be kept for young noblemen, the masters of requests, the serjeants at arms, and others; and to call such officers to account as had either fraudulently gotten any of his lands, or diverted any of his money to their private uses. John Beaumont, master of the Rolls, was

convicted of having defrauded the king to the amount of twenty thousand pounds, besides other crimes; and, confessing his guilt, forfeited all his offices, goods, and estate; but very little to the king's benefit, all his lands being immediately granted to the earl of Huntingdon, whose eldest son Henry, lord Hastings, was on the point of being married to Catherine, the duke of Northumberland's daughter. Whatley, one of the receivers for Yorkshire, was fined two thousand pounds, and deprived of his office; he fared the worse probably because he had been a zealous partizan of the late duke of Somerset, the prosecutions chiefly falling upon such as lay under that imputation. It was not, perhaps, mere resentment that put Northumberland upon exercising these severities; his business was to force them by terror to be subservient to his purposes, and particularly in the choice of a new parliament, that would be more compliant than the last was with his measures; a point in which he got the king to interpose by letters to the sheriffs, recommending particular persons by name, all courtiers, to be chosen for certain counties.

The new parliament, thus modelled, met on the first of March, 1553, and, by their proceedings, gave evident proofs of their attachment to Northumberland. They gave the king a very considerable subsidy, with two tenths and two fifteenths, to be paid in two years. This act of benevolence was introduced by a long preamble, inveighing against the late duke of Somerset's administration and oppressions, &c. this was inserted by Northumberland, to let the king see how acceptable he and his party were, and how hateful the duke of Somerset had been. The house next proceeded to gratify Northumberland with an act for suppressing the bishopric of Durham, Tostal having been previously deprived, on the fourteenth of August the preceding year. The king immediately disposed of the said bishopric in this manner; he founded a bishopric at Durham, with a revenue of two thousand marks per annum; and another at Newcastle, with one thousand; and its temporalities, being erected into a county-palatine, were bestowed upon Northumberland; who, having got all that he wanted of the parliament, and having some designs that were not so proper for their notice, caused the two houses to be prorogued on the thirty-first of March, after sitting only one month.

Edward had, in the spring of the foregoing year, been seized with the measles, and then the small-pox, and had got very well over both these distempers; but in the beginning of this year he had been attacked by a very bad cough, which ended at last in a consumption. The original of this illness was imputed to his having over-heated himself in sports and exercises, during a progress that he had made in the preceding summer: but some, who pretended to have looked more narrowly into the matter, would have it, that they had observed a visible decay in his health from the time that sir Robert Dudley (one of Northumberland's sons) had been made one of the grooms of his chamber, and who was afterwards appointed his carver. It was hoped, however, that the king's youth, the approach of spring, and the medicines administered by his physicians, might by degrees get the better of his disorder; but it proved of too malignant a nature, and increased so fast, that when the parliament met in the beginning of March, the lords and commons

commons were obliged to attend him at Whitehall, to hear the reasons of their being convened.

Every degree of decay in the king's health was a spur to Northumberland, who had for some time formed a design for raising his family to the throne upon Edward's decease. He suffered none but his own confidants to approach the royal person; he affected the most anxious concern for the young king's health and recovery; and by these hypocritical expressions of duty, he quickly got the first place in his affections as well as confidence.

The reader may remember, that Henry VII. had two daughters; the eldest married the king of Scotland; the younger, who was queen-dowager of France, married Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk; and both left issue: but Henry VIII. who was by act of parliament enabled to settle the succession to the crown, had entirely omitted all mention of the descendants from his sister the queen of Scotland, and, failing heirs of his own body, and their descendants, had limited the succession to the heirs of the lady Frances Brandon, daughter to his sister the queen-dowager of France, by her second husband, the duke of Suffolk, and wife to Grey, marquis of Dorset. The duke of Suffolk, by another wife, left two sons, who were youths of great expectation; but both of them dying of the sweating sickness, the marquis of Dorset, as we have already seen*, was created duke of Suffolk in right of his wife (Frances Brandon), who had borne him three daughters, the ladies Jane, Catherine, and Mary: thus the lady Jane Grey, the eldest of those daughters, stood next in the parliamentary right of succession by Henry VIII's will, to the crown, failing the issue of Henry, who were king Edward and the princesses Mary and Elizabeth: and Northumberland seeing that the king was fast approaching to his grave, resolved to put the project he had formed for the aggrandizement of his family into immediate execution.

With this view he prevailed on the new duke of Suffolk, who was a good-natured easy man, and owed his advancement (of which he was not a little fond) wholly to his interest, to consent to marry his daughter, the lady Jane Grey, to his (Northumberland's) fourth son, the lord Guildford Dudley; at the same time he so worked on the maternal tenderness of the duchess of Suffolk, the young lady's mother, that, though she stood in the order of succession before her daughter, she not only consented to give her the preference to herself, but also to give the same preference to any heirs male that might afterwards come of the said lady Jane's body. But Northumberland thought it proper to strengthen himself by other alliances, and therefore effected a match between the lady Catherine Grey, second daughter to Suffolk, and lord Herbert, eldest son to the earl of Pembroke; at the same time he bestowed his own daughter Catherine upon lord Hastings, eldest son to the earl of Huntingdon. These marriages were celebrated about the middle of May, this year, and with so great pomp and magnificence that the people, who hated the person and suspected the designs of Northumberland, could not forbear expressing in the warmest terms their indignation at seeing such public demonstrations of joy, while the health of their beloved sovereign was in such a languishing condition.

These previous steps taken, the crafty Northumberland prepared to put the finishing hand to the completion of his ambitious project, by persuading the dying king to alter the succession. For this purpose he took occasion to represent to Edward, whose youth and bodily infirmities made him easily susceptible of any impression, and whose zealous attachment to the protestant religion made him dread and express the most fatal consequences to its professors, should so bigotted a papist as his sister Mary ascend the throne, that the only way of preventing the misfortunes which threatened his people and the new religion, was by excluding the princess Mary from the succession, and transferring the crown to lady Jane Grey, a power with which he was invested equally with his father; he represented that the princess Elizabeth could not help sharing her sister's fate, because the only pretence they could use against Mary was her illegitimacy, and that equally affected Elizabeth, as the marriages of both their mothers had been declared unlawful by act of parliament.

This expedient was well relished by Edward; the interest of his religion was his prevailing care, which on this occasion surmounted every other consideration: he knew the lady Jane Grey to be a lady not more distinguished by the accomplishments of her person, than by the endowments of her mind, and that, moreover, she was strongly attached to the protestant religion, and every way worthy of a throne, and he therefore determined to leave her the crown; but it was necessary for his chief officers of state and his judges to sign his will.

On the eleventh of June, therefore, Montagu, the chief-justice of the Common Pleas, Baker and Bromley, two of the judges, the king's attorney and solicitor-general, attended the king and council, by order, when Edward gave them a scheme of what he designed concerning the succession, which he ordered them to extend and engross in a proper form. After some debate, they refused to comply with this order, alleging, that in framing such an act they should render themselves liable to the pains and penalties of high-treason, according to act of parliament. The duke of Northumberland was so incensed at their refusal, that he behaved in the most indecent manner, insomuch that the lawyers were afraid of his proceeding to some personal violence against them. Edward himself severely reprimanded them for their refractoriness: in a word, partly by threats, and partly by letters of pardon granted in their favour by anticipation, they were prevailed upon to draw up the act of conveyance, which was signed by all the other judges, except sir James Hales, who, though a friend to the Reformation even to a degree of enthusiasm, continued obstinately to refuse setting his hand thereto. Of the officers of state Cranmer alone opposed this scheme, and endeavoured to dissuade Edward from altering the succession: he alleged that his hand could not without perjury go to Edward's destination of the crown, because he had sworn to the observation of Henry's will: nevertheless this great man suffered his hand to belie his conscience; for, at Edward's earnest intreaty, and Northumberland's authoritative instances, he signed this unjust will.

It was remarked, that after this settlement was made, Edward's disease grew daily worse, and all

hopes of his recovery vanished: to render the matter still worse, the physicians were discharged by Northumberland's advice, and he was committed to the care of an ignorant old woman, who engaged by her nostrums to restore the king in a short time to his former health and vigour. The consequence of which was what may easily be supposed; every bad symptom was inflamed; his cough increased, and the putrefaction of his lungs daily got ground, till at length he resigned his breath at Greenwich, on the sixth day of July, 1553, in the sixteenth year of his age, and after he had reigned six years, five months, and nine days. He died in the arms of sir Henry Sidney, son-in-law to the duke of Northumberland. It has been already observed, that Edward, before his death, acquired a character, which the most accurate and faithful historians have thus handed down to us.

King Edward was in his person beautiful, of a sweet aspect, and especially in his eyes, which seemed to have a starry liveliness and lustre in them. He kept a book, in which he wrote the characters of all the chief men of the nation, all the judges, lord lieutenants, and justices of the peace throughout England, marking down their way of living and their zeal for religion. He had studied the business of the mint, with the exchange and value of money: he also understood fortification, and designed well: he knew all the harbours and ports in his own dominions, as also in Scotland and France, with the depth of water, and way of coming into them. He had acquired so great knowledge in foreign affairs, that the ambassadors who were sent into England, published very extraordinary things of him in all the courts of Europe. He took notes of almost every thing he heard, which he first wrote in Greek characters, that those about him might not understand them; and afterwards copied out in the journal, or diary, that he kept: this journal, written with his own hand, is still preserved in sir John Cotton's famous library, from whence the learned bishop Burnet transcribed and published it, in his second volume of his History of the Reformation. In it the most considerable transactions in this reign are, perhaps, as well registered (says bishop Nicolson) by the young king himself, as by any other historian.

Hieronimus Cardanus, the famous Italian philosopher, as he passed through England, waited on young Edward, and was so charmed with him, that he every where spoke of him with the highest encomiums; and even after the king's death, when nothing was to be got by flattering, he wrote the following character of him.

"All the graces were in him: he had many tongues; when he was yet but a child, together with the English, his natural tongue, he had both Latin and French; nor was he ignorant of the Greek, Italian, and Spanish, and perhaps some more; but for the English, French, and Latin, he was perfect in them, and was apt to learn every thing: nor was he ignorant of logic, of the principles of natural philosophy, nor of music. The sweetness of his temper was such as became a mortal; his gravity becoming the majesty of a king; and his disposition was suitable to his high degree. In short, that child was so bred, had such parts, and was of such expectation, that he looked like a mi-

racle of a man." Afterwards he adds, "He was a marvellous boy: when I was with him, he was in his fifteenth year of his age, in which he spoke Latin as politely and readily as I did. He began to love the liberal arts before he knew them, and to know them before he could use them; and in him there was such an attempt of nature, that not only England, but the world, had reason to lament his being so early snatched away. When the gravity of a king was needful, he carried himself like an old man; and yet he was always affable and gentle, as became his age. He played on the lute; he meddled in state-affairs; and in bounty, he did in that imitate his father; though his father, even when he endeavoured to be good, might have appeared to have been bad; but there was no ground of suspecting any such thing in the son, whose mind was cultivated by the study of philosophy*."

But notwithstanding these encomiums, we cannot help confessing, with a modern historian, that it is difficult to reconcile either to his boasted humanity or penetration, his consenting to the death of his uncle Somerset, who had served him faithfully, unless we suppose that he wanted resolution to withstand the importunities of his ministers, and was deficient in that vigour of mind, which often exists independent of learning and culture.

Edward, before he died, had the satisfaction of seeing his pious design of bestowing a magnificent charity upon the city of London fully executed. There were vast swarms of beggars and poor people strolling about the city of London; and bishop Ridley, in a sermon, the last year, before the king, had earnestly recommended the settling some constant method for their relief: Edward, much affected with what he had heard, sent for the bishop; gave him great thanks for his good exhortation; and, discoursing with him about the proper means of bringing about so good a work, it was thought adviseable to consult the lord-mayor and aldermen on the subject. In consequence hereof, a general contribution was made in the city, towards preparing and furnishing the hospitals of Christ-church, and of St. Thomas, in Southwark; the scites whereof, with the lands and revenues of the dissolved priories of Little St. Bartholomew and St. Thomas, had been given by Henry VIII. about a fortnight before his death to the city, but nothing had been done to fit them up for the purpose designed: a subscription was likewise set on foot for a weekly contribution towards the maintenance of those hospitals, till they should be better endowed; and the citizens contributed very generously to both these charitable undertakings. The decayed buildings in both places were thereupon repaired, and the work carried on with so much diligence, that on the twenty-third of November, a great number of sick and maimed people were taken into the hospital of St. Thomas, and no less than four hundred children put into Christ's hospital, all of them to be cloathed, lodged, and subsisted at the charge of the city, till other means could be provided for their future maintenance. The king, delighted with the forwardness and liberality of the citizens, sent for the lord-mayor and aldermen on the tenth of April, and gave for ever his palace of Bridewell to the city, to be employed for the relief of such vagabonds and thriftless poor, as should

* See the original in Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. ii. Collect.

be sent thither to receive chastisement and be kept to labour. The hospital founded in the Savoy, by Henry VII. for the relief of pilgrims and travellers, had of late been made an harbour of idle fellows, vagabonds, and strumpets; and the master and brethren being sent for to the king, were persuaded to resign it into his hands, with all its goods, lands, and revenues. His majesty, immediately upon this surrender, assigned a yearly rent of seven hundred marks, with all the beds, bedding, and other furniture, towards the maintenance of the work-house of Bridewell, and the hospital of St. Thomas. The

letters patent confirming this grant, with a licence of mortmain for enabling the city to purchase lands to the value of four thousand marks a year, for the better supporting those other hospitals, were passed on the twenty-sixth of June, about ten days before he died.

The remains of this young monarch were deposited in the chapel of St. Peter's church Westminster, near the body of king Henry VII. his grandfather, with great funeral pomp, and the unfeigned mournings of an affectionate people.

The I N T E R R E G N U M between the Death of King EDWARD VI. and the Proclaiming the Lady MARY Queen.

THERE hath hardly ever been a breach in the order of succession to the crown of any country, but it hath proved the source of a civil war; and England would at this time have been involved in that calamity, had not the general bent of the nation discovered itself so fully in favour of the true lineal heir.

Northumberland, by whose interest with the deceased king the settlement on lady Jane had been made, resolved at all events to support her right; but, conscious of his own unpopularity, and abundantly sensible of the opposition he had reason to expect, he thought it necessary to proceed with the utmost caution. And first he concealed the king's death as well as he could for some days; and, in order to get the two disinherited princesses into his power, persuaded the council to write to them in their brother's name, desiring their attendance, under pretext that his bad state of health required the assistance of their counsel, and the consolation of their company.

Mary readily accepted the invitation, and was actually come as far as Hunsdon, in Hertfordshire, before she discovered the snare laid for her. At this place she received a letter from the earl of Arundel, acquainting her of the death of the king, of the settlement of the crown on the lady Jane Grey, and of the design to seize on her person. These tidings convinced her of the necessity of immediately providing for her own safety; the sudden death of a servant furnishing her with a pretence that he died of the plague, she returned back with so much haste that she travelled near fourscore miles without stopping, and retired to Kenninghall, in Norfolk, from whence she wrote, on the eighth of July, to sir George Somers, sir William Drury, sir William Waldegrave, Clement Higham, and other gentlemen of that neighbourhood in her interest, signifying to them the king's death, and her right to the crown, and requiring them to attend her there without a moment's delay, and with all the power they could get in readiness. Circular letters were sent the next day to the principal nobility and gentry in every county of England, requiring them to assist her in the defence of her crown and person.

The same day (the ninth of July) she likewise wrote to the council, upbraiding them with keeping her brother's death so long a secret from her,

whom they knew to be the next heir to the crown; "and although (she said) such a proceeding plainly indicated their having formed some undutiful design against her; yet she promised to receive them into her favour, and to pardon what had been done amiss, provided they would forthwith proclaim her queen." To which letter the council returned the following answer, signed by twenty-one of its members: "That she could not pretend to the crown, since she was born of an unlawful marriage, dissolved by a legal sentence, confirmed by more than one parliament: that she ought to give over her pretensions, and acknowledge queen Jane for her sovereign, who was now in possession of the throne, by virtue of the late king's letters patent, under the great-seal of England: they therefore strictly charged her not to disturb the peace of the nation, assuring her that, in case she shewed herself obedient, they were ready to do her all the service they could in duty; and at the same time threatening her with the evil consequences of her non-acquiescence*."

Mary, on receiving this letter, not thinking her person sufficiently secure where she then was, withdrew to Framlingham castle, on the coast of Suffolk, that she might, if the situation of her affairs obliged her to it, have an opportunity to escape with more ease into Flanders. And here she not only assumed the title of queen, but found many friends hearty enough to proclaim her title in the city of Norwich; and she was daily joined by others, with all their followers.

And now Northumberland, finding that he could no longer dissemble, resolved to throw off the mask, and act in a more open and undisguised manner; he therefore engaged the council to depute him and the duke of Suffolk to Sion-house, a pleasant seat on the banks of the Thames, where the lady Jane then was, to give her notice of being appointed by the deceased king to ascend the throne. The young lady, though only sixteen years of age, had a most accomplished person, the most amiable disposition, and the most distinguished parts: beside the knowledge of the modern tongues, she was thoroughly versed in the Greek and Roman languages; wholly taken up in literary researches, her heart was a stranger to the calls of ambition: she had been educated with the late king, for whom

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 235.

she had a most sincere affection, so that she received the news of his death with tokens of unfeigned concern: and as she had never been consulted about the settlement, or informed that his death was to set the crown upon her head, the notice now given her, that she was called to the throne filled her with the utmost surprize. She was so far from receiving these tidings with joy, that she even told the two dukes that she would not accept of the crown, alleging the preferable rights of the princesses Mary and Elizabeth, and warning them of the fatal consequences that must necessarily attend such a hazardous, and, in her opinion, criminal enterprize, earnestly beseeching them to let her continue in the private station in which she was born.

Overcome at last by the importunities, rather than reasons, of her father and father-in-law, and, what had still more weight with her, those of the lord Guildford Dudley, her husband, whom she passionately loved, and who was indeed worthy of her affection, she was persuaded to give up her own sentiments, and to regulate herself by their advice and direction: but this she did with so much reluctance, that it might truly be said her consent was rather extorted than given. The kings of England were, at that time, wont to pass the first days after their accession in the Tower of London, and thither Northumberland immediately conducted the new sovereign, the lovely victim of her family's ambition.

The next day, being the tenth of July, lady Jane Grey was proclaimed queen of England, with the usual formalities, in the city of London; which being so contrary to the expectation of the people, who had not the least notion of this lady's immediate accession to the throne, they received the news with silent surprize, nor were any of those acclamations heard, which are usual on such occasions; even the heralds seemed to do their office unwillingly; and though orders were sent for her being proclaimed throughout the realm, they were not observed farther than ten miles from London. The discontent of the people, which arose from their hatred to the duke of Northumberland, and his arbitrary measures, was not a little increased by an ill-timed act of severity in the government, who ordered one Gilbert Pot, a vintner's servant, to be set on the pillory, with his ears cut off and nailed to it, on the very day the lady Jane was proclaimed, only for expressing himself in a slighting manner of the new queen.

As the council expected that Mary would exert all her interest to oppose their proceedings, it was thought necessary to notify queen Jane's accession to the crown by proper ambassadors to foreign courts, and to the emperor in particular, to whom Richard Shelley, esq. was immediately dispatched, with instructions to omit nothing to secure the friendship of Charles, which would necessarily influence other courts in favour of the new settlement, and discourage the party of the princess Mary, which must chiefly rely on the emperor's assistance. Shelley left London indeed, but judging that the present state of affairs must soon undergo an alteration, he waited in England to see what the alteration might be.

In the mean time Mary neglected nothing on her part to assert her title to the crown; and she so managed, by positively promising to leave reli-

gion in the same state she found it, reserving to herself no more than a liberty to profess her own faith, that she engaged the people of Suffolk and Norfolk, though strongly attached to the Reformation, to hazard their lives and estates in her quarrel. These her promises being spread abroad, she was joined by numbers of the nobility and gentry; in particular Bouchier, earl of Bath, and Ratcliffe, earl of Suffex, sir Thomas Mordaunt, sir John Wharton, sir William Drury, sir Henry Bedingfield, and sir Henry Jernegan, persons whose interests lay in the adjacent counties, repaired to her standard, and brought her a strong reinforcement. Sir Edward Hastings, brother to the earl of Huntingdon, having been ordered by the council to levy troops for the service of lady Jane, carried over to Mary all the forces he had assembled, amounting to no less than four thousand men; even a fleet which had been sent by Northumberland to cruize on the coast of Suffolk, and prevent the escape of Mary, or the landing of foreign forces to her assistance, being driven by a storm into Yarmouth, put themselves and their crews under her command.

Northumberland receiving advice of this unexpected event, ordered an army which was in readiness in the neighbourhood of London, to march immediately towards Newmarket, appointing the duke of Suffolk for their general, being determined to remain himself with the lady Jane; but the counsellors, who wanted to remove him out of the way, represented to Jane the imminent danger to which her father would be exposed, and at the same time persuaded Northumberland to take upon him the command, extolling his known valour, his superior military skill, and the dread which his name, already terrible in Norfolk, by his victory in the late reign, would strike into the insurgents.

The duke could have wished to have been excused this service, well knowing the necessity of his presence in the council, of whose steadiness he was not well assured; but as it was not entirely in his choice to accept or refuse the command, he yielded to the entreaties of his daughter and the remonstrances of the council, and made preparations for his departure the next day, sending his son, the earl of Warwick, before him, with five hundred horse, to Bury; and, having taken a solemn leave of the lords, none of whom embraced him with greater marks of affection, or more cordial wishes for his success, than the earl of Arundel, he set out on Friday the fourteenth of July, towards Cambridge, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Huntingdon, the lord Grey of Wilton, with other noblemen, and a gallant troop of six hundred horse, attending him thither; and having passed the Sunday in that place, he put himself the next morning, July 17, at the head of the army, which had rendezvoused at Newmarket, and amounted to six thousand foot and two thousand horse, with which he advanced the next day to Bury.

Upon the news of his march, some of Mary's friends advised her to retire abroad; and had the duke advanced with an expedition proper to express the resolution of an intrepid and enterprising general, she might have perhaps taken that step; but, instead of acting with the vigour the exigence of the case required, he made but very slow marches, and so gave Mary's friends an opportunity of coming and swelling the number of those who had embarked in her interest. When Northumberland arrived

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History of England.



S. Wale delin.

C. Grignon sculp.

QUEEN MARY.

rived at Bury, he found that great numbers of his men had deserted, so that he was under a necessity of sending to London for farther succours; and he wrote in sharp terms to the council upon the subject: but he soon found that persons who govern by terror, are always hated; and whatever obsequiousness is paid them, during their prosperity, they are sure to be deserted in their greatest need, when that terror is removed by the disturbed state of their circumstances.

The council consisted of the following persons, viz. the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord-chancellor, the dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland, the marquisses of Winchester and Northampton, the earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, Huntingdon, Bedford, and Pembroke, the lords Cobham and Darcy, sir Thomas Cheney, sir Robert Cotton, sir William Petre, sir William Cecil, sir John Cheeke, sir John Mason, sir Edward North, and sir Robert Bowes: these were divided into three parties; the one secret papists, headed by the earl of Arundel; another, true protestants, headed by archbishop Cranmer; the third, and indeed the greatest part, were of no religion, but blindly followed that which was uppermost, who, after having embraced the establishment of Henry VIII. with the same ease had followed that of Edward VI. and were ready to resume the Romish religion, whenever it should suit best with their temporal interest. This may probably be said to be the character of Northumberland himself, for though he professed the reformed religion, the protestants had a very bad opinion of his integrity; so that, notwithstanding Jane was a true protestant, it plainly appears that religious zeal alone was not sufficient to keep the counsellors in her interest; on the contrary, they were disposed to forsake her rather than remain under the slavish subjection of that duke, whose pride could bear no contradiction, and whose tyranny had brought upon him their almost unanimous hatred.

Pleased therefore with this opportunity, which Northumberland's letter gave them, to get out of the Tower, in which place they had all been as it were confined by the crafty minister, on the pretence of attending upon the person of Jane till her coronation, they left the place as if they intended to set about making levies to reinforce the duke; but, having assembled in Baynard's castle, a house belonging to the earl of Pembroke, they invited

thither all the noblemen in town whom they conceived to be well affected to queen Mary; and when they were met, the earl of Arundel opened the conference by a speech, in which he inveighed in the strongest terms against "the cruelty and injustice of Northumberland, his insatiable avarice and unbounded ambition, the criminal project which he was engaged in for altering the succession, and the great wickedness in which he had involved the whole council; and concluded with moving, that they might return immediately to their duty and allegiance which they owed to their lawful sovereign, by proclaiming Mary queen, as the only way left them to preserve the state, and recover their own lost honours."

This proposal was seconded by the earl of Pembroke, who, laying his hand on his sword, swore he was ready to fight with any man who should presume to oppose so salutary a measure: but indeed, there appears to have been little occasion for this bravado of his lordship; for, after a very short debate, the majority expressed their approbation of the proposal, and the lord-mayor and aldermen were ordered to attend immediately; when the council declaring their resolution to have the princess Mary proclaimed, these venal magistrates discovered the greatest alacrity and cheerfulness in executing their orders for that purpose; so, mounting their horses, they rode in a body to the Cross in Cheapside, where Mary was proclaimed queen of England by sir Christopher Barker, principal king of arms, on the nineteenth of July, about four o'clock in the afternoon: Te Deum was sung in the cathedral of St. Paul's, and the event was celebrated with great rejoicings on the part of the populace: even the duke of Suffolk, who commanded in the Tower, finding that all resistance would be in vain, ordered the gates to be thrown open, and immediately declared for queen Mary. Then repairing to his daughter's chamber, he told her that she must now put off her royal robes, and be contented with a private life; to which she replied, as with great truth she might, that she would put them off with infinitely more pleasure than she had put them on; which she would never have done but in obedience to him and the rest of her relations. And thus the lady Jane, after she had enjoyed, or rather suffered, the vain pageantry of royalty for the space of ten days, resigned it into the hands of those who had loaded her with it.

M A R Y. The fourth Sovereign of ENGLAND of the House of TUDOR.

A. D. 1553.

THE first step taken by the council, after proclaiming the lady Mary queen, was to dispatch the earl of Arundel and lord Paget to Framlingham castle, to give that princess an account of what had been transacted in her favour; and the next day they signed an order to the duke of Northumberland to disband his forces, and behave himself as became a dutiful subject.

The proceedings of the council not only influenced the city of London, but strengthened the interest of Mary throughout the nation; and so ter-

rified Northumberland, that, before the orders for disbanding the army could reach him, being pre-informed of the revolution at court, and plainly perceiving that he could not keep a sufficient force together, he obeyed before-hand, and, it is said, meditated his own safety by flying out of the kingdom; but being prevented in this scheme by his own guards, he endeavoured to gain Mary's favour by an early submission and testimonies of zeal for her service: he not only disbanded his army, with a profession of his own voluntary regard for the public

lic good and peace of the nation, and the most sincere affection for the queen, but assembled as many as would attend him on the occasion, and proclaimed his new sovereign, flinging up his hat in a transport of joy, and crying, "God save queen Mary!"

Mary, however, was not to be deceived by this hypocritical behaviour in one whom she knew to be a most inveterate enemy to herself and family, and acted as he did only because it was not longer in his power to play any other part; and therefore she committed to the earl of Arundel the agreeable charge of departing immediately and arresting the duke of Northumberland, with his sons and chief accomplices. When that proud and haughty man learned from Arundel the purport of his visit, he, who in his prosperity had tyrannized over this very earl and the rest of the council, fell at his feet in the most submissive manner, and implored his favour. Arundel, enjoying that abject behaviour which is so peculiar to fallen insolence, told the duke he must obey the queen's orders; and he took into custody at the same time the earl of Warwick and the lord Henry Dudley (Northumberland's sons), sir Andrew Dudley, his brother, the earl of Huntingdon, the lord Hastings, sir John Gates, sir Henry Gates, sir Thomas Palmer, and Dr. Sandys, who, by Northumberland's order, had preached up lady Jane's title at Cambridge. All these were sent up to London, and committed to the Tower, on the twenty-fifth of July. Soon after, the duke of Suffolk, lady Jane Grey, and lord Guildford Dudley, her husband, were, by Mary's orders, taken into custody: but Mary being desirous, in the beginning of her reign, to render herself popular by the appearance of clemency, and as the counsellors alleged, in excuse of their conduct, that they had acted from fear and compulsion, she indulged most of them with a pardon. Much about the same time Ridley, bishop of London, and the marquis of Northampton, were arrested and sent to the Tower.

On the thirtieth of July, Mary set out, with a large train, from the castle of Framlingham for London, where she was met by the princess Elizabeth, with a body of two thousand men. That lady, though she was far from aspiring to the throne by force of arms and the effusion of her country's blood, thought it not prudent to remain an idle spectator of the transactions consequent upon the death of Edward, and, to defend her own person, had raised the above body of men from the neighbouring country, who readily came in to protect her, and to obey her orders during the troubles that seemed to threaten the kingdom; but her highness being informed of her sister's success, and the entire submission of lady Jane's party, marched with her little army to join Mary, and had the address to gain her confidence for the present, pretending that those men had been raised for her service.

On the third of August Mary made a very pompous entry into London, and riding through the city to the Tower, she, at her entrance, called for and had presented to her the old duke of Norfolk, who had been under sentence of death there, ever since the last year of her father's reign, the lord Courtney, son to the marquis of Exeter, and a prisoner likewise ever since his father's attainder, the duchess of Somerset, and Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who all kneeling down, she embraced them in the most affectionate manner,

saying, "These are my prisoners," and ordered them instantly to be set at liberty. The next day, the lord Courtney was created earl of Devonshire; she restored Stephen Gardiner to his bishopric of Winchester, and a few days after made him high-chancellor of England; yet this was the very man who had subscribed to her mother's divorce, and even written publicly against the lawfulness of her marriage with Henry VIII.

On the fifth of August, Edmund Bonner, late bishop of London, prisoner in the Marshalsea, and Cuthbert Tonstal, the old bishop of Durham, a prisoner in the King's Bench, had their pardons, and were reinstated in their sees. Shortly after, all the bishops who had been deprived during the reign of Edward VI. were restored to their bishoprics, and the new ones removed; as Ridley from London, and Bonner replaced in his room; Story from Chichester, and Day reinstated; Miles Coverdale, of Exeter, went out to make room for West; and John Hooper was ousted from Worcester, which was filled by Heath. Likewise all beneficed clergymen that were married, or would not renounce the reformed religion, were put out of their livings, and others of the popish communion put in their rooms.

On the tenth of August, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Shrewsbury, and Stephen Gardiner, were sworn of the privy-council; and that same day the earl of Arundel, for his good offices, received the order of the Garter: and the late king's obsequies were performed, with this remarkable circumstance, that though Day preached the funeral sermon, Cranmer administered the sacraments, and performed the service of the dead, according to the rites of the reformed church of England: but a mass of Requiem, at which the queen assisted, with all the ceremonies of the popish church, was that same day publicly said for him in the Tower.

The success which Mary had met with in asserting her right to the crown, had been chiefly owing to the resolution of the Suffolk men, who, upon Mary's promise to continue the laws and the religion established by king Edward in the manner she found it, had risked their lives and fortunes in her cause, and enabled her to surmount the greatest difficulties that obstructed her advancement to the throne, without bloodshed: but it is very certain that Mary was determined to make promises, oaths, justice, and even interest itself give way to her favourite project of restoring the religion of the church of Rome.

Her first care, after securing the persons of those from whom she expected the greatest opposition, was to consult her trusty friends how best to effect the intended overthrow of the reformed religion; and she was disposed to keep no measures, but to force the kingdom to turn immediately to what she called the union of the catholic church; and had it not been for the more artful counsels of the emperor and bishop Gardiner, she had sent directly for cardinal Pole, as legate, to reconcile England to the pope: but they disapproving so hazardous a step, it was deferred by Mary for the present, who contented herself with publishing a liberty of conscience in affairs of religion.

This declaration was made by the queen in council, on the twelfth of August, and great care was taken to render it as public as possible, and to magnify it as a great instance of the queen's generosity.

*Mean Submission of the Duke of Northumbertane
to the Earl of Arundel.*



*To His Grace
Duke of
This Plate is most*



*George Montagu,
Manchester
humbly Inscribed.*

rosity. But this was very far wide from the promises she had made in her distress to her faithful Suffolk men, whom she had assured that religion should be left in the same state as it was in at Edward's death: the declaration now issued, which, in fact, was no more than a general assurance that protestants should not be forced to embrace the Romish religion, greatly alarmed all her subjects of the reformed church, and gave the popish party such spirits, that, in defiance of the laws in favour of the Reformation, then established, they made no difficulty of openly celebrating divine service in the manner of the Romish church; and inveighed as openly against the protestant faith: nay, the very day after the first declaration was made in council, bishop Bonner went to St. Paul's church to hear a sermon preached by his chaplain, Bourne, who, relying on the intention of the court, and the authority of the bishop, then present, launched forth into the most indecent invectives against Edward's administration, particularly in what related to the Reformation, and magnifying Bonner for the sufferings he had undergone for the sake of popery.

The memory of Edward was still dear to the people, and they could not easily bear the thoughts of seeing all that he had done on the point of being in a moment revoked; wherefore, on Bourne's insolent declaration, a furious tumult arose: some of his audience reproached him in the harshest terms for his impudence, others flung stones, and one of them threw his dagger with that dexterity at the preacher, that it stuck in the wood of the pulpit; and at last the people grew so furious, that Bourne would probably have been torn in pieces, had not Bradford and Rogers, two eminent protestant ministers, interposed, and conveyed him by a back way out of the church into a neighbouring house.

Such an open proof of the people's dislike to popery as this, might have been thought a caution to the administration how they proceeded too zealously in favour of superstition; but it rather drove them into more violent attempts. However, the queen and government thought proper for the present to do something to pacify the people, and an hypocritical declaration concerning religion was made to the citizens and common-council of London, an extract of which we shall give, as it stands upon the journal of the council, a witness of the perfidy of that reign. Therein the queen declares, "that albeit her grace's conscience is stayed in matters of religion, yet she meaneth graciously not to compel and restrain other men's consciences otherwise than God shall (as she trusteth) put in their hearts a persuasion of the truth that she is in, through the opening of his word unto them by godly, virtuous, and learned preachers."

But whatever effect this declaration had upon the city of London, it is certain that the queen and her ministry soon began to act another part; for, on the eighteenth of this same month (August) another declaration was published, which very fairly owned the queen's religion to be popish, of religion all over the kingdom: but she said, "That, of her gracious disposition and clemency, she minded not to compel any of her subjects thereunto, until such time as farther order, by common consent, might be taken therein. She forbid all her subjects, at their peril, to move seditions, or to stir unquietness, by interpreting the laws of the land, according to their brains and fancies. She

wished them to live together in quiet fort, and Christian charity, and forbear these new-found devilish terms of Papist or Heretic, and such like, and apply themselves to live in the fear of God, and so express their hunger and thirst of God's glory and holy word; which many had pretended rashly, by their words. That if any made assemblies of people, or at any public assemblies, should go about to stir people to disorders, she would see the same severely reformed and punished: and she forbade henceforth all preaching and reading in churches, or other public or private places, to interpret, after their own brains, any scriptures, or points of doctrine; all printing of books, ballads, rhimes, or interludes; nor to play those interludes without special licence. Likewise that none should presume, of their own private authority, to punish any offender in the late rebellion under the duke of Northumberland, or his accomplices, or to seize any of their goods; but to refer all unto her majesty, and to public authority: yet not hereby to restrain or discourage any from informing against such offenders unto her grace, or council; resolving to punish with severity and rigour all unlawful or rebellious doings. She charged all mayors, sheriffs, and all other officers, to see the observing her commandments, and to apprehend all such as should willingly offend, committing them to jail without bail or mainprize; and certificates of their names and doings to be sent to her or her council." The plain language of all this proclamation was, that the present state of affairs rendered it imprudent for her majesty to take any violent steps with regard to religion; but that she was determined to force all her subjects to embrace her worship as soon as she could get an act of parliament on her side. All this naturally filled the protestants with terror; for it was easy to perceive that religion and the laws would soon suffer a change, and that those who did not blindly submit to the new statutes would be considered as rebels. On this occasion the city of London shewed some dawn of spirit; and the government, suspecting the magistracy was not assiduous enough in the cause of superstition, ordered them to declare whether they were able, of their own authority, to prevent all public tumults; and if they did not find themselves able, the lord-mayor was to surrender his sword into the hands of the queen.

Hitherto Mary's reign had not been stained with blood; but now the cataracts of severity were opened that deluged the land with floods of it. On the eighteenth of August the duke of Northumberland was brought to his trial at Westminster-hall: Thomas, duke of Norfolk sitting as high-steward, the arraigned duke, after hearing his indictment read, desired the opinion of the duke on two points. "First, whether a man, acting under the authority of the prince's council, and by warrant of the great-seal of England, could be justly charged with treason for those actions? Secondly, whether persons who were at least equally culpable with himself, could sit as judges?" These objections would doubtless have weighed in his favour in any other court than that which had orders to cut him off, as the person most to be feared in the execution of the designs of the queen and her ministry, upon the laws and religion of the nation; but he was answered by the high-steward, "that the great-seal, which he alleged for his warrant, was not the seal

of the lawful queen of the realm, but of an usurper, and therefore could be no warrant for him: and that any persons against whom there was nothing upon record were deemed innocent in the eye of the law, and might be admitted on any jury." From this last answer the duke foresaw that any objection he could make would be over-ruled; he therefore confessed the indictment, and referred himself to the queen's mercy. His example in this particular was followed by the earl of Warwick and the marquis of Northampton, who were tried at the same tribunal, and all three condemned to death as traitors. Sir John and sir Henry Gates, sir Andrew Dudley, and sir Thomas Palmer pleaded guilty, and underwent the same sentence.

The duke of Northumberland, with his two confederates, sir John Gates and sir Thomas Palmer, who had assisted him with their evidence to take away the life of the duke of Somerset in the late reign, were particularly marked out as persons against whom the people were most clamorous, and had but two days allowed them to prepare for execution on Tower-hill. Bishop Gardiner, indeed, who was, the day after his condemnation, made lord high-chancellor, is said to have interceded for him; but Northumberland was found to be a man so utterly void of principles, and at that time so obnoxious to all parties, that his life might be of disservice, and therefore it was resolved to shew him no mercy. Accordingly, on the twenty-second of August, he was conducted to the scaffold, where he confessed that he had always been a Roman catholic in his heart, and expressed great sorrow for having plundered the effects of the church, especially as he could not now make restitution; but whether these were his real sentiments, which he formerly concealed from interest or ambition, or whether he hoped by this declaration to render the queen more favourable to his family, no one can pretend to determine. His head being struck off, it was with his body interred in the same vault where Henry VIII's two beheaded queens and the late duke of Somerset lay. Sir John Gates and sir Thomas Palmer suffered the same day: the rest of the condemned prisoners were first reprieved, and afterwards pardoned.

The queen having, by her last proclamation, and her other acts, evinced her affection to popery, now added a stronger proof of her resolution to extirpate the Reformation; for being informed that the people of Norfolk and Suffolk (who had proved such faithful friends to her and her cause) relying upon the virtue of her promise to protect them in the exercise of the reformed religion, had transgressed the prohibitions contained in her proclamation, she ordered the magistrates of the county to punish severely the delinquents; and Mr. Dobbs, one of the members for those parts, presuming to put the queen in mind of the services those counties had rendered her, and the promises she had made to them, was set in the pillory for three days.

And now the ministry being resolved to execute the queen's plan for restoring the old religion, began with the removing those who seemed to have the most credit with the people: they therefore ordered Mr. Bradford, one of the two protestant ministers who had rescued Bourne in the late tumult at St. Paul's, to be sent to prison; and confined his companion Rogers to his own house, from whence he was afterwards removed to gaol. Judge Hales,

who alone of all his brethren had refused to sign the instrument which had transferred the crown to lady Jane Gray, was imprisoned in the Marshalsea, for charging the justices of Kent to conform to the laws of Edward VI. not yet repealed: but the truth seems to have been, that he was obnoxious as being a protestant. He was removed to the Compter, and afterwards to the Fleet, where he was so affected at the report of the calamities that the warden told him were contriving against those who would not change their religion, that it turned his brain; and he several times attempted, and at last perpetrated, his own death.

Judge Montagu, who was also a protestant, was turned out of his place, and fined a thousand pounds for only having assisted in drawing up the settlement of the crown in favour of lady Jane; and Bromley, a bigotted papist, was put in his room, though this latter had not only assisted in drawing up the same deed, but had likewise readily agreed to sign it. Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, and Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, were imprisoned for not submitting to the queen's order, by which she had empowered the chancellor, bishop Gardiner, singly to grant licences to preachers; and Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, was confined to his own house on the same account. Peter Martyr, professor of divinity at Oxford, suffered so many insults and indignities from the enemies of the Reformation, that he was obliged to take refuge in Cranmer's house at Lambeth, though that prelate was in no condition to protect himself, for the court had already devoted him to destruction.

Bonner, who was his sworn foe, had some time before industriously given out, that Cranmer had engaged to the queen to make a public recantation of his errors, and to return into the bosom of the Romish church. This report so exasperated the good old prelate, who saw that Bonner's scheme was to delude the people into a compliance with popery under the sanction of his name, that he thought it incumbent on him to draw up some public testimony against this aspersions; and he drew up a declaration, in which he called the queen herself to witness, that he never made her any such promise, as his enemies had alleged; and offered, with Peter Martyr and four or five others whom he would chuse, to defend, in a public disputation, the liturgy, doctrines, and every part of the Reformation and the late king, as agreeable to those of the primitive church, and warranted by the holy Scriptures. This declaration he proposed to revise, enlarge, and put his own seal to it, and then have it affixed to the doors of St. Paul's and other churches in London; but a rough draught thereof getting abroad, so many copies were taken, that some of them were brought to the council, who construed the paper into a libel, upon Cranmer's owning it, and made this an aggravation of his former offence of signing Edward's will, and thereupon committed him, on the fourteenth of September, to the Tower.

Bishop Latimer was committed at the same time; and scarcely any bishop or preacher who had signalized himself for the Reformation, and did not either recant or fly beyond sea, escaped either deprivation, imprisonment, or both. Peter Martyr, and John a Lasco, a Prussian nobleman, and minister of the German protestant church in Austinfriars, with all the other reformed preachers who

were

were foreigners, were banished out of the kingdom; and a great number of English, who had embraced the reformed religion, foreseeing a persecution, retired into foreign parts, on pretence of being natives of France, until orders were dispatched to all the sea-ports, that no person should be allowed to quit the kingdom on that pretence, without being furnished with a warrant signed by the French ambassador.

The queen, having now secured the chief persons from whom she and her council might expect any opposition in their grand scheme to revive the pope's authority and religion in England and its dependencies, now resolved to recompense those noblemen who had exerted themselves vigorously in her favour. The earl of Arundel was appointed lord-steward of the household; sir Edward Hastings was made master of the horse, and afterwards created a baron; the earl of Suffex was created a knight of the Garter, with the particular privilege of appearing covered in the queen's presence. But the best placed piece of gratitude the queen shewed on this occasion, was with regard to the lord Paget, whom she restored to the honour of the Garter, which was buckled on his leg, and the collar again put round his neck, by two knights companions; at the same time Garter king at arms was ordered to set up his achievement anew in Windsor; and the sovereign, who was in the chapter when his act of restitution was passed, ordered it to be inserted therein, "that he had highly deserved of the nation by his prudence and council." At the same time sir John Williams was made a peer, and afterwards chamberlain of the household; sir Henry Jernegan was constituted captain of the queen's guard, which was encreased with the number of four hundred men; and sir Thomas Tresham was created lord-prior of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, which was revived, consequently he took rank as the first baron of England: Thomas lord Delawar, sir William Drury, and sir Richard Southwell were gratified with pensions. The queen promoted her chaplain, Hopton, to the see of Norwich; appointed Englefield master of the wards; Rochester, comptroller of the household; and Waldgrave, master of the wardrobe: and the council having received some hints of intended commotions in the north, and that the Scots seemed ready to assist the disaffected, the earl of Shrewsbury, who had great interest in those parts, was made lord-warden of the Marches, and sent down in great haste to his post: but the disturbances were soon quelled.

Every thing was now ready for the queen's coronation; but the Exchequer being very bare of money, she borrowed twenty thousand pounds of the city of London, which enabled her to go through all the splendor of her coronation, on the first of October. Gardiner had the honour to perform the ceremony, assisted by Bonner, bishop of London, Tonstal, bishop of Durham, and eight other prelates: the young earl of Surry, son to him who was beheaded, had been sent for by the queen's order, and he acted as deputy-marshal under his grand-father, the duke of Norfolk: Courtney, the new earl of Devonshire, had the honour to bear the sword; the earl of Westmoreland, the cap of maintenance; and the earl of Shrewsbury, the crown: the earl of Worcester served as carver, sir John Gage assisted the old duchess of Norfolk in bear-

ing the queen's train; the lady Elizabeth and the lady Anne of Cleves graced the ceremony; and the whole was conducted with the utmost magnificence. Nor were there wanting numerous creations of knights of all denominations, that of the Garter excepted; and, that her reign might begin at least with the appearance of lenity and mercy, the same day was published what, in its title, was called a general pardon; which, as it could not efface the terror the dreadful examples of her cruelty had already spread over the nation, so it came out loaded with such a number of exceptions, that few persons could receive any benefit from it, for all those who had been arrested before September were excepted by name.

However, in order to gain the good will of the people, a proclamation was issued on the fourth of October, which remitted to the subject the subsidy of four shillings on lands, and two shillings and eight pence on goods and chattels, granted by the last parliament to Edward VI. to enable him to pay his debts: but in a very little time after we find several severe commissions issued. Holgate archbishop of York, not shewing himself satisfied with the court-politics, was sent prisoner to the Tower on a general accusation of several capital crimes; the lords Clinton and Cobham, sir John York, sir Richard Cotton, and the bishop of Ely, were added to the number of state prisoners. Cecil seems not to have come near the court, nor to have taken any concern in public affairs; as Petre was the elder secretary, and remarkably active in the atrocious transaction of Edward's will, it was, perhaps, thought imprudent to attack Cecil while Petre escaped; and he took cause to give them no other handle: however, it appears by the minutes in the council-book, that he was ordered to surrender the seal of chancellor of the order of the Garter, though Edward, just before his death, had conferred that office on Cecil for life.

But the success of all the queen's measures depending upon the compliance of the approaching parliament, all manner of illegal and arbitrary practices had been made use of to influence elections, and obtain favourable returns. Arts, frauds, and even violence were made use of to gain this great point, as the government well knew that without the concurrence and sanction of a popish parliament, the people would never be awed into a compliance with those resolutions which had been taken to abrogate all the laws made in favour of the Reformation, and to restore the popish faith. Emissaries were dispatched to every borough, and such returning magistrates as were not papists, or did not promise to conform to the will and commands of the queen, were displaced, and their offices filled up by others more devoted to popery: and where a resolution appeared to oppose the court-schemes, and to chuse protestant representatives, the electors were threatened, and their bodies frequently imprisoned by false actions and other frivolous pretences. In some places, where the reformed had so great a superiority, that it made it too hazardous to use such direct means, the sheriffs, named by, and devoted to, the court, would return none but such as they were sure would comply with all the directions of the court. Thus did Mary secure a house of commons to her mind.

As for the house of lords, it might have been imagined, from the majority which, only a few

months before, in Edward's reign, appeared so strenuously to forward the Reformation, that there would have been great difficulty to model them according to the popish scheme; but, to the amazement of every thinking person, those men of honour were all converted to the queen's religion by the mere waving of her royal sceptre. It may not, perhaps, be very easy to determine in which reign the peers dissembled their sentiments; but it is evident that they, through fear, avarice, or ambition, were guilty of the most base and scandalous prevarications, as soon as the pope's alarm-bell was rung in St. Stephen's chapel. However, to make them more secure, we have seen that the court beforehand took care to remove such bishops as might have had courage enough to upbraid their insincerity; and to replace six of them with men who preferred their fees to their religion, which, we are sorry to say, appears to have been the foible of the whole bench, except Dr. Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, and Dr. Harley, bishop of Hereford, who therefore were excluded the house on the first day of the session, for refusing to kneel at the mass, which, in open defiance of the laws then existing, was celebrated before the two houses in the Latin tongue, accompanied with all the ancient rites and ceremonies of the popish church.

Both houses thus new-modelled by the ministerial arts, the parliament met on the fifth of October, 1553, and was opened with a speech by Gardiner; but sat only eight days, to pass an act declaring nothing to be judged treason but what was in the statute of Edward III. and, lest the persons then in prison should take the advantage thereof, all those were excepted who had been committed before the last day of the preceding September. Two private acts now passed: one for the restitution of Courtney, earl of Devonshire, to his blood; and the other for the restitution of his mother, Gertrude Courtney, widow to the marquis of Exeter, his father: after which the parliament, without touching the least on religion, was prorogued to the twenty-fourth of the month.

At the second meeting, after the usual formalities, they proceeded to business, and in three days time passed a bill that repealed the divorce of the queen's mother, for which they assigned the following reasons: "That no man ought to put asunder whom God hath joined together. That king Henry's scruples had been suggested by malicious persons, and supported by the decisions of some universities, the members of which had been previously secured by bribery and corruption. Lastly, That archbishop Cranmer, thinking himself more wise than all the other doctors, had rashly pronounced the said sentence of divorce." As this act was necessary to establish the queen's legitimacy, so it had another tendency of great service to Mary, as it at the same time declared the princess Elizabeth to be illegitimate, and consequently from this time we find Mary's behaviour towards that princess very much changed for the worse.

This point being settled, Gardiner, who had planned out the business to be done by this parliament, and was the chief manager therein, engaged the lords, on the thirty-first, to send a bill down to the commons, to restore the mass, or form of public worship used in the last year of Henry VIII. which was sent back by the commons, with their approbation, six days after. The parliament then

proceeded to the repeal of nine laws made in the late reign, in favour of the reformation, and in contradiction to the authority and usages of the Romish church. Another act passed against insulting priests, and another against unlawful assemblies and riots. Then they reversed the attainder of the duke of Norfolk, and confirmed those of the duke of Northumberland, the archbishop of Canterbury, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Warwick, the lord Ambrose Dudley, sir Henry Dudley, sir John Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer. Besides the acts here mentioned, several others were passed, which would have done honour to better times and a more virtuous reign; but all were calculated as gildings to the pill of popery, which, by the statute already mentioned, was to be thrust down the throats of the people.

On the thirteenth of November, the parliament being still sitting, lady Jane Grey, lord Guildford Dudley, her husband, the two other sons of the duke of Northumberland, and Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, were brought to their trials; who all confessing their indictments, received sentence of death as traitors. When the prisoners were remanded back to the Tower, they met with such unusual indulgences, that they had reason to think the bitterness of death to be over-past; but, in my opinion, the event clearly shewed that the queen and her ministry had, from the very beginning, marked out Cranmer, together with the lady Jane Grey and her husband, for death.

However readily the parliament gratified the queen in some points she had set her heart upon, they were yet determined to follow their own judgments in other articles, and in particular that of the queen's marriage, which was now brought before them. Upon the death of Edward, cardinal Dandini, the pope's legate at Brussels, had sent over an agent, whose name was Commendani, to sound the inclinations of Mary, who told him that her intention was to re-establish the papal authority in England, and desired that his holiness would send over cardinal Pole as his legate; at the same time she exhorted Commendani to continue the disguise in which he had come to England, that her designs might not be too precipitately divulged. The pope being made acquainted with her desire, advised with his consistory, who declared it would not be for the honour of the holy see to send over a legate until one should be demanded in form; but the pope giving them to understand, that he knew more than he thought proper to disclose on that subject, they assented to the proposal.

The nomination of Pole to this office was equally disagreeable to the emperor and bishop Gardiner. Charles had projected a match between his son Philip and Mary, and was apprehensive of the scheme's miscarrying by the interposition of Pole, whom it was reported the queen intended to take for her husband; as was also said in relation to Courtney, earl of Devonshire: but neither of these reports seem to have had any foundation in truth. Gardiner, on the other hand, foresaw that the legate would slip between him and the archbishopric of Canterbury (which he hoped to obtain on the deprivation of Cranmer), and destroy all his influence at court.

Accordingly, as Pole was hastening for England through the emperor's dominions, that prince, as had been preconcerted between him and Gardiner, ordered

ordered him to be detained at Dilling, a town of Germany, on the Danube, under pretexts that Pole did not see into: in the mean time Gardiner was incessantly representing to the queen, that Pole would ruin her intentions in favour of the Roman catholic religion, by his untimely and furious zeal; and the emperor wrote to her on the same subject, in the most earnest manner. D'Aumont, the emperor's resident at London, had orders to propose to the queen a match between her and Philip, prince of Spain, eldest son of Charles; and at the same time begged her to open to his ambassador her mind fully upon that head, and to enter with him (Charles) into an unreserved correspondence, without using any of those troublesome formalities so common amongst crowned heads.

Mary, who was highly pleased with the support of so powerful an alliance, and desirous of uniting herself more intimately with her mother's family, embraced the proposal with the utmost alacrity. This match was also strongly recommended by Norfolk, Arundel, and Paget; and Gardiner, who was now prime minister, closed in entirely with the emperor, whose confidence he had won, and whose friendship he thought more necessary, as he plainly saw he was not trusted by the court of Rome, who had never acquainted him with the private negotiation set on foot with Mary, through the means of Commendani. In a word, Mary was persuaded to write to cardinal Pole, that the interest of religion would not permit him to come over immediately to England, where the people were not yet properly disposed to acknowledge the pope's authority.

Mean while the negotiation for the marriage was conducted with equal diligence and success, and Mary's intentions in this parliament were soon known to the whole nation, who were greatly alarmed with the thoughts of such an alliance, and could not brook a Spanish king to rule over them, especially one who had already patronized the inquisition in his own dominions, and recorded his cruelty with the blood he had most tyrannically shed so lately in the Low Countries, Naples, Sicily, and Milan; but matters were so far advanced that the house of commons took it into consideration, being equally surprized and enraged to hear that the queen was determined to contract a foreign alliance; and, after some debate, in which the popish party in the house was entirely silenced, they sent their speaker, sir John Pollard, an eminent lawyer, with a deputation of twenty members with an address to the queen against the marriage; which she so ill received, that, notwithstanding their former obsequiousness, the parliament was dissolved the very next day, the sixth of December, in order to be rid of their importunities.

During this session, the convocation, sitting as usual, re-established the doctrine of transubstantiation, which was strenuously opposed by the reformers, of whom but few divines attended; the chief of those who did were Aylmer, Cheney (afterwards a bishop), Philpot (who, in this reign, was burned), Hatton, dean of Exeter, and Philips, dean of Rochester. These, notwithstanding the violence of the popish party, attempted to justify

the Reformation; and Philpot in particular behaved with great dignity and spirit in the ridiculous debate which was held on the subject of transubstantiation, the particulars of which may be found in Fox, who published them while most of the members were alive, who would not have failed to have treated him severely, had his veracity been questionable. By his account, these champions for the true faith were reviled, threatened, insulted, and interrupted in all their arguments, and the victory was forcibly adjudged to their adversaries; for by this time no less than one hundred and sixty benefices had been bestowed on the creatures of the court, and of consequence there were very few protestants in the lower house of convocation. It is remarkable, that notwithstanding all that Mary was doing to introduce the papal authority into her dominions, she, in the writ of summons to this convocation, assumed the title of "Supreme Head of the Churches of England and Ireland."

By this time every thing was agreed upon between the English and Imperial courts, and, about the middle of December, the emperor sent over the (afterwards famous) count Egmont, at the head of a magnificent embassy, to regulate the conditions of the marriage; and the queen entrusted Gardiner with the care of the whole negotiation. This prelate had already received one million two hundred thousand crowns from the emperor, to render certain individuals of the council propitious to the match; and now he affected to insist upon conditions that should be very advantageous to England. The Imperial ambassadors arriving on the second of January, 1554*, were conducted to court, where their entertainment was extremely magnificent; and in a few days the articles of the marriage were signed at London, after all possible care being taken to sweeten them for the palate of the people: the substance of them was as follows.

"I. That Philip should enjoy the title of king of the realms and dominions belonging to his wife, and assist her in the government thereof, the queen alone having the free disposition of bishoprics, benefices, revenues, offices, and favours, to be given only to natives (who were also to have the sole management of affairs) and the laws, customs, and privileges of the nation being preserved inviolate.

"II. That the queen should likewise bear the titles of all her husband's realms, with which he was at present or should be afterwards invested.

"III. That a jointure of sixty thousand pounds a year should be settled on her; forty thousand pounds thereof in Spain, and the rest in the Low Countries.

"IV. That the queen's issue by this marriage should inherit her realms according to the English constitution.

"V. That if don Carlos, Philip's son by his first wife (all whose rights in Spain, the two Sicilies, and Lombardy, were reserved to him) should die without issue, or his line be extinct, the eldest son by this marriage should inherit those territories, as well as Burgundy and the Low Countries, to which last his succession was absolutely assured: the younger children to have portions assigned them here and in England.

* When the ambassadors landed in Kent, they were both surprized and terrified with the reception they met with from the people, who thought that the prince of Spain was in their

company, and therefore attacked them so furiously, that (as count Egmont himself wrote over to his court) they were obliged to fly for their lives.

“ VI. That neither don Carlos nor any descendant of his should lay any claim to Burgundy and the Low Countries, if there was any male issue by this marriage, nor were these left to pretend any right to Spain, or that prince's other dominions, if he left any children.

“ VII. That if only females should be born by this matrimony, the eldest should succeed to the Low Countries, but not to marry a foreigner without don Carlos's consent: if she did, her right was forfeited and reverted to don Carlos and his heirs, till the extinction of his line; after which she and her sister (no males remaining) were again intitled to the succession.

“ VIII. That the line of don Carlos being extinct, and none left of this but women, the eldest daughter should succeed, not only in the Low Countries and Burgundy, but also in England and Spain, and the other dominions, according to the customs of those countries; all the rights, privileges, and usages whereof were to be maintained, and the administration kept in the hands of natives.

“ IX. That the treaty for mutual assistance made A. D. 1542, and declared at Utrecht, on the sixteenth of January, 1546, should be faithfully observed by the queen, the emperor, the prince, and his successors, and their respective realms and dominions*.”

These are some of the principal articles of this treaty of marriage, to which a clause was annexed, by which it was expressly covenanted, that, before the consummation of the marriage, Philip should solemnly swear to the observation of the following articles.

“ I. That he would not promote or admit any foreigners into any place of trust or office in England.

“ II. That he would take a convenient number of English into his household, and not suffer them to receive any displeasure from such as he brought with him in his retinue.

“ III. That he would make no innovation in the state, laws, and customs of England; but maintain all orders of men in their rights and privileges.

“ IV. That he should not carry the queen abroad, unless at her own request; nor send any of her children by him out of England (where they were to be educated) without the consent of the nobility; and that in case she died before him, without issue, he would not challenge any right at all in the kingdom, but permit the succession to descend to the right heir, according to the constitution.

“ V. That he would take care that all the forts and places of the realm should be kept by natives; that he would not alienate any of its appurtenances, nor suffer them to be usurped; and would not carry away any jewels, nor convey ships, guns, or ordnance for war or defence, out of the kingdom, but keep them in good repair.

“ And lastly, that he would do his utmost to maintain the peace between France and England; but without derogating from the treaty of 1542: and he was to be at liberty to assist his father in the defence of his realms and dominions, and in revenging the injuries he had received.”

These articles were well enough calculated for the advantage of England, had there been any security for their being observed, or any means of

redress left the English in case of a violation, which they had much reason to expect from the ill faith and immeasurable ambition of the emperor. The whole was signed on Friday the twelfth of January, by the Imperial ambassadors, and by Gardiner, lord-chancellor, the earl of Arundel, the lord Paget, sir Robert Rochester, and sir William Petre, the queen's commissioners; and on the Sunday and Monday following, were communicated by Gardiner to the nobility at court, and to the lord-mayor and aldermen of London, with a pompous account of the advantages thereof to the realm, and an high encomium of Philip.

This declaration, however, did not cure the jealousies of the people, who feared that the Spaniards would now become absolute lords of the kingdom, and have the management of all affairs; and that, abolishing the ancient laws, they would establish an insupportable slavery in the land as a conquered country; and their discontents flamed out in such a manner, as threatened a sudden and fierce rebellion; and had the malecontents been supported by any foreign power, or headed by any great man of abilities of their own country, the authority of the queen would have been exposed to the most imminent danger; for scarcely were the marriage-articles signed, when news came to court that the people of several counties had taken up arms, resolving to oppose with all their might the queen's intended marriage with Philip.

It seems that sir Thomas Wyatt, a gentleman of Kent, very considerable on account of his great fortune, and still more so by the opinion the world had of his virtues and abilities, believing it would be much better to prevent than to remedy evils, had engaged to arm the men of Kent, as sir Peter Carew, a gentleman of great interest in the West of England, did to assemble the inhabitants of Devonshire; and these two had persuaded the duke of Suffolk to engage with them, by the hopes of restoring his daughter, the lady Jane Grey, to the throne, and he had promised to attempt to raise the Midland counties. Carew, however, prompted either by his impetuosity, or his apprehensions, took up arms before the day appointed; but his troops were soon dispersed by a body of the queen's forces, and he himself was forced to take refuge in France, but was soon after taken at Brussels, and brought over prisoner to England, where he made his peace with the government, and died quietly in 1577. The duke of Suffolk had a harder destiny: he left London on the twenty-fifth of January, and went to his own house at Sheen, from whence he fled with his two brothers towards Leicestershire, inviting the people by placards all the way to join him in his endeavours to rescue the nation from a foreign yoke; but he could only get fifty horse about his person, when he was informed that the earl of Huntingdon was advancing, at the head of some hundreds, to seize him. Upon this intelligence, which proved true, he dismissed his followers, and committed himself to the care of a servant, who betrayed him to that nobleman, by whom he was brought up to London, and his brothers were taken soon after.

Wyat's attempt was at first more successful, and seemed to threaten more fatal consequences; for, having got out of London, he summoned his friends

* Rymer, vol. xv. p. 337, 393—493.

into the field on the twenty-fifth of January, and was immediately joined by sir Henry Isley, sir George Harper, the two Knevers, sir Thomas Colepepper, the two sons of the lord Cobham, and many gentlemen of the first distinction in Kent. The first measure after this, was to dispatch through the county proper persons to raise the people, and he, with some of his most trusty followers, retired to Rochester, where he took possession of the bridge, and fortified the east part of the city, which he intended as the rendezvous for his party; at the same time he ordered a manifesto to be published at Maidstone, and other places of the county, against the queen's marriage, and invited all Englishmen to join him in his endeavours to defend England from the insolent and tyrannical rule of a foreigner. These proclamations were in some places opposed by the government; but the people in general inclined to flock to his standard.

Certain advice of this rebellion being brought to court, it threw the queen and her council into great consternation, as they were at present quite unprepared to stem any vigorous efforts from a discontented people, the forces that ushered Mary up to the throne having been disbanded: it was therefore resolved to send a herald to Wyatt with assurance of a full pardon, provided he would lay down his arms in twenty-four hours; but the herald not being suffered to deliver his commission, the duke of Norfolk was hurried away with no more than six hundred of the city trained-bands and the queen's guards, who soon came up with the rebels; but at the very instant that the duke of Norfolk ordered his batteries to play upon them, he saw the London forces wave their hats, and, calling out, "A Wyatt! a Wyatt! we are all Englishmen!" appeared advancing against himself, to attack him. This piece of treachery threw the duke into such a consternation, that he, with the earl of Arundel, and sir Henry Jernegan, captain of the queen's guard, sought for safety in a precipitate flight, nor was it without great difficulty that they escaped with their persons, leaving the rebels masters of the field, of the duke's baggage, and eight pieces of brass cannon. This disgrace is said to have broke the duke of Norfolk's heart. The desertion of the Londoners appears to have been owing to the persuasion of Brett, one of their captains, who was wrought upon by sir Thomas Harper, who had the night before, with that purpose, left Wyatt, and pretended to surrender himself to the duke of Norfolk.

Wyatt finding himself now reinforced to the number of four thousand men, and fully persuaded that the Londoners would open their gates to him, and declare in his favour, advanced, on the thirty-first of January, towards the metropolis, and was got as far as Dartford with his artillery, when he was again met by two messengers from the queen (the lord Hastings and sir Thomas Cornwallis) who offered to confer with him, and, in the queen's name, promised him every reasonable satisfaction he should demand. This concession seems to have turned the weak head of Wyatt; he already thought himself invincible, and had the insolence to demand possession of the Tower and of the queen's person, and that the council should be changed at his pleasure. Hastings, who was a passionate but honest man, could not bear this traiterous demand

with any patience, and, bidding Wyatt defiance, he and Cornwallis returned to court.

The next day, being the second of February, the queen went to Guildhall, where, in a speech to the citizens, she acquainted them with Wyatt's treasonable demands, telling them she had done nothing in her marriage without the advice of her council, and declared her resolution to stay and throw herself upon the protection of her faithful city of London; though at the same time she had taken care to post five hundred foreign troops well armed in several parts thereof.

This speech at Guildhall, from a sovereign, so tickled the ears of the city council, that they ordered the bridge to be strongly barricadoed and guarded, so that, on the third of February, when Wyatt was advanced as far as Southwark, and thought to pass over the bridge into the city, he found himself shut out; and therefore, after a short consultation, he resolved to cross the Thames at Kingston; accordingly marching thither with all expedition, to his great disappointment found the bridge there broken down. This obliged him to halt for some time, in order to repair it, which being done, he passed it with his army, being now increased to six thousand men, with whom he arrived in Hyde Park about nine o'clock of the morning of the seventh of February; but here being detained some hours by the breaking down of one of the cannon, which he, contrary to the advice of all about him, would stay to repair, sir Thomas Harper, who had been so serviceable in bringing over the London troops, deserted him, and, posting to the court at Whitehall, discovered Wyatt's intention to march through Westminster, and enter the city at Ludgate.

However, this would not have frustrated his scheme, had he not been still possessed with a belief that the citizens would favour his undertaking: on which presumption, leaving his cannon, under a guard, on that spot now called Constitution Hill, he marched down directly towards Charing-cross; but on his way was attacked in flank by a party of light horse, under the earl of Pembroke, about the spot where St. James's street is now built, and a skirmish ensued, by which one part of Wyatt's men was cut off from the other. This attack ruined Wyatt, for in it he lost the best part of his followers: nevertheless, he still continued his march leisurely along the Strand, expecting to be rejoined by his dispersed followers.

In his way he was opposed by sir John Gage, the lord-chamberlain, at the head of a thousand men, but those he quickly put to flight: and, pursuing his march, came before Ludgate, where he demanded admission, but in vain, all the posts of importance at the gate and elsewhere being strongly guarded by lord William Howard, and other friends of government; Wyatt therefore, instead of admission at Ludgate, received nothing but reproaches, and finding himself in no condition to force the gate (so many of his followers having flunk away, that he had not above a thousand men about him), he was obliged to return; but being informed that his retreat was cut off by barricadoes, and the earl of Pembroke's troops at Temple-bar, he discovered his danger, and gave all over for lost. At that instant, Clarendieux, king of arms, was sent in the queen's name, to require

quire him to surrender, with a promise of pardon for him and his men if they would lay down their arms: while Wyatt was pausing on this summons, sir Maurice Berkeley happening to pass on horseback, Wyatt called out to him, as knowing him to be a gentleman, and delivering up his sword, Berkeley carried him along with him, on the same horse, prisoner to Whitehall. Knevet, Cobham, and the rest of Wyatt's followers, likewise submitted; and the queen in a few minutes, from her own palace-windows, beheld those led captives from whom she had expected in a short time to receive laws; for so great had been the consternation at court, that Welton, who said mass the day of Wyatt's defeat, which was Ash Wednesday, wore armour under his clerical habit.

Such was the event of this conspiracy: and if it had only drawn vengeance on the heads of the principal actors, they might have been said to meet the just reward of their folly. But it produced two considerable effects; the one fatal to an illustrious innocent person, and the other to all protestants, though religion had no share in this insurrection: but, as the queen's darling point was to restore popery, and finding her power strengthened by the ill success of the conspirators, she made an handle of the affair to ruin the reformed and their religion.

As the duke of Suffolk was concerned in the conspiracy, the court easily conceived his design was to replace his daughter, the lady Jane, on the throne; and this determined the queen to sacrifice her to her own safety, whom she had before only hated on account of her religion. Accordingly Fakenham, abbot of Westminster, was sent, two days after the surrender of Wyatt, to announce the fatal message of death to the lady Jane and her husband, who were still prisoners in the Tower, under sentence of death. This message was received by Jane with great composure, it being what she had long expected, and which the innocence of her life, as well as the long train of calamities which she had suffered, made her consider as no unwelcome tidings. Dr. Fakenham, who brought them, informed her he had obtained a respite of three days for her, in which time he tried all his endeavours to make her change her religion: but Jane, even in these her mournful circumstances, had presence of mind sufficient not only to defend her faith with equal learning and eloquence, but also to write a letter in the Greek language to her sister Catherine, in which, besides sending her a copy of the New Testament, she exhorted her in the most pressing manner to maintain, in every condition of life, a like steady and unshaken perseverance with herself.

On the twelfth of February, the day appointed for her execution, her husband the lord Guilford, who was doomed to suffer at the same time, desired he might be allowed to see her, but she refused to comply with his request, and sent him word that the tenderness of a parting interview would, she feared, too much affect their spirits, and render them unable to meet their approaching fate with that magnanimity which befitted their condition; the wretched husband acquiesced, and from the window of her prison she beheld him carried to execution, and from the same window saw his body and head return in a cart. It had been proposed to execute them both together; but the council fearing that

the compassion of the people for their youth, beauty, innocence, and noble birth, might excite some dangerous commotion, thought proper to alter their resolution, and gave orders that she should suffer on a scaffold within the Tower: accordingly she was led forth from her apartment to the block, where, to the last moment, she shewed great constancy and piety, and an immovable adherence to the protestant faith; yet acknowledged that she thought herself culpable in suffering herself to be persuaded to accept a crown that did not belong to her; and then submitting her neck to the stroke of the executioner, her head was severed from her body. Thus fell the lady Jane Grey, before she had attained the seventeenth year of her age.

On the fourteenth and fifteenth of February, Bret, the commander of the city trained-bands, who had deserted to Wyatt, and fifty-eight more, were hanged: Wyatt, indeed, was respited for two months, in hopes he would make some considerable discoveries, having already unjustly accused the earl of Devonshire and the princess Elizabeth, and promised to give information against other great personages, of being concerned with him in the late conspiracy. How improbable soever his accusations might seem to the unprejudiced, the queen, Gardiner, and Arundel were willing to believe any thing that might affect the princess, or any others that were suspected to be friends to the Reformation; therefore the earl of Devonshire was committed to the Tower, and Elizabeth, though at that time much indisposed, was brought to London, and closely confined at Whitehall for a fortnight, without liberty of speaking to any person; and after that committed to the Tower.

On the seventeenth, the duke of Suffolk was tried by his peers, the earl of Arundel acting as high-steward, and found guilty, in consequence of which he suffered death on the twenty-third, on Tower-hill. In the course of the same month, sir James Crofts, sir Edward Warner, Thomas, late clerk of the council, and sir Nicholas Throgmorton, were committed to prison, upon some hints dropped by Wyatt. The lord Grey, the duke of Suffolk's brother, was executed, with about two-and-twenty of his followers and friends. But a little to qualify these severities the marquis of Northampton, the lord Cobham, sir William Cobham, Colepepper, Vane, and some other gentlemen, were, on the fourth of March, released out of the Tower of London; and about six hundred of the common men concerned in the late rebellion, being brought before the palace at Whitehall, with halters about their necks, upon making the proper submission, received their pardon from the queen in person. Of all who were tried, none appear to have escaped being condemned, except sir Nicholas Throgmorton; and his deliverance was owing to the amazing spirit and abilities he discovered upon his trial. He called upon the court to produce any one overt-act of the treason of which he had been indicted; and no solid proofs appearing against him, the jury, after a long trial, brought him in Not Guilty: for which, upon the attorney-general's motion, they were bound over, and afterwards committed, prosecuted, and severely fined. Thus did the iniquitous judges of these days endeavour to convince the juries, that they were no longer to have the liberty of judging according to their consciences; but that, instead of being governed by proofs, they were to

examine how the queen and her council stood affected to the prisoner, and by that to determine their verdict.

The government had, for some time, delayed the execution of Wyatt, that they might make all the advantage they could of his discoveries. Ever since his confinement he had acted with a pusillanimity as unavailing to himself as dangerous to others; but having now no longer hopes of saving his own life by drawing the innocent into condemnation, he, upon his trial, fully cleared the princess Elizabeth, the earl of Devonshire, and others, by retracting all he had said to their prejudice; and, being brought to execution on the eleventh of April, acquitted them to the public, with his dying breath: yet Elizabeth was not only kept confined in the Tower, but, to deprive her even of that little comfort she received from the humanity and distinction with which the constable, the lord Chandois, treated her, she was, on the sixteenth of May, committed to the custody of lord Williams. But there being no longer any pretence to retain her or the earl of Devonshire prisoners in that place, she was removed to Woodstock, and he to Fotheringay castle, both of them still under a guard. In this condition the princess Elizabeth continued for near two years, when she was so far indulged to live at her own house; but even then she was beset by the queen's spies and guards.

The queen no sooner found herself delivered from the danger apprehended from Wyatt's conspiracy, than she, with redoubled vigour, resumed her design of an entire destruction of the Reformation in England, in which she was not a little assisted by Gardiner, who now bore all the sway. Sir John Williams, on the eighth of March, by order of the council, received from the Tower of London Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and carried them down to Oxford, there to dispute concerning their faith. It is easy to conceive that those in power assumed the victory: on the third of May, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, were adjudged obstinate heretics. As for Cranmer, he being already attainted of treason, was pardoned of that, that he might die the more painful death of an heretic. The mass was every where restored; the marriage of priests was strictly forbidden; and all those who had already taken wives, amounting, as is supposed, to no less than three fourths of the English clergy, were instantly deprived of their livings. A visitation was appointed, to enforce a speedy and general compliance with these orders. Among other articles the commissioners were enjoined to forbid the clergy to take the oath of supremacy, on their receiving any benefice. It is remarkable that this oath had been established by the laws of king Henry VIII. which were still unrepealed. But the storm did not end here, it fell with greater force upon many of the superior clergy; for a special commission was given to Gardiner, Tonstal, Bonner, Parfen, bishop of St. Asaph; Day of Chichester, and Kitchin of Llandaff, to deprive Holgate, archbishop of York, Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, Bird of Chester, and Bush of Bristol, then under confinement as recusants. Two days after, Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, Hooper of Gloucester, and Harley of Hereford, underwent the like sentence of deprivation, on an accusation of having behaved themselves ill and preached erroneous doctrines. In the room of the deprived bishops were

placed others, who were known to be staunch friends to the papistical doctrine and superstition.

These violent and arbitrary proceedings could not fail to inflame the resentment of the protestants, who inveighed with great acrimony against the present government: nevertheless, the ministry, knowing them to be necessary to secure an interest in the house of lords and in the convocation, supported them with an air of justice, founded upon a clause in the letters patent of Edward VI. in which it was provided that bishops should hold their bishoprics so long as they behaved themselves well ("quamdiu se bene gesserint,") and therefore it was alledged, the queen did them no injustice by depriving them, when their conduct was such as proved displeasing to her. Such was the constitution of the state and church when the new parliament met on the second of April, 1554.

Before this time Gardiner had received vast remittances from the emperor, which he had employed in corrupting the members to a degree till then unprecedented in England. Gardiner, as chancellor, opened the session by a speech; in which he maintained the queen's hereditary title to the crown; affirmed she had a right to chuse a husband for herself; observed the good use she had made of that right, by preferring an old ally, sprung from the house of Burgundy; and mentioned the failure of Henry VIII's posterity, of whom there were none surviving but the queen and the lady Elizabeth.

He subjoined, that, in order to prevent the calamities which might be occasioned by different pretenders, it was necessary to grant the queen a power of disposing of the crown, and of naming her successor: a power, he said, which ought not to be considered as a new thing in England, since it had been formerly bestowed upon Henry VIII.

The parliament were sufficiently inclined to gratify the queen in all her desires; but when the liberty, independency, and even the very being of the nation, were exposed to such imminent danger, they could not by any means be persuaded to comply.

They were acquainted with the inveterate hatred which she bore to the lady Elizabeth, and with her strong attachment to the house of Austria: they remembered her bigotry and superstition, which would prompt her to prefer the establishment of the catholic religion to all considerations of justice and national interest: they observed that Gardiner, in his speech, had carefully avoided the giving Elizabeth the title of the queen's sister; and they thence inferred, that a design was formed of declaring her illegitimate: they apprehended, that Mary, if invested with such a power as she demanded, would bequeath the crown to her husband, and, by that means, make England a province of the Spanish monarchy: and they were the more inclined to entertain these suspicions, when they heard, that Philip's descent from the house of Lancaster was carefully traced and explained, and that he was publicly represented as the true and only heir by right of inheritance.

The parliament, therefore, sensible of their danger, was resolved to keep at a distance from the precipice, on the brink of which they stood. They could not help confirming the articles of marriage, which were extremely advantageous to England; but they refused to agree to any such law as the chancellor recommended: they would not so

much

much as declare it treason to imagine or attempt the death of the queen's husband, while she was alive; and a bill brought in for that purpose was rejected at its first reading.

In order to deprive Philip of all hopes of ever being able to exercise any authority in England, they enacted a law, importing, "that her majesty, as their only queen, should solely, and as sole queen, enjoy the crown and sovereignty of her realms, with all the pre-eminences, dignities, and rights thereto belonging, in as large and ample a manner after her marriage as before, without any title or claim accruing to the prince of Spain, either as tenant by courtesy of the realm, or by any other means."

This parliament passed a law for erecting anew the bishopric of Durham, which had been dissolved by the last parliament of Edward. The queen had already, by virtue of her prerogative, restored Tonstal to the possession of that see; but, though the crown was, at that time, accustomed to exercise authority which might seem entirely legislative, it was always deemed more safe and satisfactory to obtain the consent of parliament.

Bills were brought in for suppressing the many erroneous opinions contained in books, as well as for reviving the law of the Six Articles, together with those against the Lollards, against heresy and erroneous preaching; but all these bills were rejected by the two houses: a proof, that however inclinable the parliament might be to gratify the court in some points, they were yet determined to follow their own judgment in other particulars. The queen, therefore, finding that they would not pay an implicit obedience to her will, thought proper to put an end to the session by dissolving them on the fifth of May.

The parliament having confirmed the articles of marriage between the queen and the prince of Spain, and Mary being impatient to be more nearly connected with her young consort, the earl of Suffex was sent over, immediately after the breaking up of the parliament, with a strong squadron under admiral Winter, to bring the prince of Spain to England, where he actually arrived, at Southampton, on the nineteenth of July. On his first setting foot on shore, Philip drew his sword, and carried it naked for some time; and when the magistrates of that port presented him with the keys of that town, he returned them without vouchsafing to speak a single word; both which circumstances caused various reflections in the minds of the spectators, not greatly to the advantage of his Spanish highness. The queen had set out on a progress to the West, that she might meet her bridegroom at Winchester, where she intended to be married, and where the ceremony was accordingly performed by Gardiner, with great magnificence, on Wednesday the twenty-fifth of July, being the feast of St. James, the tutelar saint of Spain, Mary being in her thirty-ninth year, and older than Philip by eleven years and three months; the marquis of Winchester, with the earls of Arundel, Derby, Bedford, and Pembroke, performing the ceremony of giving her away in the name of the kingdom. The Imperial ambassador had, before the solemnity, presented Philip with an instrument, containing the emperor's resignation and cession to him of the two Sicilies; and, as soon as it was over, Garter king at arms, attended

by the heralds, published the styles of the royal pair, in Latin, French, and English, proclaiming "Philip and Mary, king and queen of England, Ireland, and France, Naples and Jerusalem, defenders of the faith, princes of Spain and Sicily, archdukes of Austria, dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant, counts of Hapsburg, Flanders, and Tyrol."

The marriage being consummated, Philip ordered his treasure to be landed, consisting of twenty-seven chests, each a yard and four inches long, filled with bullion, with ninety-nine horse-loads and two cart-loads of gold and silver coin; which infused fresh zeal for the queen's interest into those who had been before retained by Gardiner. In the beginning of August, the court removed for London; stopping at Windsor, Philip was there installed a knight of the Garter: at length, on the eighteenth of the same month, they made a pompous entry into London, where pageants and triumphal arches had been erected, and other marks of rejoicing were exhibited, at a vast expence, the obsequious city-council having taxed the citizens at the rate of a fifteenth and a half to provide for the magnificent reception of the queen and her new consort. After a short stay at Whitehall, they dismissed their train of nobility, and then returning to Hampton-court, made that palace their ordinary residence. But Philip's grave manner and reserved air gave great disgust to the English: none were suffered to come into either his or the queen's presence without a formal demand of an audience, as is practised by ambassadors. This rendered the court entirely unfrequented, the English nobility not enduring to conform to a custom so opposite to their own.

The rest of this summer was spent in the election of proper members to constitute the next parliament, under the influence of the prime minister, Gardiner, and his emissaries, in which no endeavours, by bribery, corruption, soothing, or menacing, were omitted to gain their ends. About the latter end of September died, full of years, the old duke of Norfolk, about twelve months after he had received his liberty; and was succeeded in his titles and honours by his grand-son, Thomas Howard, son to the earl of Surry, beheaded in the last year of the reign of Henry VIII.

The parliament, which met on the eleventh of November, was so well secured to the court principles and interest by Philip's money, that they wanted only an opportunity to signalize their zeal. At its first meeting, the king and queen rode together on horseback, in their robes, to the parliament-house, with two swords and two caps of maintenance borne before them. And now the court was so well assured of the parliament's concurrence with, and confirmation of, all their actions, that they dispatched the lords Paget and Hastings, with Cecil, the late secretary, in their train, to bring over cardinal Pole, in the character of the pope's legate, before any law was passed to restore the papal authority: indeed the parliament made it one of their first acts, on sitting down, to take off the cardinal's attainder, which had passed upon him in the reign of Henry VIII. and by which he remained liable to a sentence of death. The ambassadors arrived at Brussels on the eleventh of November; and having, to the no small satisfaction of the cardinal, delivered their commission, they landed with his eminence on the twenty-fourth at the Tower.

A guar-

A guardian-angel could not have been received with more pomp and greater respect than he was by the king and queen. Mary, in particular; was so over-joyed at seeing him enter the presence-chamber to pay his respects to her, that she declared aloud she felt the child leap in her womb on the occasion: some of the servile herd of flatterers who were about her caught the hint, and scrupled not to declare that as John the Baptist leaped in his mother's womb at the salutation of the Virgin, so here the queen's child leaped at the salutation of Christ's vicar, speaking by the mouth of his legate: Mary herself carried on this farce so far, that she declared her pregnancy to all the foreign ambassadors; and we find an order in council, dated the twenty-seventh of this month, for *Te Deum* to be sung at St. Paul's and a form of prayer was ordered to be composed and used by all the priests, &c. in which was this remarkable petition, that God would please "to give the queen a male infant, in fashion and body comely and beautiful, and in pregnant wit notable and excellent*." But, after all, this proved to be no other than a political trick; for the queen's boasted pregnancy turned to a dropsy. But to return.

Pole arriving on the twenty-fourth of November, as we have already observed, the queen laid the mask quite aside, and no longer paying any regard to her oath and promises not to alter the national religion, she determined to precipitate matters as much as possible; and two days after the legate's arrival, the two houses were summoned to Whitehall, and the cardinal having returned his thanks for their late favour to him in reversing his attainder, exhorted them to be reconciled to the church of Rome, into whose bosom he was ready to receive them, and grant them absolution from all spiritual censures. This produced a conference the next day between the lords and commons; and an address being drawn up in the name of both houses, expressing a desire of their reunion, and presented to the king and queen, the legate, at their majesties intercession, on the thirtieth of November, proceeded to restore the nation to an union with the church of Rome, and absolved it with all the spells of priestly jargon. The ceremony was followed by ringing of bells and bonfires, by the king and queen's express orders.

The legate having enjoined the parliament, by way of penance, to repeal all the laws made against papal authority, both houses set about the said repeal with an unprecedented degree of infamous and servile compliance, but the Christmas holidays interposing, the bill could not be got ready before the beginning of January. By this act (the title of which was "An act for repealing all the statutes against the pope, and for establishing ecclesiastical possessions granted to the laity,") the papal supremacy, the jurisdiction of bishops and ecclesiastical courts, and the prerogative of the crown, were put on the same footing as they stood in the twentieth year of Henry VIII. All fees, colleges, hospitals, schools, and other foundations, erected; all legal marriages, though within the degrees prohibited by the canon law, contracted; all institutions to benefices granted; and all processes carried on, and all church-lands conveyed to laymen, according to

the late laws in being, since the separation from Rome, were not confirmed.

The very title of this act is sufficient to inform the reader of its tendency. It was the indispensable preliminary which the great men of England required for resettling the power of the pope: "Secure but to us (said they) the possession of the church-lands, and we are willing to embrace all your doctrines, or otherwise to reject them: let us enjoy our revenues, we will readily accept your religion; confirm but our possessions, and we will not hesitate to make a sacrifice of revelation, liberty, conscience and the exercise of our reason." The conduct of this parliament will secure us from the charge of too much severity in what we have here said; for having thus secured their possessions, they shewed the utmost indifference to the religion, or even the lives of their fellow-subjects; and they renewed the old sanguinary laws against heretics, which had been abolished in the reign of Edward VI. and the revival of which had been rejected in the former parliament. They likewise passed several new laws against seditious words and rumours; and they declared it treason to imagine or attempt the death of Philip, during his marriage with the queen.

Each parliament had hitherto been more complaisant to the court than their predecessors, but none of them had laid aside their long-conceived hatred and aversion to the Spaniards; and now, though the queen endeavoured to get her husband appointed presumptive heir to the crown, and invested with the administration of public affairs, she failed in both these attempts, and could not so much as persuade the parliament to agree to his coronation, a thing which he had greatly at heart: nor was she more successful in her endeavours to obtain a subsidy from the commons, in order to assist the emperor in a war he was anew engaged in with France. In short, the English at this period seem to have conceived the same jealousy against the house of Austria, which they had formerly entertained against France.

Philip, conscious of the general odium under which he laboured, endeavoured to recommend himself to the favour of the public by procuring the enlargement of several persons of distinction who had been confined from the jealousy or resentment of the court; but nothing was more acceptable to the nation than his protecting the lady Elizabeth from the malice and cruelty of her sister and that fell demon Gardiner, and obtaining for her the enjoyment of her liberty. Though it is unfair to put unfavourable constructions upon virtuous actions, yet the whole tenor of Philip's conduct and character leaves no room to doubt, that all his clemency on this occasion had very selfish and interested motives, particularly with regard to the lady Elizabeth; for he very justly concluded, that if she was put to death, the next lawful heir was the queen of Scots, and wife to the dauphin of France, whose succession would for ever unite England to the crown of France. The earl of Devonshire likewise derived some advantage from the affected popularity of Philip, and received his liberty; but finding that the court looked upon him with an evil eye, he begged permission to travel, and soon after died at Padua, from poison, as is

* See the order and form in Hollingshed, fol. 1123—1126. and in Fox, vol. iii. p. 115, &c.

supposed, given him by the Imperialists. He was the eleventh earl of Devonshire of the name of Courtney, one of the most distinguished families in history, and nearly allied to the royal family of France.

Notwithstanding that the nation in general was little disposed to credit the report of the queen's pregnancy, and that it was thought, by persons the most knowing in those matters, that she laboured under infirmities that rendered her incapable of bearing children, the belief of her pregnancy was still propagated with all possible care, and was one artifice by which Philip endeavoured to maintain his authority in the kingdom; and this pretext was so effectually handled, that the parliament were brought to enact a law, declaring, "that if the queen died before her issue came of age, the government of the kingdom should be in the king's hands during the minority, which was fixed till eighteen for a son and fifteen for a daughter." And now Philip and Mary, finding they could extort no farther concessions, came unexpectedly to Westminster, and dissolved the parliament on the twelfth of January, 1555.

Soon after the rising of the parliament, Thirlby, who was now bishop of Ely, and sir Anthony Brown, lately created viscount Montacute, were sent ambassadors, with a splendid retinue to Rome, to notify to his holiness all that had been done in parliament, and to make tenders of submission to the holy see in the name of the king, queen, and three estates of England. But before they could arrive, pope Julius III. died; and his successor, Marcus II. who reigned but twenty-two days, was dead also; and cardinal Caraffa, an haughty proud man, was elected, and assumed the name of Paul IV. When the English ambassadors arrived, this haughty pontiff refused them audience, because their powers ran from Mary as queen of Ireland as well as England, a title which had not been given her or her predecessors by the holy see: they were therefore tame enough to wait till a bull was made out, investing Mary with that title, and then they had their audience.

The usual formalities being passed, they laid before his holiness all that had been done in the late parliament, hoping that he would confirm to the laity the possession of church-lands; but the pope flatly refused to do that: he seemed to blame Pole for exceeding his commission, and to wonder how any one could presume to harbour a thought, that he would grant any confirmation to acts that were in themselves iniquitous and sacrilegious. To explain himself more fully on this head, a bull was issued, denouncing the most severe anathemas upon all who should keep from the church or religious orders any part of their property. Upon this the queen was weak enough to send for the marquis of Winchester, lord treasurer, sir Robert Rochester, comptroller of the household, secretary Petre, and sir Francis Inglesfield, master of the wards, acquainting them that her conscience did not suffer her any longer to keep in her hands any part of the church's property, desiring them immediately to repair to Gardiner, to consult in what manner they should be restored; and this declaration was attended by such expressions as sufficiently proved the deluded queen to speak from the deepest conviction of conscience.

But the attention of the ministry was chiefly engaged about the conduct proper to be observed with regard to matters of a religious nature; and a very important question was frequently debated, before the queen and council, by cardinal Pole and bishop Gardiner, namely, whether the laws lately revived against heretics should be executed in their full extent and rigour, or should only be employed to prevent the reformers from making any farther innovations?

Pole was very sincere in his religious principles; and though while at Rome he had incurred, by his lenity, the suspicion of a strong tendency towards Lutheranism, he was fully convinced of the truth of the catholic doctrines, and believed that those great and important interests ought never to be sacrificed to any consideration of human policy.

Gardiner, on the other hand, had always made his religion subservient to his temporal concerns, and, by his unlimited complaisance to Henry, he had shewn, that, had he not been driven to extremities during the late minority, he was sufficiently inclined to alter his opinion, and embrace the established theology.

This is generally allowed to have been the real character of those two counsellors; yet, such is the prevalence of temper above principle, that the humane disposition of Pole led him to recommend a toleration of those heretical tenets which he highly condemned; while the cruel heart of Gardiner prompted him to support by persecution that religion, which, at the bottom, he regarded with the utmost indifference.

Unhappily for the nation, the queen, who was a flaming bigot, relished the counsels of Gardiner best; but, willing at the same time to pay some regard to the character of Pole, she ordered him to take upon himself the reformation of the clergy, and charged Gardiner with the work of extirpating heresy.

Gardiner, thus empowered, and flushed with his success in bringing about the queen's marriage, in disposing the parliament to favour their sovereign's religious principles, and in restoring the Roman catholic religion and the pope's authority, was determined to crown his zeal, and complete his glory, by forcing the protestants into the pale of the church, or at least to an outward conformity to the new laws. And here a regard to truth, which ought ever to guide the historian's pen, and animate his reflections on the incidents he relates, obliges me to confess, that the imprudence of some weak persons among the reformed, contributed not a little to fix the diabolical resolutions now taken against them. It had been industriously given out by their party, that the queen was with child by Gardiner; and the court and the nation were filled with libels against her and the Spaniards. One Bradford, a virulent writer (not the same who suffered for religion), had published in print the most scurrilous abuses of the king's person; and the manners and religion of the court had been every where very indecently, however justly, lashed: Bonner and Gardiner had many private piques to revenge, while the treatment which some of the popish preachers had met with from several hot-headed protestants was made use of as a handle, that the whole party was made up of traitors as well as heretics.

But

But all these provocations and allegations fall infinitely short of an excuse for the infernal proceedings of the government and clergy against the protestants. England was now filled with scenes of horror and barbarity, which have justly rendered the catholic religion the object of universal hatred and abhorrence, and which prove that no human depravity can equal revenge and cruelty, concealed under the specious guise of religion.

The two first victims of this persecuting spirit were Dr. Hooper, late bishop of Gloucester, and Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's, who had both eminently distinguished themselves, the one by his loyalty in supporting the queen's title against Northumberland, and the other by his pacific temper, in saving, at the hazard of his own life, Bourne the papist-preacher at St. Paul's: but, as if the government had intended to give the nation a specimen of their impartial cruelty, Rogers, after repeated attempts to bring him to recant, was condemned to the stake; and so ingenious were his butchers in their barbarity, that, perceiving they could not shake his manly resolution to suffer, they attacked him where virtue is most tender, by denying him the sight of his wife or children, and hurrying him into the flames in Smithfield, on the fourth of February.

The two bloody bishops had a personal hatred against Hooper, who behaved with all the constancy of a primitive martyr. He had kept up a correspondence with Bulenger, and others of the reformed abroad, to whom he sent his wife, who was herself a foreigner; and he was at very little pains to conceal his sentiments, none having been more active or more successful than he was in the cause of reformation. He shewed a noble contempt for all the insults he received; and, being given over to the secular arm by the bishops of Winchester, London, Durham, Salisbury, Norwich, and Carlisle, who sat in judgment at St. Mary Overy's, Southwark, was impolitically sent by the government to die at Gloucester, that the hearers of his doctrine might be the witnesses of his sufferings.

This circumstance was intended to strike terror into his flock; but it was a source of joy and satisfaction to Hooper, who gladly embraced the opportunity of confirming by his death that doctrine which he had formerly taught them. When he was fixed to the stake, a stool was set before him, and the queen's pardon laid upon it, by accepting of which he might still have saved his life; but he ordered it to be taken away, and cheerfully prepared himself for that dreadful punishment to which he was doomed.

His death was attended by every circumstance that could heighten its severity; the wind, which was vehement, blew the flames of the reeds from his body; the faggots were green, and did not take fire; all his lower parts were consumed before his vitals were affected; one hand dropped off, with the other he continued to beat his breast: he was heard to pray, and exhort the people to adhere to their religion, until his tongue, swollen with the violence of his agony, was rendered incapable of motion. He was no less than three quarters of an hour in torture, which he bore with the most surprising and inflexible constancy.

About the same time Laurence Saunders, minister of Allhallows, Bread-street, and Mr. Rowland Taylor, rector of Hadley, in Suffolk, were deli-

vered over to the secular power, and sealed their doctrine by their death.

Saunders suffered at Coventry: he was also indulged with the offer of pardon; but he rejected it with disdain, and embraced the stake, saying, "Welcome the cross of Christ, welcome everlasting life."

Taylor, parson of Hadley, was on the nineteenth of February, burned in that place, amidst his ancient friends and parishoners. When he was brought to the stake, and began to harangue the by-standers, one of the guards struck him on the head: then he was placed in a barrel of pitch; and one of the spectators throwing a faggot at the good old man, which wounded him so severely, that his visage was besmeared with blood, he replied, "Oh friend! I have harm enough, what need of that?"

When he repeated a Psalm in English one of the guards struck him on the mouth, and bid him speak Latin: and while he was employed in pious ejaculations, another cleft his head with an halbert, in such a manner that his brains came out, and he expired immediately.

So many inhuman executions, merely for the sake of principle, threw the nation into an universal consternation, insomuch that the subtle Gardiner, who had vainly imagined that a few examples would affrighten the reformers into a compliance, finding the work now grow daily upon him, thought proper to devolve his odious commission on others, but chiefly on Bonner, bishop of London, a man of the most profligate and abandoned manners, and of such a savage and cruel disposition, that he seemed to delight in the torments of the unhappy wretches his iniquitous sentence committed to the flames.

And now, not only Gardiner, but all the bishops, in a solemn assembly, endeavoured to clear themselves of being in any wise concerned in these barbarities, and sought by artful insinuations to cast the whole blame upon the king and the Spaniards: but Philip being informed of the infamous policy of the clergy, and being well apprized, that, should such an opinion of his cruelty be suffered to prevail, he must entirely lose all interest with the English, ordered friar Alphonso, his confessor, to disclaim those sanguinary proceedings from the pulpit, and very roundly to charge them upon the bishops: an unusual spectacle! a priest of the Inquisition blaming Englishmen for religious cruelties! The bishops, amazed at this, began to check their hands, and there were no more executions till the middle of March.

But the fires which had been thus damped, were in a short time rekindled by the breath of the gloomy queen, while Bonner's furious zeal spread the flames. He, in conjunction with some other bishops, and assisted by the earl of Oxford and lord Rich, condemned without mercy all that came before them, amongst whom was Dr. Robert Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, who was burned at Caermarthen, on the thirtieth of March. To recount all the particulars of the other executions, which now became so numerous, that the whole kingdom seemed to be in a blaze from persecution, would only shock the humanity of the reader, and they may all be found faithfully recorded in other historians. Three martyrdoms, however, deserve peculiar mention, those of Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer.

They were still in prison at Oxford, and commissions for trying them were directed to Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, White, bishop of Lincoln, Holman, bishop of Bristol, and several others. The three prelates, at their different appearances, refused to acknowledge the pope's authority. Latimer and Ridley, after refusing to recant their doctrine, or to acknowledge the real presence in the eucharist, which was now become the watch-word for murders, were delivered over to the secular arm, and carried to be burned on the north side of the city of Oxford, in the ditch over-against Baliol college, on the sixteenth of October; and both, in their last moments, gave testimony of the faith with their blood, and a behaviour nothing inferior to what we read of the primitive martyrs. But those two great men deserve some farther mention.

Ridley was born of a good family in Northumberland. He went to school at Newcastle, and was sent to Pembroke hall in Cambridge, of which he became master. King Henry VIII. made him first his chaplain, and promoted him to the see of Rochester, from whence king Edward VI. translated him to London. He was certainly one of the ablest champions of the Reformation; pious, learned, solid in judgment, constant, admired by his friends, and dreaded of his enemies; which were sufficient reasons for the popish counsellors to put him to death. The night immediately before his execution, bishop Ridley invited the mayor of Oxford and his wife to see him die; and the good woman melting into tears, he spoke to her with an assurance which banished her sorrow, and convinced her that so much firmness on so melancholy an occasion could only be the gift from Heaven, inspiring and animating him against his approaching agony. He also comforted Latimer at the stake, who was ready to return him the kind office. He was so little shocked with the terrors before him, that he not only gave a serious attention to the furious bigot that preached at his execution, but calmly proposed to answer the exceptionable parts of his sermon, which was not permitted, lest his eloquence and reason should bias his hearers and spectators too much in his favour; and he left the world with an act of justice, for he sent a petition to the queen, praying that either the tenants of the bishopric of London might be confirmed in their leases, or that their fines might be restored out of his goods, seized when he was imprisoned. But he paid dearly for his courage; the faggots were ordered to be placed in such a manner as to torment him as much as possible; he was rather roasted than burned, for his legs were almost consumed before the fire was permitted to reach his vitals.

Bishop Latimer was born at Thurcaston, in Leicestershire, and brought up also at Cambridge. Henry VIII. promoted him to the see of Worcester, which he resigned because he would not subscribe to what were called king Henry's Six bloody Articles. He was remarkable for his simplicity, freedom, and plainness, with which he arraigned great sinners, and which, without the ornament of human eloquence, found a way to their hearts, and made them humble, though ever so exalted. One of his converts, a notorious robber, who had been persuaded by him to restore his ill-gotten money, gave testimony of it at his execution, and com-

forted him at the stake; and desiring to accompany so righteous a man in so good a cause, prophesied with unshaken zeal, in the midst of reigning popery, "that those two bishops and martyrs should light up such a candle in England, as, by God's grace, should never be extinguished." Latimer's age, who was upwards of eighty, made him soon yield up his soul in the flames, without undergoing much pain, and he died with the character of having preserved the piety, simplicity, and integrity of the first, in the corruptions of the last, ages.

We wish we could throw a veil over the next martyr who suffered at the same place; we mean Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury. He had been long confined in prison, but the queen was now resolved to bring him to punishment; and the more fully to glut her revenge, she determined to punish him for heresy rather than for treason, and in September, 1555, he was tried by Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, a commissioner from the pope, and by Dr. Martin and Dr. Godwin, commissioners from the queen, who accused him of having been twice married, of keeping a wife secretly in king Henry VIII's time, and openly in the reign of king Edward VI. of publishing books against, and forsaking, the Romish church; and of denying the real presence of Christ in the sacrament. He owned all these facts, upon which the commissioners cited him to appear before the pope in eight days, which they knew was impossible, since he was their prisoner. Bonner and Thirlby were ordered to degrade him at Oxford, on the fourteenth of February, which Bonner performed with his usual insolence, and with bitter raileries and invectives against the prisoner during the ceremony, while Thirlby melted into tears. They, on this occasion, put him on pontifical robes made of canvas, to make him more ridiculous, and then stripped him of that ludicrous attire, piece by piece, according to the bull and ceremonies of degradation sent from Rome: during which ceremony the good archbishop's behaviour was uniform and becoming. He was not sorry, he said, to be thus cut off with all his pageantry from any relation to the church of Rome; but declared it to be great injustice to condemn him for not going to Rome, when they kept him close confined in prison; and, denying the pope's authority over him, appealed from his sentence to a free general council.

The revenge of the queen, not content with the eternal damnation of Cranmer, which she believed to be certain, and the execution of that dreadful sentence to which he was doomed, incited her also to seek the ruin of his honour and infamy of his name: persons were employed to attack him, not in the way of argumentation and reasoning, against which they knew he was sufficiently prepared, but by policy, insinuation, and address, by representing the dignities and honours to which his character gave him a claim, if he would deserve them by a recantation; and by flattering him with the hopes of long enjoying those powerful friends whom his humanity and beneficence had procured him during the course of his prosperity.

Influenced by that love of life which is inseparable from the human heart, and terrified at the prospect of those dreadful torments to which he was condemned, he suffered, in an unguarded



The burning Archbishop Cranmer.



*To His Grace
Duke of
This plate is most*



*George Hamilton,
Brandon.
humbly Inscribed.*

hour, the feelings of nature to over-power his resolution; and he agreed to sign a paper, acknowledging the doctrine of the papal supremacy and of the real presence.

The queen, whose perfidy was only exceeded by her cruelty, resolved that this recantation should not save his life; and she sent orders that he should be commanded to own his errors in church, before the whole people; and that he should from thence be immediately conducted to execution.

Cranmer, whether it was that he had received some notice of their intention, or that he had repented of his weakness and apostacy, surprized the audience by a contrary declaration: he said, that he was sufficiently acquainted with the obedience which he owed to his sovereign, and the laws of the land; but this duty extended no farther than to submit patiently to their commands, and to bear, without resistance, whatever punishments they should inflict upon him; that a superior duty, the duty which he owed his Maker, obliged him to remain in the truth on all occasions, and not to abandon, by a base denial, the holy doctrine which the Supreme Being had imparted to mankind: that there was one error of his life, which, above all others, filled him with the most unfeigned sorrow and repentance, the insincere declaration of faith to which he had unhappily been induced to agree, and which nothing but the fear of death could have extorted from him; that he cheerfully embraced the present opportunity of atoning for his crime, by a sincere and open recantation, and was willing to seal with his blood that doctrine which he firmly believed to be revealed from Heaven; and that as his hand had erred by betraying his heart, it should first be punished, and, by a severe but just doom, first expiate the guilt of that crime which it had been the instrument of committing.

He was thence conducted to the stake amidst the shouts and insults of the catholics: and having now collected all the force and vigour of his mind, he bore their scorn, as well as the torture of his punishment, with surprizing courage: he stretched out his hand, and without discovering the least sign of weakness, or even of feeling, held it in the flames until it dropped off. His mind seemed to be wholly possessed with reflections of his former fault, and he was heard to exclaim several times "This unworthy hand has offended!"

Satisfied with that atonement, he re-assumed a wonderful composure and serenity of countenance: and when the fire surrounded his body, he seemed to be entirely insensible of all his outward sufferings, and, by the force of hope and Christian fortitude, to have raised himself above all bodily sensations, and to triumph over the fury of the flames.

It is pretended, that after his body was consumed, his heart was found entire among the ashes, a circumstance which however improbable, yet, being considered as an emblem of his constancy, was fondly believed by the zealous protestants.

He was certainly a man of the most amiable character; alike distinguished by his piety and learning, and possessed of candour, sincerity, benevolence, and indeed of almost every virtue that could render him the object of public esteem and veneration.

Though Cranmer's death happened in the year 1556, yet I have kept his story entire, that I may the better attend the affairs of state.

The Spaniards, by affecting to throw upon the English bishops all the blame of the bloody severities practised at this time, thought to conciliate the affections of that part of the nation who were most disgusted with those proceedings; but finding that the people of England were not so easily to be imposed upon, and that Bonner, though lost to all sense of shame and humanity, could not be brought to brave the whole load of public hatred, the court soon pulled off the mask; the bloody bigotry of the Spanish character now stood confessed in every action, and it was now apparent that a scheme was fixed for introducing into England the Spanish Inquisition.

As it appeared the bishops courts, though extremely arbitrary, and not confined to the ordinary forms of law, were not possessed with sufficient authority, a commission was appointed, by virtue of the queen's prerogative, more effectually to exterminate heresy: Bonner, and twenty unmerciful fiends like himself, were nominated; but any three of them were invested with the powers of the whole.

This commission, which speaks the very soul of the Inquisition, was conceived in these terms: "That, since many false reports were published among the subjects, and many heretical opinions were propagated among them; therefore they were to enquire into those, either by presentments, by witnesses, or any other political way they should think proper; and to search after all heresies; the importers, the sellers, and the readers of all heretical books: they were to punish all misbehaviours and all negligences in any church or chapel, and to try all priests that did not preach the sacrament of the altar; all persons that did not hear mass, or go to their parish-church to service; that refused to go in processions, or did not take holy bread and holy water; and if they found any that did obstinately persevere in such heresies, they were to deliver them into the hands of their ordinaries, to be punished according to the spiritual laws: giving the commissioners full power to proceed as their discretion and consciences should direct them; and to employ all such means as they should judge necessary for the searching of the premisses; empowering them also to summon before them such witnesses as they please, and to compel them to make oath of such things as might discover the matter which they wanted to find out."

To reduce the methods of proceeding in England to a greater similarity with those of the Inquisition, letters were sent to the lord North, and others, commanding them "to put to the torture such obstinate persons as would not confess, and there to order them at their discretion." Secret spies likewise and informers were scattered over the whole kingdom, in imitation of the practice of that infernal tribunal.

Orders were given to the justices of the peace, "that they should call before them one or two honest persons, within their limits, or more, at their discretion, and command them, by oath or otherwise, that they shall secretly learn or search out such persons as shall ill-behave themselves in church, or idly, or shall despise openly by words the king's or queen's proceedings; or endeavour to excite any commotion, or tell any seditious tales or news. And also, that the same person, so to be appointed, shall declare to the same justices of peace, the ill behaviour of lewd disorderly persons, whether it shall

shall be for using unlawful games, and such other light behaviour of such suspected persons: and that the same information should be given secretly to the same justices; and the same justices shall summon such accused persons before them, and examine them, without declaring by whom they were accused: and that the justices shall, upon their examination, punish the offenders according as their offences shall appear upon the accusation and examination, by their discretion, either by open punishment or by good abearings."

This tyrannical edict was in some respects even more oppressive than the Inquisition, as it introduced into every part of government the same iniquitous proceedings which that tribunal employs only for the extirpation of heresy. But the court had invented a more expeditious method of suppressing heresy than even the Inquisition itself: they published a proclamation against books of heresy, treason, and sedition, importing, "that whosoever had any of these books, and did not immediately burn them without reading them, or shewing them to any other person, should be deemed rebels, and, without any farther process, be executed by martial law." To such an intolerable and disgraceful slavery were the free born natives of England at that time reduced, by the tyranny of Mary and her Spanish consort!

We have thrown in one groupe almost all the transactions against the reformers, though carried on during the space of three years; not so much as the reader may be affected with the horrors of the scene, as that we may be obliged as little as possible to return to the mention of such shocking and inhuman barbarities.

It is computed, that in that time two hundred and seventy-seven persons were committed to the flames, besides those who were punished by imprisonment and confiscations. Among those who suffered by fire were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four husbandmen, servants, and labourers, forty-five women, and four children.

That Mary should be guilty of such shocking cruelties is not to be wondered at (for what is there so shocking and cruel, of which a weak, peevish, and bigotted woman may not be guilty?) but it is really surprizing, that, considering the state of the kingdom at that period, when the number of protestants greatly exceeded that of the papists, she was suffered to survive one moment the commission of such horrid barbarities.

The queen having thus, as she probably thought, recommended herself to the favour of Heaven, by the destruction of so many heretics, hoped that Bonner's prayers for the heavenly wit and vigour of her child would happily prove effectual. In these hopes she fondly imagined that she was seized with the pains of child-bed, and couriers were prepared to carry the joyful news of her delivery into foreign countries.

Bonner attributed this happy event, in a great measure, to the influence of his own prayers; caused *Te Deum* to be sung in his own cathedral; and the curate of St. Anne's, Aldersgate, went so far as to describe from the pulpit the features and lineaments of the young prince, whom he represented as the finest child that was ever born.

But unluckily, the bishop's prayers had not been heard; the queen's zeal for the advancement of popery had not been able to secure the blessings of Heaven; and the curate's description of the infant happened to be a little premature. The queen, after some violent throes, was delivered on the thirteenth of April, not of a child, but of a substance known by the name of a Mole, to her own unspeakable grief as well as to the astonishment of the whole court, and the confusion of Philip, who had flattered himself with the agreeable hopes of uniting England and Spain by the issue of this marriage. This disappointment so soured the minds of Philip and Mary, that they sought to vent their spleen by lighting up anew the flames of persecution, which continued to rage all this summer and autumn, while the king and queen remained at Hampton-court. But let us leave this barbarous scene for a while, to attend foreign affairs.

The emperor Charles V. now broken with infirmities and ill success, had for some time formed the resolution of resigning the cares of his mighty dominions to his son and his brother, but would not hear of any terms of giving peace to Europe at the expence of resigning any of them to the French. He was, however, very ready to hearken to all propositions for peace, and England, never having declared in form for either party, offered her mediation. The court of France did not at this time consider England as indifferent concerning the event of the quarrel, but Henry dreaded nothing so much as to afford any pretext to Mary for openly taking part with her husband in the dispute; he therefore, as the emperor did, accepted the offered mediation, and, though no formal cessation of arms was stipulated, the war this summer went on very languidly in the Low Countries.

Cardinal Pole was glad of this opportunity to exercise his powers in the double capacity of a plenipotentiary from England, and legate from the pope; and having entertained an high opinion of secretary Cecil, he prevailed on him to attend him at the conferences for a peace between the emperor and the French, which were opened on the twenty-third of May, this year, at Merc, a place lying between Ardres, Calais, and Guisnes. Pole was indefatigable in his endeavours to bring about the peace; but both parties insisting obstinately on their own preliminaries, the conferences broke up without any effect.

Philip, disappointed in his hopes of an heir, and conceiving a disgust to the person of his queen, which was by no means agreeable, being, moreover, sent for by his father, who declared his intention of resigning to him his dominions, laid hold of this event to quit the kingdom, and, on the twenty-ninth of August, set sail for Flanders, to the infinite dissatisfaction of the queen, who doated on him to a degree of ridiculous fondness. The emperor, on his son's arrival at Brussels, instructed him every day, for six or seven weeks successively, in the art of government, and advising him to a peace with France, recommended to him several maxims for his conduct, which he afterwards took no care to observe*; by which neglect he, in a few years, lost the best part of those provinces, the sovereignty of which the emperor, in a general assembly

* These were, "To think himself rich when his subjects were so; and wise, when he had wise counsellors: to govern

his subjects by love rather than fear: to let a small fault pass unpunished, rather than condemn an innocent person: to avoid

sembly of the states, surrendered to him on the twenty-fifth of October.

The unparalleled barbarities which had been exercised against the protestants, had rendered the ministry extremely unpopular, and the effects of the public discontent appeared in the new parliament, which was convoked at Westminster on the twenty-first of October, who, though they confirmed the queen's resignation of the first-fruits and tenths, yet were so much afraid of restoring to the clergy an authority so odious to the nation, so much out of humour at the queen's restitution of church-lands, that they were hardly persuaded to grant a moderate supply; and having, besides, in the course of their proceedings, given many strong tokens of their dislike to the court-measures, the queen thought proper to dissolve them on the ninth of December, but not till they had passed some memorable acts, which will be noticed in their proper place.

Those who seem to judge most rationally upon this sudden change of temper in the house of commons, who had so blindly run into all the schemes of the court, in their preceding sessions, in favour of popery, attribute it to the death of Gardiner, which happened during this session, and to the withdrawing of their pensions, which the queen was no longer in a capacity to advance for their votes, she having given up the church-lands, and king Philip's treasures being pretty well exhausted, or appropriated to his own use.

Gardiner, lord bishop of Winchester, and lord-chancellor of England, was the natural son of sir Richard Woodville, brother to Elizabeth, consort of king Edward IV. and it was on account of this consanguinity that Henry VIII. promoted him to the bishopric of Winchester. He is said to have felt some remorse in his last moments, and to have exclaimed, "I have sinned with Peter, but I have not wept with Peter!" He died at Whitehall, of a suppression of urine, on the twelfth of November, at midnight, to the no small grief of the queen, who lost in him her ablest counsellor, and one that had more influence than all the rest on the parliament: but his death was matter of great joy to the people, especially the protestants, of whose persecution he had been the adviser and promoter. He was certainly a priest of a selfish character; a profound dissembler, and of a proud, vindictive, cruel disposition. Burnet says he understood the canon and civil law as well as most of his time: he wrote Latin with ease and purity; and few of his contemporaries excelled him in the knowledge of the Greek language. As to his person, bishop Poiner, his successor, describes it thus: "He was of a swarthy colour, downcast look, overwhelming brows; his eyes were deep sunk in his head, his nose hooked, wide nostrils and mouth, large hands, and long talons rather than nails on his toes, which made his gait awkward and shuffling, from the uneasiness they gave him in walking. He was buried in the cathedral at Winchester, where his effigies upon his monument is yet to be seen, though somewhat defaced.

avoid the curiosity of searching into things done in private: to leave the secrets of men's hearts and thoughts to God, and the chastisement of interior offences to the divine vengeance; since, what the eyes of men could not see, it was not fit for their hands to punish; and particularly to keep a strict rein

Upon Gardiner's death, the great-seal was given to Nicholas Hall, master of the Rolls, who kept it however not quite two months; for on the first of January, 1556, Heath, archbishop of York, was made lord-chancellor of England, and Paget lord privy-seal: and as the king was now daily expected to return to England, the court, by way of preparation for his reception, resolved, if possible, to put a stop, by the most cruel punishments, to those expressions of pity which people of all ranks and denominations discovered towards the suffering heretics; even the magistrates, to whom the cruel orders were directed, were sometimes known to be less brutal than the queen and her government wished for. On January 14, therefore, a letter was written to the lord-mayor and sheriffs of London, "requiring them to give such substantial order therein, when any obstinate men, condemned by the order of the laws, should be delivered to be punished for heresy, that there be a great number of officers and other men appointed to be at the execution, who may be charged to see such as shall misuse themselves, either by comforting, aiding, or praising the offenders, or otherwise use themselves to the ill example of others, to be apprehended, and committed to ward; and besides, to give commandment, that no householder should suffer any of his apprentices, or other servants, to be abroad, other than such as their master will answer for: and that this order be always observed in like causes hereafter."

Upon Cranmer's execution, which happened on the twenty-first of March, cardinal Pole, who had now taken priest's orders, was promoted to the see of Canterbury, and by this office, as well as his legatine authority, he was naturally placed at the head of the English church; but, though he had always disapproved the sanguinary method of converting heretics, and considered the reformation of the clergy as the more commendable and even more effectual method for that purpose, he found his authority too weak to withstand the cruel and barbarous zeal of the queen and her counsellors: which has occasioned some writers to brand his memory with a cruelty which does not seem to have made any part of his character.

Philip was now become master of all the treasures of the Indies, and of the most fertile and extensive dominions in Europe, by the voluntary resignation of the emperor Charles V. That prince had, in the beginning of his reign, found it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to govern with proper care his very distant and extensive dominions; and, in order to ease himself of part of the burthen, he had procured his brother Ferdinand to be elected king of the Romans, with a prospect of his succeeding to the Imperial dignity as well as his other German dominions. But having afterwards extended his views, and formed designs of aggrandizing his family, he could not, without uneasiness, bear the thoughts of dismembering such considerable states, and endeavoured to persuade Ferdinand, by the most tempting offers and most pressing importunities, to give up his

over the haughty nature of the Spaniards, or else they would be the ruin of the Low Countries, being every where used to domineer, which the Flemings would not endure. Malvern, p. 15.

pretensions in favour of Philip. Finding his brother lent a deaf ear to all his remonstrances, he resigned the Imperial crown, with his other dignities, and Ferdinand, according to the usual custom, applied to the pope for his coronation; but the haughty pontiff refused to comply with his request, and alleged, that though on the death of an emperor he was bound in duty to crown the prince elected, yet in case of a resignation the right devolved to the holy see, and it belonged to the pope alone to name an emperor.

The truth is, pope Paul IV. had conceived the most implacable hatred to the house of Austria; and though a truce of five years had been concluded between France and Spain, on the fifth of February this year, he persuaded Henry to break it, and engaged to assist him in re-conquering the kingdom of Naples and the other territories to which the crown of France laid claim in Italy. With this view he himself had actually commenced hostilities against the duke of Alva, viceroy of Naples; and the duke of Guise being sent by the French king with forces to second his holiness's operations, the renewal of the war between the two crowns seemed unavoidable. Philip, though not so warlike, was full as ambitious, as his father, and he hoped that, by his artifice, policy, and address, he should get the better of all his enemies, and extend his authority and dominion: for this reason, as well as from a desire of settling his new domains, he was desirous of living on good terms with France; but when he found that Henry had attacked him in such an open and unprovoked manner, that he could not, consistent with his own honour, put up with the affront, he began to prepare for war with equal diligence and success.

In order to strengthen himself with a respectable aid, Philip tried to engage the queen and the English nation in his cause against the French king. Had the matter, indeed, solely depended upon Mary, she was incapable of refusing the demand of a husband she so tenderly loved; but she had little influence in the council, and still less among her people; and her government, which was daily growing more unpopular, seemed unable to support itself even during a profound peace, much less if a war was kindled against France, and (which appeared to be a necessary consequence) with Scotland also, assisted by that powerful kingdom.

The king had shewn so apparent a contempt for the queen, that her government became not only detestable, but disagreeable: but, however, the neglect of her husband tended only to inflame the love of the doating Mary, and she spent the greatest part of her time in solitude, where she gave vent to her passion, either in tears, or in writing fond epistles to Philip, who seldom obliged her with any answer, and scarce condescended to assume the appearance of love, or gratitude, towards her. The chief part of the government which employed her attention, was to squeeze money from her subjects, in order to supply his wants; and as she had received but a small subsidy from the parliament, she had now recourse to methods the most arbitrary and illegal. She demanded a loan of sixty thousand pounds from one thousand persons, whom she thought, from their attachment to her, would readily comply; she exacted a general loan of one hundred pounds from every person possessed of

twenty pounds per annum; she extorted sixty thousand marks from seven thousand yeomen, who had not contributed to the former loans; and she exacted thirty-six thousand pounds more from the cloth-merchants of London trading to Antwerp, which they refused, having advanced her great sums already. Upon this refusal, and having received advice that they had shipped great quantities of cloth for Antwerp fair, she seized upon the ships and cargoes, laying upon them a new subsidy of twenty shillings a-piece, by an arbitrary stretch of royal authority: to get this imposition abolished, the merchants were forced to advance forty thousand pounds, and to engage for two thousand more, payable the next month at farthest.

All these violent and oppressive measures were pursued at a time when England enjoyed a profound tranquility, and when Mary herself had no other occasion for money but to satisfy the exorbitant demands of a husband, who was equally regardless of her love and her generosity, and attended to nothing but his own interest.

While these things were transacting a plot was discovered for robbing the Exchequer, and raising a rebellion against the queen. It was said to have been discovered by one White, an accomplice. On the eighteenth of March, the queen's guards conducted to the Tower John Throgmorton, Henry Peckham, Woodhouse Bethel, and about twelve or thirteen persons more, of inferior note, whose imprisonment occasioned several others to fly. A warrant was likewise issued out for apprehending sir Anthony Kingston, but he died as the guards were bringing him up to London. The April following, Throgmorton and Woodhouse, who been governor of the Isle of Wight, were tried, condemned, and executed. Henry Peckham, son of sir Edward Peckham, and John Daniel, were tried and condemned on the seventh of May, but not executed till the seventh of July following. One Stanton, who was called a captain, was arraigned and executed for the same plot, on the twelfth of May. It seems the design was deeper laid, than the government at first apprehended; for, on the fourth of April, a proclamation was issued against the lord Henry Dudley, two gentlemen of the name of Ashton, two of the name of Horsey, two of the name of Tremain, and seven other gentlemen of fortune, for having fled beyond sea on account of the said plot. On the twenty-ninth of April, sir William Courtney, sir John Perrot, sir John Pollard, sir Nicholas Arnold (the same who had given evidence against sir Nicholas Throgmorton), and sir John Chichester, were brought prisoners from the western counties, and sent to the Tower. It afterwards appeared that the French agents had been tampering with the gentlemen who had been executed, and that some moved by avarice, others by detestation of the government's cruelty, and some from an opinion of its weakness, had entered into dangerous measures.

The news of the death of Courtney, earl of Devonshire, which arrived about this time, filled the queen with so much pleasure, that she could not refrain from expressing her joy in public: and being now grown less jealous of the princess Elizabeth, she began to treat her with less severity; the guard was taken off her, and the princess, being invited to court, came to Somerset-house in November.

ember. The particular reason of this invitation was to propose a match to her with the duke of Savoy, which the princess declined with the better grace, as she had, a little before, absolutely refused Eric, king of Sweden, whose ambassador had made the overture in his master's behalf. As this was done without the queen's knowledge, Elizabeth very prudently gave a flat denial; and Mary, being acquainted with it, approved her sister's conduct: however, sir Thomas Pope, one of her keepers, was ordered to feel her pulse how she stood affected to the duke of Savoy; and upon his intimating that it could not be thought her highness would be averse to marrying, if an honourable match was offered by the queen, or such an one could be brought about with her majesty's consent, she told him very seriously, and with a solemn profession of speaking truth from her heart, that she would not change her condition though she were offered the greatest prince in Europe. This refusal, and the great court that was paid to Elizabeth during her stay in London, so nettled the queen, that, though the princess had been invited to pass the whole winter about court, she was sent away in a great hurry, a little before Christmas, under a guard to her house at Hatfield, and Mary not only renewed her ill treatment, but even resumed her design of getting her declared a bastard, and excluded from the succession; but happily this diabolical scheme was defeated.

The queen in the mean time was much puzzled to find a pretext for a quarrel with France. She had tried her council on this head, but they were plainly against it; they strenuously insisted on the marriage-articles between her and Philip; they represented the unsettled state of the English government, the domestic factions which divided the kingdom, and the low condition of the public revenues, and they signified their apprehensions, that the natural tendency of all these measures was to bring the nation into a total dependence on Spanish councils: they said they were willing to give their consent for assisting Philip with six thousand foot and six hundred horse, for the defence of the Low Countries, according to the treaty with the late emperor, but were absolutely against a war.

Mary, restrained by no faith of treaties nor scruple of conscience, and burning with a desire to satisfy her husband, used all her endeavours to conquer the obstinacy of her council: after employing other menaces of a more violent nature, she threatened to discard them all from the board, and to chuse counsellors who would be more obedient to her will; but all to no purpose, for she could not procure a single vote for declaring war against France. To add to her vexation, she received a letter from Philip, in which he told her plainly, that he would not set foot in England till she had declared war against France, and brought about the marriage between the duke of Savoy and her sister Elizabeth, as his honour and interest were concerned in carrying these two points. This was a terrible declaration to a woman of Mary's disposition; she renewed her instances for his coming over, assuring him that his presence would procure him whatever he pleased. Thus stood matters at the close of this year.

Towards the beginning of the succeeding one, 1557, the queen, to divert her impatience for her husband's absence, had retired to Greenwich; in

the mean time Philip did all he could to entrap her into a declaration of war against France; but neither he nor his emissaries could carry their point without some difficulty and a pretty deal of art. A person was employed to make a private overture to the French ministry on the part of the protestant inhabitants of Calais, to betray the town into the hands of their king, if he would receive and protect them; Henry seemed to lend a favourable ear to the proposal, and actually entered into a negotiation upon the subject. Wootton, Philip's agent, sent his nephew over to England with an account of the whole to the queen, who took fire at it, and became, or pretended to become, entirely satisfied of the ill designs of the French against her dominions. Accordingly, on the nineteenth of February, she ordered forces to be levied, as if open war had been proclaimed against that crown, and nominated the earl of Pembroke to command the English troops abroad, and he actually went over to Calais with a vast attendance of noblemen and gentlemen. From that time the court of France entertained no doubt of the queen's intending to take part with her husband in the war, and from thence omitted no opportunity, even before the same was declared, to distress her.

It was the twentieth of March before the long-expected Philip came to Greenwich, from whence he and the queen proceeded with great pomp to Westminster, where they were soon alarmed by dreadful apprehensions from the North, which, however, turned out to be the means of procuring them their ardent desire of coming to an open rupture with France. Thomas Stafford, who was the lineal descendant of the late duke of Buckingham, and consequently bore no remote relation to the crown, had been for some time a refugee at the court of France, being joined by several other disaffected persons there, and, unhappily for themselves, mistaking the discontent of the people for a general disaffection to the government, they attempted to stir up an insurrection; and, landing, in Scotland towards the end of April, marched directly to Scarborough, and seized the castle, when Stafford assumed the title of Protector of the kingdom, and published a manifesto, pretending that the queen had forfeited her right to the crown by introducing Spaniards into England: but the enterprize, which seems to have been too romantic for any to embark in but men of the most desperate fortunes, proved fatal to Stafford and his followers, for he was soon defeated and taken prisoner by the earl of Westmoreland, and sent up to London, where he was executed, on the twenty-eighth of May. This affair, with the repeated instances of Mary, and the personal application of Philip, or, what is still more probable, the sums of money they lavished on this occasion, got the better of the council's resistance, and they resolved to declare war against France, which was accordingly done in the month of June; and the late invasion, which Stafford and his accomplices declared to have been promoted and assisted by king Henry, was urged as one of the reasons for breaking with that monarch; and eight thousand men were sent over to the earl of Pembroke, to be by him marched into the Low Countries, to join Philibert, duke of Savoy, Philip's general.

Philip, having gained his point, could not be retained an instant by all the tears and intreaties of his

love-sick wife, but hastened over, in the following month, to Brussels; while the duke of Savoy, strengthened by the junction of the English troops with his army, entered Picardy, and invested St. Quintin† with all his forces; and as the place was poorly fortified, and defended only by a weak garrison, he hoped that in a few days he should compel it to surrender: but admiral Coligny, the governor, thinking it his duty to save so important a fortress, threw himself into St. Quintin with some battalions of French and Scots, and, by his exhortation and example, encouraged the soldiers to make a bold and vigorous defence. In the mean time he dispatched an express to his uncle, the constable de Montmorency, who headed the French army, desiring a supply of men; and that general advanced to the place with his whole army, in order to facilitate the entrance of those succours.

The duke of Savoy, who was one of the greatest generals of the age, being informed of the design of the French, fell upon the reinforcement with such irresistible fury, that not above five hundred men got into the place; then attacking the constable, he routed his army, took him prisoner, and killed two thousand five hundred of his men, amongst whom were many princes and noblemen, besides a much greater number made prisoners.

The event of this battle, which was fought on the tenth of August, St. Laurence's day, filled the whole kingdom of France with the utmost consternation: and the duke of Savoy, to improve it more to his advantage, detached the earl of Bedford, immediately after the battle, with two thousand English, and two thousand Spaniards under the count of Egmont, to make an inroad into France, which they now ravaged for two-and-twenty miles without meeting the least resistance. The Parisians, in their first fright, began to fortify their capital with the utmost hurry and expedition; and had the Spaniards immediately advanced thither, they would certainly have made themselves masters of the place; but they proceeded with the siege of St. Quintin, which held out by the bravery of the admiral for seventeen days, when it was taken by assault, and that brave officer, with his brother and all those that survived of the garrison, were made prisoners. In the mean time the French ministry dispatched courier after courier to recall the duke of Guise and his army from Italy. As for Philip, after reducing Ham and Chatillet, finding the season so far advanced that he could not think of prosecuting his conquests, he broke up his camp, and dispersed his troops in winter-quarters about the middle of October.

The victory of St. Quintin was celebrated in England with extravagant demonstrations of joy: but when pope Paul first understood that Mary had declared war against France, he was violently exasperated against cardinal Pole, as if he had adopted that measure, and would have recalled him immediately, had not sir Edward Carne, the English ambassador at his court, represented the injury he would do to religion by such a proceeding; but

when the news of the battle arrived, he was seized with a transport of rage, and resolved to sacrifice Pole to his revenge. He sent for Peyton, the queen's confessor, to Rome, where he bestowed upon him a cardinal's hat, appointed him his legate in England, and charged him with a decree, by which Pole was recalled: but the queen, being informed of this mandate, gave notice to Peyton, that should he attempt to set foot in England, she would cause him to be punished with all the rigour of the *Præmunire*. This letter stopped the new cardinal in his journey; and the pope, finding himself unable to cope with the duke of Alva, concluded a peace with Spain, and, by an article of the treaty, Pole was re-established in his legatine functions.

While these things were transacting the flames of persecution still continued to blaze with unremitting fury, and numbers were almost daily burned at Smithfield, and at different places in the several counties. The queen, not contented with the endeavours of her ministry to extirpate the protestant religion, had resolved to strengthen the interest of the Roman catholics by restoring some old, and founding some new, monasteries: she certainly would have re-established all the religious houses which had been suppressed, if the fear of disobliging the nobility had not deterred her from the execution of her design. Several members of the house of commons, in the last session, hearing such a proposal mentioned, laid their hands upon their swords, saying, they knew how to defend their property. Mary, being informed of this opposition, postponed her scheme to a more favourable opportunity: in the mean time she commissioned Bonner, and others, to erase from the public records all the transactions against the pope and the monks, during the latter part of the reign of her father, Henry VIII. particularly an account of the visitations and renunciation of the papal authority made by the monks and abbots: and this year the abbey and sanctuary of Westminster were revived; and a felon having escaped out of jail and taken refuge there, the monks refused to deliver him up to the civil authority, and when the magistrates would have forcibly dragged him from thence, the queen interposed her authority, and obliged them to desist. The melancholy apprehensions rising from such proceedings were vastly increased by the formidable disposition which the Scots were now making for invading England: this naturally leads me to describe the situation of affairs in Scotland at this time*.

The reader may remember, that when the queen-dowager of Scotland returned to that kingdom from France, she had gotten herself declared regent during the minority of her daughter, in the room of Hamilton, earl of Arran, afterwards created duke of Chatelerault, in France, and thenceforth assumed the name and exercised the authority of regent.

Hostilities had no sooner commenced between France and England, than Henry applied to the regent of Scotland, requiring her to take part in the quarrel; and she, having convened the states

† A fortified city of Picardy, in France, situated on the river Somme.

* In the year, 1557, there was so great a scarcity of corn, that wheat was sold for two pounds thirteen shillings and four pence per quarter, malt at two pounds four shillings, and pease at two pounds six shillings and eight pence. On the thirtieth

of April, Thomas Piercy was created baron Piercy, and, on the first of May, earl of Northumberland; from whom were descended the late dukes of Somerset, as is Elizabeth, baroness Piercy, lady of the right honourable Hugh, earl of Northumberland. On the fifteenth of July died, at Chelsea, Anne of Cleves, the fourth wife of Henry VIII.

of the kingdom, at Newbottle, desired them to agree to a declaration of war against England. But the Scottish nobility, who were as jealous of the French, as the English were of Spanish influence, flatly refused to grant her request; and she was obliged to make use of a stratagem, in order to accomplish her aim.

She ordered one d'Oisel, a Frenchman, who had attended her in Scotland as ambassador from Henry, to begin some fortifications at Eyemouth, a place which had been demolished by the last treaty with Edward; and when the garrison of Berwick, as might naturally be supposed, made an inroad to defeat the undertaking, she artfully employed this pretence to inflame the resentment of the Scottish nation, and to make them embark in a war with England.

The animosity of the Scots, however, was carried no farther than by committing some depredations on the northern counties: and when d'Oisel, of his own accord, undertook the siege of Werk castle, he was instantly ordered to desist, and was severely reprimanded by the council.

In order to strengthen the alliance between France and Scotland, and to augment the influence of the former kingdom, Henry II. thought proper to finish the marriage between the young queen and the dauphin; and commissioners were appointed by the Scottish parliament to assist at this ceremony, and to regulate the terms of the contract.

These commissioners were the archbishop of Glasgow, the bishops of Ross and the Orkneys, the earls of Rothes and Cassils, the lords Fleming and Seton, James Stuart, prior of St. Andrew's, natural brother to the queen, and Erskine of Dun. The instructions given to these deputies imported, that they should obtain a solemn engagement from the queen and dauphin, obliging them to maintain the laws and privileges of Scotland; and they should procure a renewal of the French king's promise, to support, in case of the queen's death, the succession of the earl of Arran, now dignified with the title of duke of Chatelerault.

Both these conditions were readily granted; but the court of France employed a very base and perfidious artifice to defeat these stipulations: they secretly persuaded the young queen, whose tender age and inexperience may well free her from any share of the guilt, to subscribe three papers; by one of which she made over the kingdom of Scotland in gift to the king of France, in the event of her dying without children; by another she mortgaged it to him for a million of crowns of gold, or such greater sum as he should have expended in her maintenance and support; and by a third, she declared, that whatever will or deed she had been obliged, or should hereafter be obliged to sign, concerning the succession of the crown, it should be entirely void and of no effect, and that her real sense and intention was expressed in the first paper.

The marriage was celebrated at Paris, in the spring of the ensuing year; the deputies, in the name of the states of Scotland, swore allegiance to the queen, and (during the continuance of the marriage) to the king-dauphin, as he was now called; and every thing seemed to be conducted with the greatest harmony and concord. But when the commissioners were desired to deliver up the crown and other ensigns of royalty, they replied, that they had no power to take such a step; and they soon

after set out on their return for Scotland. Before they embarked, however, no less than four of them died within a few days of each other; and as the queen's uncles were known to be highly incensed at them, on account of their late refusal, they were commonly supposed to have been poisoned by orders from these noblemen.

In the latter end of this year Philip sent intimation to Mary, that, by papers taken among the baggage of the admiral de Coligny, there was great reason to believe that the court of France had projected some scheme against Calais, and offered to supply her with troops for the guard of that fortress, which was in a defenceless condition. The council looked upon this intimation as a stratagem of Philip, to gain possession of Calais, and the queen not only declined accepting his offer, but also neglected to put the place in a posture of defence, notwithstanding the repeated solicitations of the lord Wentworth, the governor.

The French king had created the duke of Guise his lieutenant-general for the whole kingdom of France, on his return from Italy: but that general, not content with defending the frontiers, resolved, even in the depth of winter, to undertake an enterprize which France, during her greatest successes, had always considered as impossible, and had seldom presumed to attempt; this was no less than the reduction of Calais. In fine, all the necessary arrangements being taken for that purpose, he set down before the place on the first of January, 1558, to the amazement of all Europe, but of none more than the English nation, who were wrapped up in full security of the French being unable to attempt any enterprize of consequence so soon after the dreadful defeat at St. Quintin.

The place was commanded by the lord Wentworth, a brave and experienced officer, whose garrison consisted only of five hundred soldiers and about two hundred townsmen. It was surrounded by morasses on the land side, by which it could only be approached by a dyke, in the middle of a morass, at the head of which was a bridge, defended by a fort called Newenham, and being upwards of a quarter of a mile from the town: near this fort there was another, called St. Agatha, of less importance; and the entrance into the haven was defended, as it is now, by the castle of Rysbank.

At the time the duke of Guise began his march for Calais, a fleet of French ships were sent into the Channel, under colour of cruising upon the English trading vessels, but with orders to hold themselves in readiness upon the coast for an important service: and these were afterwards made use of in attacking the fortifications by sea. The first operation of the duke of Guise was against fort Agatha, which the English, after a gallant defence, were forced to abandon; and they then threw themselves into fort Newenham, which was immediately invested by the enemy; and at the same time the fleet cannonaded the Rysbank, which, as has been said, secured the entrance of the harbour; and both these castles seemed to be altogether untenable. Lord Wentworth finding that the greater part of his weak garrison was shut up in these two forts, sent them orders to capitulate, and join him in Calais, which, without their assistance, he was totally incapable of defending. The garrison of Newenham were so fortunate as to

accomplish this junction; but that of Rysbank could not procure such honourable terms, and were compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

All the avenues to the palace being now secured, the duke of Guise, with inexpressible labour, by the help of hurdles, pitched over, formed a road through the morais, by which a large detachment of his army lodged themselves behind some heights, where they could not be annoyed from the town, and from whence they directed a battery of fifteen large cannon against the castle, in which he presently made a large breach, so as to render it practicable to be stormed. He then ordered d'Andelot, brother of the admiral de Coligny, to draw the waters off from the ditch. This was effected with surprizing dispatch in one night's time. The next day the duke ordered a general assault, which was made with such fury, that the breach was carried by storm, and the French effected a lodgment in the castle. On the ensuing night, Wentworth endeavoured to regain this post; but having lost two hundred men in the attempt, and the duke of Guise pouring such numbers into the castle, as made any further resistance a madness, the lord Wentworth, on the seventeenth, capitulated on the following terms, the best he could obtain in his distressed situation, namely, "That he himself was to remain prisoner, with fifty of the chief of the garrison: that the rest should have liberty to retire to England or Flanders: and that the place, with all its provisions, ammunition, furniture, and riches, should be immediately delivered up to the French."

Ham and Guisnes were both reduced by the twenty-second, and thus the duke of Guise, in less than a month, in the depth of winter, reconquered this important place, which had cost Edward III. a siege of eleven months, at the head of a numerous army, flushed with the glory they had lately gained in the plains of Cressy; and the English now saw themselves stripped of all they had held for two hundred and ten years in France. The people of England, instead of expressing rage, shewed despondency, under so many disgraces and calamities. As for Mary, she was so sensibly affected with the loss, that she abandoned herself to despair, and repeatedly declared to those about her, "that her end was near at hand, though they were strangers to the cause of her death; but if they would know it hereafter, they must dissect her, and should find Calais engraven on her heart."

The last parliament of this reign sat on the twentieth of January, 1558; but as the ministry were more intent upon persecution at home than how to recover their losses abroad, they rejected a proposal made by Philip of assisting them to the utmost of his power to recover Calais, before the season would permit the French to repair its works. In short, the parliament was prorogued, on the seventh of March to the seventh of November following. This quick dismissal seems to have been occasioned by the great complaints that were made all over the nation of the pernicious councils of the ministry, and of the queen's restitution of churchlands and foundation of monasteries: however, before its rising, The parliament voted a sufficient subsidy for the defence of the kingdom against all invasions. In this session Ambrose and Robert Dudley, sons of the late duke Northumberland, were restored in blood.

About the end of March, the persecution against the protestants was renewed with greater fury than ever; the queen, though sensibly drooping to her grave (so greatly was her dropsy increased), issued a proclamation, "That whoever were possessed of any heretical books, and did not presently burn them, without reading, should be esteemed rebels, and be executed without delay by the martial law:" and five persons were burned at Canterbury, part of thirty-nine that suffered for religion in several places during this year.

All the spring of this year was taken up in refitting the navy; and the money granted by the parliament enabled the government to equip one hundred and forty sail; which being reinforced by thirty Flemish ships, with a body of six thousand land forces, were sent to make a descent on the coast of France, near Brest: but the preparations for this surprize were conducted with so little secrecy and dispatch, that the French got intelligence of the design, and put all their sea-ports in a posture of defence, so that the English were obliged to reembark with considerable loss, after they had burnt the small town of Conquet, where they landed.

But a small squadron of ten English ships had soon after an opportunity of retorting upon the French this damage and disgrace. The marshal de Thermes, the new governor of Calais, had invaded Flanders with an army of fourteen thousand men; and having crossed the Aa (a river of France, in the province of Picardy), had reduced Dunkirk and Berg St. Winoc, and proceeded so far as Nieuport; but being overtaken by the Spaniards, under count Egmont, Philip's general, near Gravelines, the French marshal was defeated, with great slaughter, and himself, with his principal officers, taken prisoner. This victory was entirely owing to the English men of war, who, chancing to come up the harbour while the battle was maintained with equal fury on both sides, charged the French in flank with their great guns, insomuch that the rout began from that quarter.

As the French army, thus ruined, had been drawn out of Calais and other neighbouring garrisons, a fair opportunity was now offered for the recovery of that place, in which the fleet and forces that plundered Conquet might have proved very useful, and were ready for the service; the queen had likewise another army on foot, for her husband's service; but her council had no vigour, and Philip was too indifferent about everything that regarded the interest of England; and, notwithstanding the two signal victories he had so lately obtained, he was disposed to conclude the war by a treaty, which was accordingly set on foot at the abbey of Cercamp, being managed by the constable de Montmorency, the marshal de St. André, the cardinal of Lorraine (brother to the duke of Guise), Morvilliers, bishop of Orleans, and l'Aubespine, secretary of state, on the part of France; and on that of Spain, by the duke of Alva, the prince of Orange, and Granville, bishop of Arras. These plenipotentiaries agreed readily to a suspension of arms on the frontiers till the twenty-eighth of October, which was afterwards prolonged, and both armies were put into winter-quarters.

In the mean while Mary received overtures for a peace between England, France, and Spain; and being broken both in health and spirit, she readily

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QUEEN ELIZABETH.

readily listened to the advice of her counsellors, who were for having peace at any rate; she therefore named the earl of Arundel, the bishop of Ely, and Dr. Wootton, for her plenipotentiaries to assist at the future conferences, which were to be renewed in October, and Cambray was the place appointed for the congress.

The English parliament meeting on the fifth of November, the queen demanded assistance to continue the war, in case the negotiation should miscarry. The house of commons, however, were so little inclined to grant her request, that she was obliged, on the fourteenth, to send the chancellor and ten other lords to lay the ill state of her affairs before them, and pray them to hasten the necessary supplies. This solicitation producing some effect, the commons took the matter into consideration, and debated, that and the two following days, upon a subsidy: but the queen's death put an end to the consultation. She had been some time afflicted with a dropsy, the consequence of her false conception, and having pursued an improper regimen, her distemper became every day more inveterate; her malady was still farther inflamed by the anxiety of her mind, which was now tormented with the most painful reflections: the consciousness of being detested by her subjects; the prospect of Elizabeth's succession to the throne; the overthrow of the catholic religion; grief for the loss of Calais; and, above all, the distracting thought of soon seeing herself bereft for ever of the company of her husband Philip, who, on the death of his father, the late emperor, Charles V. (which happened in September this year) had determined to settle in Spain, during

the remainder of his life: all these disagreeable reflections preyed upon her mind, and threw her into a lingering fever, of which she died, on the seventeenth of November, a little before day-break, in the forty-third year of her age, after a reign of five years, four months and eleven days. Cardinal Pole, who was ill at the same time, did not survive her sixteen hours.

No nation had ever a more signal deliverance than the divine Providence now wrought for England, by taking off Mary in so critical a juncture, on the eve of a peace, which would have enabled her and Philip to pursue their detestable scheme for subverting the constitution of the kingdom and enslaving a disunited people, hopeless of any foreign succour, and which had been long fixed for the time of its execution. Her funeral was solemnized on the fourteenth of December, at Westminster, with a mass of Requiem, in the usual form of the Romish church, and her body was interred in the chapel of Henry VII. her grand-father.

Mary's character is so strongly marked in every action of her bloody and inglorious reign, that we may well spare ourselves the disagreeable task of a recapitulation; we shall therefore only observe, with one of our old historians, that of all the sovereigns of England since the conquest, her reign was the shortest, excepting only that of the tyrant Richard III. but much more bloody than his was; a greater number of persons having been put to death for religion's sake, during the short time of her reign, than in any king's time since Lucius, the first establisher of the Gospel in this realm.

E L I Z A B E T H. The fifth Sovereign of ENGLAND of the House of TUDOR. A. D. 1558.

THE death of queen Mary at a time when the popish faction ran so high and tyrannized over the protestants, threw her arbitrary council into the utmost consternation; but as the parliament was then sitting, and in a very bad humour with the ministry, this latter, not daring to act of their own authority, after a few hours concealment of her death, informed the house of lords of this event, who, without much consultation concerning the rights of the other claimants of the crown, declared unanimously for the princess Elizabeth; and sending for the commons, acquainted them, by the mouth of Heath, lord high-chancellor, with their resolution. The commons concurred with the lords, and Elizabeth was the same day (November 17) proclaimed at the usual places, while the protestants and papists seemed to vie with each other in their demonstrations of joy.

The princess Elizabeth was not then in the Tower of London, as some historians have asserted, but at Bishop's Hatfield, in Hertfordshire, where she received information of the steps taken in her favour by the parliament, and was there also proclaimed; and the earls of Arundel and Pembroke, the lord Clinton, sir Ralph Sadler, sir Richard Sackville, sir Ambrose Cave, sir Edward Rogers, sir Thomas

Parry, and sir William Cecil repairing thither, she formed of them a small privy-council, for the ordering of such matters as required an immediate dispatch.

The first step of her government was to issue proclamations all over the kingdom, strictly enjoining "all her subjects to keep the peace, forbear all attempts, upon any pretence whatever, to break or alter any order or usage at that time established." This prudent charge was given to prevent such disorders as there was reason to apprehend from the intemperate zeal of some of the reformed, who, following the precedent set them by the popish party in the late reign, and presuming upon the queen's supposed affection to the protestant religion, might, without waiting for her royal warrant, proceed, in an illegal and riotous manner, to demolish images, and restore the service used in the days of Edward VI.

In the present situation of affairs a sudden transition would have been highly impolitic, and even indecent; and the happy effect of her prudent temporizing, was her undisputed accession to the throne. Her compliances during the late reign had given the papists hopes that she was not so much an enemy to their religion, as to the cruel

and bloody methods made use of to enforce it; while the protestants, on surer foundations, knew her to be truly a friend to their more humane and enlightened doctrine: to keep fair with all parties therefore, she suffered men of both denominations to find alike seats in the council of state, which had in her sister's time been composed entirely of Roman catholics; and although the most obnoxious of them, on account of their bloody proceedings, were excluded, the queen still retained such of the old counsellors as were most eminent for their quality, talents, wisdom, reputation, and experience. These were,

Heath, archbishop of York and lord-chancellor.

William Pawlet, marquis of Winchester and lord high-treasurer.

Henry Fitz Allan, earl of Arundel.

Francis Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury.

Edward Stanley, earl of Derby.

William Herbert, earl of Pembroke.

Edward Fiennes, lord Clinton and lord high-admiral.

William, lord Howard, afterward earl of Effingham, lord-chamberlain.

Sir Thomas Cheney.

Sir William Petre.

Sir John Mason.

Sir Richard Sackville. And

Dr. Wootton, dean of Canterbury.

But it is to be observed, that in admitting these reputed zealous Roman catholics, Elizabeth thought herself pretty sure of their compliance with her intentions in favouring the reformation in the church, who had complied with all the changes of religion, backward and forward, ever since latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. and done it so artfully in all those revolutions as to be constantly employed. However, she thought proper to join with them a certain number of protestants, on whom she was certain she could rely: these were,

William Parr, marquis of Northampton, whom she restored to all his honours.

Francis Russell, earl of Bedford.

Sir Thomas Parry, made comptroller of the household.

Sir Edward Rogers, made vice-chamberlain and captain of the body-guards.

Sir William Cecil, principal secretary of state.

Sir Robert Dudley, made master of the horse.

Sir Ambrose Cave. And

Sir Nicholas Bacon: which last had, some little time afterwards, the custody of the great-seal given him, with the title of lord-keeper.

The like judicious blending was made among the subordinate ministers, particularly the justices of the peace: a new set of gentlemen, known to be of the reformed religion, or well affected to it, being added to the former commission for each county, who were all papists. She also joined lord Howard of Effingham to Mary's plenipotentiaries for negotiating a peace with France.

We shall omit all the particulars of Elizabeth's progress from Hatfield to the Tower, which she entered on the twenty-eighth of November; but are to observe, that no day passed without a council, in which every thing was conducted with that order and œconomy which so eminently distinguished her person and government.

The usual compliments on her accession to the throne being over, the queen gave orders for securing all the sea-ports of the kingdom. She sent a new commission to sir Thomas Radcliffe (brother to the earl of Sussex), lord-lieutenant of Ireland; renewed the judges patents; sent an agent to assure the German protestants of her affections, and ministers to notify her accession to all the principal courts in Europe; and she wrote to sir Edward Carne, her ambassador at Rome, to notify the death of her sister, and her own accession, to the pope; a message which Paul IV. received in the most haughty manner, and answered in terms less agreeable to the politics of his court than to the arrogance of his nature: he told the English minister, "that the kingdom of England was held as a fief of the see of Rome; that Elizabeth could not succeed to it, being illegitimate; that he could not annul the declarations of his predecessors, Clement VII. and Paul III. that it was a great presumption in Elizabeth to assume the style of Queen, and the government of the realm, without his consent; yet, being desirous to shew a fatherly affection towards her, he would do whatever was consistent with the honour of his see in her favour, provided she would renounce her pretensions, and refer herself entirely to his disposition*." Elizabeth was neither surprized nor affected with this answer of his holiness; it only afforded a good reason for recalling Carne: but he, being a rigid papist, did not care to return, especially as he had been offered by Paul the mastership of an hospital at Rome, which had fallen vacant by the death of cardinal Pole.

King Philip received the news of Elizabeth's accession to the throne of England with great surprize; but, in order to secure his interest in that crown, he ordered his minister to pay his compliments to her on that occasion, to propose a marriage between him and her, and, in case of any scruple in regard to their affinity, to tell her that Philip would procure the pope's dispensation. Elizabeth received the proposal with great tokens of esteem for king Philip, but had the address to postpone her final answer, with great civility, in order to preserve a good understanding between England and Spain till she could conclude an advantageous peace with France: but the Spanish minister's importunities increased so much upon this head, that she, unwilling to give a flat denial, resolved to make him desist from his solicitations about marriage, by hastening the execution of her design to make a change in religion, in which she was not a little seconded by the ready compliance of the succeeding parliament.

But though the queen was induced by interest, by education, and her own principles, to favour the Reformation, yet she determined to introduce it gradually, thinking by that means to establish it more securely, and to avoid the inconveniencies to which her sister had been exposed by an instantaneous alteration of worship and a violent invasion of the established religion. With this view, finding that the protestant teachers broke out into a furious attack on the ancient superstition, and that the Romanists retorted upon them with equal acrimony, she published, on the twenty-seventh of December, a proclamation, by which she prohibited all preaching without special licence; and or-

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 374.

dered the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Gospel, to be read in English. She at the same time employed Dr. Matthew Parker, in conjunction with six other divines, to review the Liturgy of Edward VI. and to prepare the nation for its introduction into public worship. She published injunctions, that all churches should conform themselves to the practice of her own chapel, and forbade the host to be elevated in her presence.

These steps towards a reformation gave such an alarm to the popish bishops, that, apprehending a total abolition of the papal power and usages of the church of Rome would soon follow, or perhaps fearing to offend the pope, who had scrupled to acknowledge the queen's title, and denied her legitimacy, they generally resolved not to officiate at her coronation; and none but Oglethorp, bishop of Carlisle, could be persuaded to do the office.

He agreeing to crown the queen, she removed from the Tower on the fourteenth of January, 1559, in grand procession through the streets of London to Westminster, amidst the acclamations of an infinite number of persons assembled on the occasion, which she returned with such a modest affability and so winning a grace, as charmed the hearts of all beholders. But nothing shewed more the sentiments of the citizens in point of religion, or endeared their new sovereign more to them than the accepting of an English Bible, richly gilt, which was let down from a pageant, in Cheapside, by a child representing Truth, who made her a speech on the occasion. The queen received the book with both her hands, and, having kissed it, held it up, then laid it to her breast, promising to be diligent in reading it, and assuring the city that she esteemed that gift more than all the sumptuous presents they had made her. The next day, being Sunday, January 15, the queen was crowned in Westminster abbey, and the two days following were distinguished by jousts and tournaments, in honour of her coronation.

On this occasion a patent was granted to Henry Fitz Allan, earl of Arundel, to perform the office of high-constable on the day before the coronation, and the office of high-steward on the coronation-day. Several knights of the Bath were likewise created; and the queen, willing to distinguish some of her most particular friends, restored the lord Edward Seymour, eldest son of the late duke of Somerset, by a second wife*, to the titles of viscount Beauchamp and earl of Hertford; created the lord Thomas Howard, second son of the duke of Norfolk, viscount Howard of Binden; and advanced sir Oliver St. John, and Henry Cary, son to sir William Cary, by her aunt Mary Boleyn, to the dignities of barons, by the titles of lord St. John of Bletsho, and lord Hunsdon.

* The lady Anne Stanhope; on whose issue he procured an act to settle the titles and estate; and not Edward Seymour, his surviving eldest son by his first wife, Catherine Fittol, who was disinherited to gratify the pride and ambition of his last wife, and never enjoyed any title. It is not unworthy notice, that upon the extinction of the youngest line of this family by the second marriage in 1750, the eldest branch, seated at Maiden Bradley, Wilts, descended from the last-mentioned Edward, so disinherited, succeeded to the dukedom of Somerset, after having been excluded full two hundred years.

† He was the first that was by patent created lord-keeper. Formerly, those that were keepers of the seal had no dignity or authority annexed to their office; they did not hear causes nor preside in the house of lords; but only to put the seals to

The parliament meeting on the twenty-fifth of January, sir Nicholas Bacon, who, on the twenty-second of December the last year, had been made keeper of the great-seal†, on the resignation of Heath, archbishop of York, the lord-chancellor, opened the session with a speech, in which he displayed the merits of the new queen, with severe reflections on the loss of Calais: he told them, that the queen desired an immediate application to the affairs of religion; that a disunion in that respect was one of the evils which called for the most speedy redress: he exhorted the parliament to proceed between the two extremes of superstition and religion, which might unite the adherents of both religions in one and the same mode of public worship.

Then, to try the disposition of the parliament, a motion was made in the house of commons for restoring to the crown the tenths, first fruits, and impropriations, which had been given up by queen Mary: this motion was immediately approved, and the bill for such restoration being passed notwithstanding the opposition of the bishops‡, on the fourth of February, the commons, in an humble address, advised the queen to marry, in order to perpetuate their felicity, by having some of her royal issue to reign over them. After a few days taken to consider of the matter, her majesty returned them for answer, that "as the address was expressed in general terms, without pretending to fix her choice, she could not be any ways offended; that, notwithstanding her youth might render her veracity suspected, she had always declined the marriage-state as an incumbrance; that as England was her husband, wedded to her by this pledge (and here shewed her finger with the gold ring upon it, with which she had solemnly betrothed herself to the kingdom at her inauguration), so all Englishmen were her children, and while she was employed in rearing and governing such a family, she could not esteem herself barren, or her life useless or unfruitful||; that she doubted not of her subjects finding a successor at her death; and that, as to her own part, her greatest pride would be to have her monument declare that she had reigned and died a virgin-queen."

The parliament now proceeding in business, their next act was to recognize Elizabeth by a bill, importing that she was, and might be as well by the word of God as the common and statute laws of the realm, the lawful, undoubted, and true heir of the crown, lawfully descended from the blood royal according to the order of succession settled in the thirty-fifth year of Henry VIII.

This was immediately followed by an act appointing the public worship to be performed in English.

Another, restoring the queen to her right of supremacy in the church of England.

such writs or patents as went in course: and so the seal was only put in the hands of the keeper but for some short interval. But now Bacon was the first lord-keeper that had all the dignity and authority of lord-chancellor conferred upon him. He was father to the great sir Francis Bacon, viscount of St. Alban's, and was one of the most learned, most pious, and wisest men of the nation. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 380.

‡ The bishops who opposed it were Heath, archbishop of York; Bonner, bishop of London, Pates of Worcester, Kitching of Llandaff, Bayne of Coventry, Tuberville of Exeter, Scot of Chester, and Oglethorpe of Carlisle. Sir S. d'Ewe's Journal, p. 19.

|| Hume's History of the Tudors, p. 412.

Another,

Another reviving and confirming all the acts made in the reign of Edward VI. concerning religion: and in this many others were included.

Another restored to the queen the nomination of bishops; reconfirmed many of Henry VIII's statutes against the papal authority; empowered the queen to put the exercise of her supremacy into what hands she pleased; and obliged all persons in public employments to swear "that they acknowledged the queen to be supreme governess in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal; that they renounced all foreign jurisdiction; and should bear to the queen true allegiance," under pain of being declared incapable of holding any public office. And lastly, divers other penalties were enacted against those who, by word or writing, should set forth or advance any foreign authority in the kingdom.

Another act was passed to establish uniformity in public worship, against which the archbishop of York, the bishops of London, Ely, Worcester, Llandaff, Coventry, Exeter, and Chester, the marquis of Winchester, the earl of Shrewsbury, the viscount Montagu, and the lords Morley, Stafford, Dudley, Wharton, Rich, and North, entered their protests as dissentients.

By a sixth act the parliament empowered the queen to resume herself to the lands belonging to the bishoprics, as they became vacant, giving in lieu of them their full value, and impropriated tythes.

By a seventh, all religious houses were annexed to the crown.

By an eighth, the deprivation of popish bishops, in king Edward's reign, was declared valid.

In a word this parliament restored religion to the same state as in the reign of Edward VI. and, after a grant of a subsidy, two tenths and two fifteenths, with tonnage and poundage for the queen's life, it was dissolved on the eighth of May.

The supremacy with which the queen was lately invested, with power to depute any person to exercise it in her name, gave rise to a new court, called the High Commission Court. It was composed of a certain number of commissioners, which exercised the same power that had been formerly lodged by Henry VIII. in the single person of his minister, Cromwell, under the title of Vicegerent.

The zeal of the parliament alarmed the zealots of the popish faction so much, that they attempted, even during the session, to oppose their proceedings, and to preach from the pulpit doctrines that tended to overthrow their grand intention of a reformation; wherefore Elizabeth, after the example of her predecessors, Edward and Mary, forbade all preaching without a special licence under the great seal, which so exasperated the lower house of convocation, that they boldly asserted the doctrines of the church of Rome in a petition to the queen; whereupon she ordered the divines on both sides to meet, and, in open dispute, to consider and determine upon those doctrines. Accordingly it was agreed that nine divines of each side should hold a conference, which began on the thirty-first of March, in Westminster abbey: but the bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, seeing the cause in great danger, said that the faith of the church ought not to be examined but by a synod of divines; that the queen and council ought to be excommunicated for suffering the catholic faith to be argued before an unlearned multitude; and so departed from

the conference, leaving the protestants to enjoy their triumph. However it produced this good effect, that out of nine thousand four hundred beneficed clergymen then in the nation, only fourteen bishops, twelve archdeacons, fifteen heads of colleges, fifty canons, and about eighty parochial priests, chose to quit their preferments rather than take the oath of supremacy and change their religion: and the places of these being filled up with protestants, England became entirely reformed in a short space, after having seen the advocates for reformation mercilessly delivered up to the flames. But the severity shewn to the popish clergy, whether legal or illegal we shall not take upon us to determine, was far from partaking of the cruelty practised under the late reign: some of them had liberty to retire to their own houses; some were admitted to an easy and social restraint in the houses of their friends, or of protestant bishops; and some were suffered to go abroad. It was, however, thought proper to commit Bonner to the Marshalsea, where he died under confinement, which, with his deprivation, was the only evil he experienced of the many which his cruelty had inflicted upon others. As to the vacant sees, Parker, after great reluctance on his part, was made archbishop of Canterbury; Jewell was made bishop of Salisbury: Barlow, Scory, and Coverdale, bishops under Edward, had sees given them; and the other bishoprics were filled up with men of piety and learning for the times. Soon after, May, dean of St. Paul's was nominated to the archbishopric of York; but he dying before confirmation, Young was translated to that see from St. David's. It is now time to return to political affairs.

While the queen and the parliament were employed in settling the public religion, the negotiations for peace were still carried on on the continent, first at Cercamp, and afterwards at Chateau Cambresis. Philip employed his utmost efforts to procure the restitution of Calais; and so long as he entertained hopes of espousing Elizabeth, delayed concluding a peace with the French monarch: nay, even after he found all his expectations frustrated, by the alterations she had made in religion, he seemed willing to continue the war till she obtained satisfaction, on condition she would promise to adhere to the Spanish alliance, and continue hostilities against France for the space of six years: but when Elizabeth had consulted with her ministers, and had taken into consideration the low state of her finances, the great debts contracted by her father, brother, and sister; the disorders introduced into every part of the administration, and the divisions which agitated her subjects, she plainly saw that a state of public tranquility was the only means of putting her kingdom into a respectable condition, and prudently rejected the proposal, and quickened in her advances towards France, whose monarch, Henry II. was so apprehensive of Elizabeth having any connections with Spain, that he had sent Cavalcante, a Florentine, with a letter full of regard for the queen, and expressing his desire of accommodating matters between the two crowns.

At last the English plenipotentiaries having received letters from Elizabeth and her council, empowering them to conclude a peace on any reasonable terms, on the second of April this year, a treaty was concluded between Elizabeth and Henry on the following conditions.

"That

"That France should retain Calais, and the other places in Picardy conquered from the English, only eight years; and after that to restore them to the queen of England.

"That, within the space of six months, seven foreign merchants, not subjects of the French king, should engage for the payment of five hundred thousand crowns of gold to Elizabeth, as a penal fine in case the restitution of the places, within the time limited, was either refused or delayed by Henry or his successors.

And, "That, notwithstanding whether the said sum was paid or not paid, the king of France, and his successors, should remain under the obligation to restore Calais, and the other places, as they engaged in this treaty.

Moreover, "That the king of France should deliver to the queen, as hostages, till the promised security was given, Ferry de Foix, count of Caudale and capital of Buche; Lewis de St. Maure, marquis of Nesle and count of Laval; Gaston de Foix, marquis of Trans Antoine; du Prat, president of the parliament of Paris; and the lord Nantouillet."

Another article of this treaty with France ran in this form: "That neither the king of France nor the king and queen of Scotland should attempt any thing against one another, directly or indirectly, in prejudice of this treaty. That if the queen of England violated this article, the king of France and the king and queen of Scotland should be freed from their engagements, and their hostages and securities be discharged. In like manner, if the violation came from the king of France, he should be obliged to restore Calais and the other places, as if the eight years were expired: and if he refused to make the restitution, the securities and hostages should still remain bound," &c.

On the same day a treaty was signed between England and Scotland, which contained the following articles.

"I. That neither of the parties should attack the dominions now possessed by the other, either in person or otherwise.

"II. That they should give no aid to attack the dominions of one another, to any person, in whatsoever degree of consanguinity or affinity he might be related to them, or whatever might be his quality.

"III. That they should not receive or maintain rebels, fugitives, malefactors, &c.

"IV. That in three months the fortifications of Eyemouth, and all others erected in Scotland since the treaty of 1549, should be razed.

"V. That all other mutual claims and pretensions should remain entire.

"VI. That in two months commissioners should be appointed on both sides, to settle certain articles, concerning which the ambassadors of France were not sufficiently instructed."

Francis and Mary ratified the treaty on the eighteenth of April; and on the thirty-first of May the commissioners of the two kingdoms, at Upsalinton, signed a second treaty upon the articles left undecided in the first.

By these treaties tranquility seemed, but indeed only seemed, to be established between England and its neighbours; for Henry II. soon pulled off the mask, and shewed, by his actions, that he never intended to fulfil his words and agreements.

His first act was to order the dauphin his son who had married the young queen of Scotland, to assume the title of king of Scotland, England, and Ireland, and to quarter the arms of England in their seal, and on their plate and furniture, by which the court of France endeavoured to prefer the title of the queen of Scots to the crown of England to that of Elizabeth, whom they took all occasions to treat as illegitimate. Elizabeth complained loudly of this ill treatment by her ambassador (Throgmorton) at Paris, but was always shuffled off with evasive excuses; and therefore she from this time considered Mary as her most dangerous rival, and the Guises, princes of Lorraine, her uncles, the authors of this usurpation, as her most mortal enemies; the truth of which was soon confirmed.

At the same time that the peace between France and England was concluded at Chateau Cambresis, a treaty of pacification had also been signed between the courts of France and Spain; to strengthen which, it was agreed that the French king should give his eldest daughter in marriage to the king of Spain; and that Philibert, duke of Savoy, should marry the French king's sister. These marriages were accordingly solemnized about Midsummer this year, when Henry II. was accidentally killed by a wound he received in his eye by the splinter of a lance, at a tournament held in honour of the nuptials. His son and successor, Francis II. being a prince void of genius and experience, was an absolute tool in the hands of the house of Guise, who hurried him into measures which corresponded with their ambition and vanity. Thinking that the accession of England to France, in right of their niece, would aggrandize them in the eyes of the French, they had persuaded Henry II. under various pretences, foreign to their point in view, to keep up an army in Scotland, as the only avenue by which the English dominions were accessible; and this army they now considerably augmented, having gotten the government of France into their own hands, under the name of their nephew the young king Francis, who was incapable of managing public affairs. But as their projects were founded upon the situation of affairs in Scotland at that juncture, it is necessary to give a brief recital of the state of matters in that kingdom.

During the queen-regent's competition with the earl of Arran, now duke of Chatelerault, for the regency, she had favoured the protestants of Scotland, and exasperated the catholic party, who, under the archbishop of St. Andrew's, opposed her with the greatest animosity; but having carried her point, she changed sides, regained the esteem of the catholics, and openly approved the decrees of the convocation which condemned all the principles of the reformers; and, instigated by her brothers, the duke of Guise, and the cardinal of Lorraine, she determined to suppress protestantism in Scotland, in which work she was encouraged to persevere by the assurance her brother gave her of a considerable reinforcement to the French army already in Scotland.

The principal nobility and others of the reformed religion in that kingdom being advised of the preparations of the French, and that the pope, the emperor Ferdinand, and the king of Spain had entered into a combination to reduce again the most part of Europe to the popish faith, and to pursue

all opposers and dissenters with fire and sword; and to begin with Scotland, as being convenient for their master-stroke meditated upon England, they resolved to divert the storm which threatened them; and being convinced that their security depended on their unanimity, and the vigour of their resolutions, they endeavoured to cement their union by entering into a stricter bond of mutual defence. The duke of Chatelerault, and his eldest son, the earl of Arran, acceded to this association, and inspired the confederates with resolution, at the same time that they added reputation to their cause.

The earl of Arran had resided in France, where he commanded the Scottish guards; but having embraced the protestant religion, was marked out by the princes of Lorraine as a victim, to intimidate the rest of that persuasion, and to prevent the growth of their principles: but the cardinal of Lorraine having let fall some expressions which discovered his intentions, the earl avoided the intended blow by a sudden flight, and, after infinite labour and danger, getting to Geneva, he from thence came over to England, about the end of July this year. Elizabeth gave this young nobleman a most cordial reception; and, during his stay here, which was very short, failed not to inflame his resentment against the court of France: so that when the earl returned to Scotland, he communicated his sentiments to his father, and induced him to join the lords of the congregation, as the heads of the reformed party were called.

About the same time one Knox, a famous preacher, who had been persecuted for his religion, and obliged to fly to Geneva, having lately returned home, by his preaching soon worked up the Scottish reformed to such frenzy, that they took up arms, and for some time carried every thing before them, under their two chief leaders, the earl of Argyll, and James Stuart, prior of St. Andrew's, a natural son of James V. by a daughter of the lord Erskine. This nobleman being designed for the church, had the priory of St. Andrew's conferred upon him; but being disgusted with the inactivity of a monastic life, he left the cloister, and appeared at the head of the reformed, who had already sent several respectful messages to the queen-regent, for evacuating the nation of French soldiers, but without any other effect than her threatening that she would denounce them rebels, if they did not instantly lay down their arms.

This produced a numerous meeting of the lords of the congregation, on the twenty-first of October, at Edinburgh, when they immediately assembled a parliament, consisting of the peers, barons, and representatives of the boroughs, before whom they represented their grievances; and an act was passed, whereby the authority of the queen-regent was declared to be suspended. But now the lords finding themselves under the utmost distress for want of money, and dreading to be crushed by the more powerful army of the French and the queen-regent, they had recourse to Elizabeth, with whom some of the party had already entered into a secret correspondence.

Elizabeth, willing to counterbalance the French interest in Scotland, and to prevent that kingdom being united to France, by issue which Mary, queen of Scotland, might have by her husband Francis II. received their proposal with great shew of friendship, and dispatched Randolph into Scotland,

with assurances of support, and to animate the leaders of the congregation in their design.

Mean while the French army in Scotland had been reinforced with a thousand men, under the command of Martigues, and a more considerable supply was expected under the marquis of Elbeuf. Elizabeth therefore, who considered her own interest as intimately connected with that of the Scottish protestants, resolved to exert her utmost efforts in order to support their declining affairs. With this view she fitted out a fleet, consisting of thirteen ships of war, and bestowing the command of it on vice-admiral William Winter, she sent it into the Firth of Forth, in the beginning of January, 1560; at the same time she appointed the young duke of Norfolk her lieutenant in the northern counties, and ordered an army of eight thousand men to rendezvous at Berwick, on the thirtieth of January, under the conduct of the lord Grey of Wilton, warden of the East and Middle Marches.

The appearance of Winter with his ships in the Forth gave a new face to the affairs of the congregation. The French army, terrified at the loss of some of their ships, which the English admiral had burned in his passage up the river, retired to Leith, to wait the expected reinforcements, with which they were immediately to invade England; but the troubles of France, which began at this time to demand all the power and attention of that ministry, obliged them to lay aside all thoughts of this expedition: nay, the French court, dreading the consequence of Elizabeth's interfering in the affairs of Scotland, and thereby cutting them out work at such a distance from home, endeavoured to divert her from her purpose by offering to restore Calais, and all its dependencies, provided she would draw her forces out of Scotland; but she nobly rejected the offer, telling the ambassador, that she did not value a paltry fishing-town so much as the peace and quiet of her own kingdom; and dispatched the lord Montagu to inform Philip of Spain of the reasons of her refusal, which, she said, was from the certain knowledge she had that the Guises had projected an union of France with Scotland, and concerted the murder of the earl of Arran, who, failing Mary's issue, would be the next heir to the Scottish crown.

By this time, the duke of Norfolk being joined by commissioners from the congregation, at Berwick, all the operations for the ensuing campaign were digested, and a formal treaty between queen Elizabeth and them was signed. As this treaty was attended with great consequences, we shall insert the whole of it from the records.

"At Berwick, the twenty-seventh day of February, the year of our Lord God 1559, it is agreed, contracted, and finally appointed, between the noble mighty prince Thomas, duke of Norfolk, earl-marshal of England, lieutenant for the queen's most excellent majesty of England in the North, on the name and behalf of her highness, of the one party; and the right honourable lord James Stuart, Patrick lord Ruthven, sir John Maxwell, of Fearegloss, knight, William Maitland, of Lethington, younger, John Wishart, of Pettarhow, and Mr. Henry Balnaves, of Halihill, in the name and behalf of the most mighty prince James, duke of Chatelerault, second person of the realm of Scotland, and the remnant of the rest of the lords of his party, joined with him in this cause, for maintenance

tenance and defence of the ancient rights and liberties of their country, on the other party, in form as hereafter followeth, that is to say: That the queen's majesty having sufficiently understood, as well by information sent from the nobility of Scotland, as by the manifest proceedings of the French, that they intend to conquer the realm of Scotland, suppress the liberties thereof, and unite the same unto the crown of France perpetually, contrary to the laws of the said realm, and to the pactions, oaths, and promises of France; and being thereto most humbly and earnestly required by the said nobility, for and in the name of the whole realm, shall accept the said realm of Scotland, and the said duke of Chatelerault, being declared by act of parliament to be heir apparent to the crown thereof, and the nobility and subjects of the same, in her majesty's protection and maintenance, only for preservation of them in their old freedoms and liberties and from conquest, during the time the marriage shall continue between the queen of Scots and the French king, and one year after; and for expelling out of the same realm all such as presently goeth about to practise the said conquest."

Elizabeth having thus taken every precaution which could insure success, and received from the Scots hostages for the performance of the articles, she commanded her fleet and army to begin their operations, and the confederates assembling from all parts, to the number of six thousand foot and two thousand horse, were joined by the English forces, under the lord Grey of Wilton, at Haddington, in the month of April, and marched together to Leith, publishing as they went a manifesto, in which Elizabeth complained of "the injury done her by the king and queen of France in assuming her titles and arms, and in plain terms charged the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine with being authors of the troubles in Scotland, in order to effect more easily their designs against England."

The combined army having now formed the siege of Leith, the queen-regent retired from the French army into the castle of Edinburgh, commanded by John Erskine, who had express orders from the states not to deliver it up without their direction. The siege of Leith was carried on for some time with various success; but as the place was defended by the whole French army, the English found great difficulty in their operations; and, after several unsuccessful storms, were ready to relinquish their enterprize, when, in the beginning of May, they were strengthened by a powerful reinforcement under the duke of Norfolk, which accession of force on the part of the English, and the conspiracy of Amboise in the heart of France, inspired the princes of Lorraine with more pacific sentiments, and it was resolved to recall their forces out of Scotland.

Accordingly Francis II. sent Monluc, bishop of Valence, and the count de Randan, into Scotland, with full powers to conclude a peace. Their proposals being transmitted to Elizabeth, she appointed secretary Cecil and Dr. Wootton her plenipotentiaries to treat with the French commissioners, at Newcastle. The death of the queen-regent, which happened at the castle of Edinburgh, on the eighth of June, not a little facilitated the negotiations. The conferences were now transferred to Edinburgh, a truce being agreed to in the mean

time; and in the beginning of July the peace was finally concluded. Most historians confound in this treaty two things, which however ought to be distinguished, namely, the concessions of Francis and Mary to their Scottish subjects, and the treaty between France and England. As of these two treaties one was observed, the other not, it is necessary to have a distinct idea of them. We find from Buchanan and Keith, that the concessions made to the Scots were as follow:

"I. That the French forces should leave Scotland in twenty-four days, and return to France in ships to be furnished by Elizabeth.

"II. That the town of Leith should be restored to Scotland, and the fortifications demolished.

"III. That the works made by the French at Dunbar, should be razed.

"IV. That the king and queen of France and Scotland should grant an act of oblivion to the confederates for every thing done from the tenth of March, 1559, to the first of August, 1560; and that this act should be approved and confirmed by the states of Scotland, to be assembled in the following August, with the consent of the king and queen.

"That the French should have liberty to leave sixty men in the isle of Leith."

But with regard to the interests of Elizabeth, a real treaty was concluded between her and the crown of France, which will be often mentioned hereafter by the name of the Treaty of Edinburgh, and, according to our public records, contained the following articles.

"I. That for the future, the king and queen of Scotland should not assume the title of king and queen of England or Ireland; nor bear the arms of those kingdoms.

"II. That the patents and other acts, which had been dispatched with that title, should be altered, or remain of no force.

"III. That the farther satisfaction required by the queen of England, for the injury done her, should be referred to a conference at London, between the commissioners of the two crowns.

"IV. That if the commissioners could not agree, the decision should be left to the king of Spain.

"V. That the king and queen of France and Scotland should perform the promises made to the Scots at Edinburgh by the plenipotentiaries of France."

In perusing the last of the articles granted to the confederate Scots, the reader may be at a loss to conceive what service it would be to Francis and Mary, to have only sixty men of their French subjects left in Scotland: Buchanan gives this reason; that the queen of Scots might not seem to be thrown out of the entire possession of Scotland.

After the conclusion of the above treaty the French and English withdrew out of Scotland, the fortifications of Leith and Dunbar were demolished, and the amnesty was confirmed by the Scottish parliament, which enacted several laws in favour of the Reformation. As for Francis and Mary, though they confirmed those laws, they flatly refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, on pretence that Elizabeth had treated with their rebellious subjects as if they had composed an independent state; but the real intention of the princes of Lorraine was to deprive Elizabeth of the English crown, and

place it on the head of their young niece. This was a scheme, however, which, happily for England, they were never able to effect: for the troubles they brought upon themselves, by their persecutions against the Hugonots (a name given to the protestants) in France, the murder of twelve hundred for a pretended conspiracy at Amboise, the seizing and unjust condemnation of the prince of Condé, which so desperately exasperated the French nation, and the death of Francis II. on the twenty fifth of September this year, defended Elizabeth from all their machinations from that quarter.

It will not be impertinent to the purpose in hand, to take a short view of Elizabeth's situation in regard to her own subjects and to foreign princes. It may truly be said, that she had scarcely any foreign ally, to whom she could trust, and had every thing to fear from the most powerful of her neighbours; and though she could not be apprehensive of an invasion from Scotland, or a new war with that kingdom, yet she, in case of an invasion by any other enemy, could not expect any sort of assistance from them; on the contrary, she saw herself under an indispensable necessity to support the protestant party there, well knowing Scotland to be the inlet into her country from France, whenever the domestic troubles of that kingdom could be surmounted. Elizabeth had also great reason to doubt of the fidelity and loyalty of the Irish, many of whose nobles held themselves, and acted on many occasions, as independent of England; and the whole nation, being extremely attached to the popish superstition, which workshop best suited their extreme ignorance, were ready to revolt and insist under the banner of the first invader in the pope's name, on account of the innovations which they thought Elizabeth was about to introduce into their favourite religion.

Pope Paul IV. dying in the last month of the preceding year, was succeeded by cardinal Angelo de Medici, a Milanese, who assumed the name of Pius IV. The family of Lorrain eagerly laid hold of this opportunity to solicit the new pontiff to enter heartily into the schemes of his predecessor, and compel the heretics by force to re-enter the pale of the church, pointing out to him England as the most proper place to begin with, as its queen was become the nursing mother of the enemies of the papal see and authority. But Pius being resolved to try all means rather than extremities to reclaim England to his obedience, sent, in the summer of this year, Vincenzo Parpaglia, abbot of St. Sauveur, with certain instructions, and a letter to the queen, exhorting her to return to his communion, and promising to continue the general council of Trent, which had, under many interruptions, been sitting several years; and with an offer, in his holiness's name, to repeal the sentence of divorce of Henry VIII. from Anne Boleyn; as also to confirm the English Liturgy, and to permit the English to communicate in both kinds: the nuncio was also ordered to invite the queen to send some English bishops to the council of Trent. But Elizabeth, not to be moved by all these artifices, returned for answer, that though she heartily desired a general council, yet she would never honour a popish one with an ambassador representing her person; and that she desired no connections with the bishop of Rome, who she said had no more power than other bishops.

As for Philip II. king of Spain, her ambassador brought such a report of his behaviour, that she could expect no other than an enemy in him: he even returned with contempt the collar of the order of the Garter, which had been sent him by Elizabeth. It was only at home then, in England, that the queen could hope for help or safety, in the affections of her subjects, by whom she was beloved to a degree of adoration, for the noble spirit which she had shewn in defence of their freedom and independence, and the resolution with which she had baffled the united attempts of France, Spain, and the court of Rome.

Elizabeth was now in the very bloom of life, being twenty-five years of age, and her alliance by marriage had been coveted by most of the chief princes of Europe. The duke of Finland, brother to Eric, king of Sweden, had for some time resided in London, and courted her for his brother. The duke of Holstein, nephew to the king of Denmark, was likewise in England, and addressed her in behalf of his uncle. The German protestants earnestly pressed her to marry Charles, archduke of Austria, second son to the late emperor, and a known favourer of protestantism; and the Scottish parliament had preferred a solemn address to her, for leave to send commissioners to treat concerning a marriage between her and the earl of Arran, son to the duke of Chatelerauld, and presumptive heir to the crown, which would afford a probable prospect of uniting the two kingdoms: but Elizabeth, for reasons of her own, had declined all these offers.

Several of her own subjects were not with hopes of obtaining her in marriage: of all these, the lord Robert Dudley seemed to bid fairest for success. He was fifth son of the late duke of Northumberland, whom he resembled in the gracefulness of his person, and in the ambition of his heart. Taking part with his father in raising the lady Jane Grey to the throne, he was involved in her misfortune, taken prisoner, committed to the Tower, and condemned to die the death of a traitor; but was pardoned at the intercession of the courtiers, and afterwards queen Mary restored him in blood, received him into favour, and made him master of the English ordnance at the siege of St. Quintin. What endeared him so much to Elizabeth is not very clear; but, as soon as she ascended the English throne, she gave him the earliest marks of her favour, by making him master of the horse, and dignifying him with the order of the Garter: and, indeed, truth obliges us to confess that Elizabeth was rather too much above the delicacies of virgin-conduct with regard to Dudley; and that the public, both at home and abroad, knew of no other way to reconcile it to virtue, or indeed to prudence, but by supposing she would marry him: but then, on some occasions, she would express herself so far as to signify, that she could never resolve to give her hand to a subject, after having refused the first princes of Europe who sought her in marriage.

The person who, next to Dudley, was thought to stand fairest in Elizabeth's esteem, was sir William Pickering. He was a gentleman of private fortune, but of great reputation for wisdom, hospitality, and every quality that could entitle him to the highest distinction. He declined all public employments, and seldom came to court; and his great interest in the nation lay amongst those who

wished

wished well to the Reformation established by Edward VI.

Henry Fitz Allan, earl of Arundel, was another suitor to the queen. He was a nobleman of high birth, and had always behaved with vast spirit, but had gone too far into the violent measures of the late reign, but still he flattered himself with the agreeable hopes of procuring his sovereign in marriage. The closeness of Elizabeth, whenever applied to on any subject of this nature, and the different conjectures which the public formed concerning their sovereign's marriage, either at home or abroad, was of the utmost service to her affairs; all parties were obsequious to her command, and ready to execute her orders. She improved this their disposition to the advantage of her favourite scheme of settling the Reformation on a firm basis in England, and thereby freeing herself and people forever from that state of slavish dependence in which they had formerly been held by the Roman pontiffs.

The queen, by her letters patent, had already recommended to the ecclesiastical bodies of the kingdom, king Edward's Book of Common Prayer: the ecclesiastical livings all over England were filled with men who hated popery; and a form of belief was published by the bishops to justify the Reformation: the parliament which was now sitting in Scotland, in like manner proceeded by Elizabeth's advice, and under her protection, to extirpate popery. Westminster abbey was, from a monastery, converted into a collegiate church: the queen received a public address from the bishops against the use of images: and Elizabeth, to shew how steadily she meant to proceed, ordered the numerous tribes of protestant sectaries, who, under pretext of seeking protection on account of religion, were now swarming all over the kingdom, to leave the realm. At the same time, in order to bring her civil and ecclesiastical government as near as possible to an equality, the queen set about reforming the coin, which had been greatly debased in the late reign. In a word, Elizabeth applied herself with the utmost assiduity to all affairs of government, in conjunction with those two excellent statesmen, and her great favourites, secretary Cecil and sir Nicholas Bacon, keeper of the great seal, being resolved to leave nothing undone to render her subjects as happy as possible; well knowing her chief assistance must flow from them in case of an invasion, which she had reason to expect. And thus stood matters in church and state in this kingdom at the end of the year 1560.

On the fifteenth of January, 1561, the queen-mother of France, the famous Catherine de Medici, was appointed regent during the minority of her son Charles IX. who, at the age only of ten years, succeeded to his brother Francis II. who was not eighteen when he died. The king of Navarre, the first prince of the blood, was constituted lieutenant-general of the kingdom; the sentence which had passed against the prince of Condé, was reversed; the constable de Montmorency, another chief of the Hugonots, who had been banished, was recalled to court; and the princes of Lorraine, though they still possessed the highest posts and offices, now found their authority greatly diminished.

Elizabeth was overjoyed to hear that her declared enemies had been so severely humbled; and she was resolved to avail herself of the present conjuncture to compel the Scottish queen to renounce

her pretensions to the English crown: she accordingly sent orders to Throgmorton, her ambassador in France, a very faithful and able minister, to make application to Mary for that purpose, and to demand her ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh; for though, by the advice of her uncles, the princes of Lorraine, Mary had, immediately upon the death of her husband Francis II. laid aside the arms and title of England, yet Elizabeth was not to be satisfied with a bare relinquishing of them, but insisted upon a formal renunciation of her titles and arms, and an acknowledgement that she never had any right to assume them; that in case Mary, who was very young, should marry a powerful prince, he might have no pretence to renew the claim. Mary, however, was upon her guard: she saw sufficiently into the spirit of this demand; she declined giving any direct answer to the English ambassador, before she had consulted her friends in France and Scotland: and Throgmorton renewing his instances she told him, that she was resolved to entrust the whole management of her concerns with the lord James (so the prior of St. Andrew's was commonly called); but that nobleman was too deeply engaged with queen Elizabeth, for Mary to continue long in that mind. Both she and her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, believed him to have no other principle but interest; while he thought that they had no other view but revenge. They tempted him with all they thought could bribe his ambition to break his own connections, and that of his party, with Elizabeth; but he continued consistent, notwithstanding all their efforts. It was this steadiness that first rivetted him in the esteem of Elizabeth, and was the foundation of his future fortune. In the mean time Elizabeth, desirous of keeping her footing in Scotland, and still apprehensive of an invasion there, sent Randolph, one of her trusty agents, about the middle of March, to Scotland, whose states, or parliament, was then sitting; and gave him in charge to engage the Scots, if possible, to enter into a protestant league, in the same manner as the protestants in Germany had done, for the defence of religion. Mary, who was informed by her friends in Scotland of all these practices, could not fail of being highly incensed at this ungenerous behaviour of Elizabeth, and hinted to Throgmorton, that she was not ignorant of his mistress's dealings with her rebellious subjects; and that, for her own part, she was resolved not to receive any laws from them.

In the mean time, a misunderstanding having arisen between the queen-dowager of France and the Scottish princess, this latter, unable to brook the slights and indignities to which she found herself exposed, in consequence of this rupture, resolved to listen to the invitation of the states of Scotland, who had sent the lord James over to request her return to her native country and her faithful subjects. Accordingly she sent d'Oysell over to England, about Midsummer this year, to demand from Elizabeth a safe conduct for herself and the ships that were to attend her. Elizabeth who had been extremely nettled by Mary's refusing to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, returned for answer, that "she hoped the queen of Scots would first ratify that treaty; after which she should not only have a safe-conduct, but also, without being exposed to the fatigues and dangers of the sea, might pass through England, where she should be received

with all the marks of affection she could expect from a sister."

Upon d'Oysell's return to France with this answer from Elizabeth, Mary could not contain her resentment: she sent for Throgmorton, and asked him, what offence she had given his mistress, that she should act thus towards her? She said, that she was very sorry she had subjected herself to the mortification of being publicly refused a favour, which she had no need to ask, being her equal in degree: that Elizabeth, by such a proceeding, subjected her own character to severe censure; "for (added she) it will be thought very strange by all princes and countries, that your mistress should first animate my subjects against me, and now, being a widow, impede my going into my own country: I ask nothing of her but friendship; I do not trouble her state, or practise with her subjects; and yet (continued this spirited princess) I know there be in her realm that be inclined enough to hear offers: I know also they be not of the mind she is of, neither in religion or other things." In fine, she concluded by telling Throgmorton, that as she came into France in spite of Edward*, she could return into Scotland notwithstanding Elizabeth's opposition†.

Accordingly she did not delay her departure from France an instant on account of Elizabeth's refusal of a safe-conduct; and being attended by all her uncles, and several noblemen of the first rank in France, to Calais, she set sail from thence in the beginning of August; and on the eighteenth of that month arrived safe at Leith, in her native kingdom, after having been absent thirteen years. She was received by her subjects with every possible mark of esteem and regard. It is said that Elizabeth gave orders to intercept Mary in her passage from France to Scotland; but no evidence has been brought to support such an assertion: queen Elizabeth had always a fleet at sea, for the guard of the English coast and the security of commerce; but we cannot find that she had any design, or gave any orders, for intercepting her rival; and she expressly disavowed the having made any attempt for that purpose.

Mary, in pursuance of the plan which she had concerted in France, entrusted the whole management of public affairs to protestants: her council was composed of the most eminent persons of that party, and not a single papist was admitted into any office of trust or confidence. She also acquiesced in the regulations made by the states in favour of the Reformation. The prior of St. Andrew's, and Maitland, of Ledington, seemed to possess the first place in the queen's favour, and enjoyed all the credit and reputation of favourite ministers. This choice was universally acceptable to the people, who now seemed to vie with each other in their expressions of zeal and loyalty. These happy omens, notwithstanding the unfavourable aspect of affairs just before Mary's arrival in Scotland, seemed to foretel a very different issue of her reign; and though some sudden gusts of faction and popular discontents might have been expected from the diversity in religious opinions, yet there was no appearance of the destructive violence of that storm which soon after burst on the kingdom of Scotland.

Soon after the arrival of Mary in her kingdom, she dispatched Maitland of Lethington, her secretary,

to London, to pay her respects to Elizabeth, and to signify her desire of cultivating a friendship and good correspondence with that princess: the secretary was also charged with letters from the Scottish nobility, recommending such an union as their earnest request, "since say they, in case of a misunderstanding we are obliged to serve our sovereign." But Maitland was charged likewise with a farther commission, which could not be well received: this was, "to move, as the best and most certain method for maintaining peace and amity between the two queens and their realms, that Elizabeth should declare Mary her heir and successor in the kingdom of England, in case she should die without issue; and this to be done by act of parliament."

No request could be more unreasonable, or made at a more improper juncture. Elizabeth was extremely nettled at it: she answered the ambassador with great warmth, "That she would not suffer the queen of Scotland to rob her of the crown during her life; neither did she intend to do any thing that might tend to prejudice that queen after her death; nevertheless she was determined not to run the hazard of seeing her subjects adore the rising sun: that to design a successor was to expose her own life to danger; to destroy the security of her government, to let a winding-sheet continually before her eyes, and to bury herself alive." After this she put Maitland in mind of his mistress's refusing to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh: "she desired nothing of Mary but what was in her power as queen of Scotland; what her own nobility had known and approved; and what was absolutely necessary for the continuance of their amity."

There had passed nothing but acts of unkindness, resentment, and animosity between the two queens whilst Mary was in France; and the making of the demand above-mentioned the moment of her return to Scotland, before any step taken for a reconciliation, for removing suspicions, or creating a friendship, could not but inflame the jealousy which Elizabeth had already entertained of Mary's designs against her crown and dignity. It did not however hinder Elizabeth from sending sir Peter Meutas with compliments to Mary on her safe return to her kingdom, and to insist on her ratification of the treaty: but Mary still eluded the demand, pretending that she could not conveniently do it till the affairs of Scotland were more firmly settled. At the same time she proposed to Meutas, in some conferences she had with him, to have the treaty of Edinburgh reviewed by commissioners, and to have the article obliging her to abstain from using the arms and title of England "in all times to come," retouched in such a manner, as to guard against its being interpreted to the prejudice of her succession: and, after repeating her demand to have the succession settled, and dismissing Meutas without the ratification, she wrote a long letter to Elizabeth, in which she proposed the reviewing and remodelling the treaty; offered to engage herself to guarantee the succession to the crown of England to the person of Elizabeth, and the lawful issue of her body: and lastly, she offered a meeting to Elizabeth, in order to compose all differences the more readily. In this situation were matters between England and Scotland at the close of the year 1561;

* See page 300, of this volume.

† Throgmorton's Letter to Elizabeth, July 26.

but the obstinate refusal of the queen of Scots (whether the effect of her uncle's advice or her own ambition) to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, giving Elizabeth just reason to suspect that a design was formed to dethrone her whenever an opportunity offered; and this latter rejecting with contempt the demand of settling the succession, rivetted that jealousy and animosity between the two princesses, which at last proved so fatal to Mary.

We must not forget to mention, that about the end of the year Mary gave the lord James Stuart, prior of St. Andrew's the title of earl of Murray; and created John Erskine earl of Marr.

Elizabeth all this while was indefatigably applying herself to the affairs of government. Her first care was to put the navy in a better condition than it had ever been known in the time of her ancestors; she augmented the pay of her sailors; she stored her magazines with arms; she introduced the manufacture of gunpowder into England; she ordered a great number of iron and brass pieces of English metal* to be cast; she reinforced the garrison of Berwick; she fortified the borders towards Scotland; she introduced and encouraged great improvements in agriculture, and ordered her people to attend the exercise of arms at stated times.

Her late refusal to have any communication on any terms with the see of Rome, had exasperated the papists to the utmost; and there is extant a minute under Cecil's hand†, of certain cautions she was to take with regard to her own person, as also for her apparel and diet; by which it should seem that she was apprehensive of being taken off either by assassination or poison: and we find that some severities about this time were shewn to the papists, several of their bishops and clergy being deprived of their liberty. Sir Edward Wgrave, who was a leading man in the late reign, and his lady, were committed to the Tower, as was the lord Hastings, another of Mary's chief favourites, for no other crime (that appears) than being present at the mass, and having priests in their houses.

Though this severity was, perhaps, necessary, yet Elizabeth is not so defensible in her conduct to the lady Catherine Grey, the younger sister to the lady Jane Grey, who lost her head in the late reign: this lady had the same right to royalty as her sister had; and Elizabeth was so extremely tenacious of her power and authority, that she could not forbear looking on her with a jealous eye: she knew not what party might be formed in favour of the lady Catherine, upon the plan of Edward's will; and she foresaw what a handle the Scots might make, by setting aside the will of Henry VIII. by which their queen was deprived of the succession in the same manner as she herself, after the example of her sister Mary, set aside the will of Edward VI.

The lady Catherine had been married to the earl of Pembroke's son, but had been lawfully divorced; and afterwards she privately married the earl of Hertford, son to the regent-duke of Somerset, a young nobleman of a bold, restless, aspiring disposition. The marriage was soon discovered by the lady's pregnancy, and Elizabeth committed her to the Tower; and her husband, the earl of Hertford,

being sent for out of France, and, upon examination, owning his marriage, was likewise committed to the Tower, where the lady Catherine was soon after delivered of a son. This event inflamed still farther the indignation of Elizabeth, who appointed a court of delegates, with the archbishop of Canterbury at their head, to enquire into the validity of the marriage; and they found their cohabitation to be unlawful. Not content with this, Elizabeth caused a fine of fifteen thousand pounds to be imposed upon Hertford, and ordered the confinement of both him and his wife to be more rigid and severe. They remained in this condition for the space of nine years, till at last the lady Catherine dying, the queen was freed from all apprehensions, and again restored the earl to his liberty.

Elizabeth behaved with more generosity, in an affair of another and even more dangerous nature. Arthur Pole and his brother, nephews to the late cardinal of that name, and great-grand-children of George, duke of Clarence, brother to king Edward IV. together with one Fortescue, a gentleman who had married a sister of their's, and some other persons, had formed a design of retiring into France, in order to procure succours from the duke of Guise; to return thence into Wales; that Arthur Pole should then assume the title of duke of Clarence, and as such should treat of a marriage between his brother and Mary, queen of Scotland, whom they were then to proclaim queen of England‡. This conspiracy being discovered, they were brought to their trials, and owned the fact, but declared at the same time, that they never meant to execute these projects till the queen's death, which some pretenders to judicial astrology had assured them would certainly happen before the end of the year. They were condemned to death by the jury, but the queen was pleased to indulge them with a pardon: the excessive rigour therefore shewn to Catherine Grey throws a great blemish on Elizabeth's character, since it is plain that unhappy lady's right to the crown, whether well or ill grounded, was her only offence.

We have nothing farther to add to the transactions of this year, than that Elizabeth still farther endeared herself to her subjects by revoking all warrants granted to the purveyors for victualling the fleet, which were generally executed in a very oppressive manner, and ordered the people to be paid in money for whatever provisions they furnished. The impositions of the Exchequer were now by her reformed; and the popish clergy, to whom pensions had been assigned for the loss of their livings now in the hands of the crown, were punctually paid. The queen also increased the salary of the judges, and first allowed them a provision for their respective circuits. Camden, who has furnished us with these anecdotes of Elizabeth's government, observes, that her œconomy always went hand in hand with her liberality, insomuch that she gave very little out of her own demesnes, but on condition it should, on default of male issue, revert to the crown. It would have been happy, perhaps, if her successors had always observed this rule!

It was not without reason that Elizabeth was thus studious to gain the love of her subjects by the

* This year there was discovered, near Reswick, at the foot of the tall mountain Sheddow, in Cornwall, a mine of pure copper, which had been neglected many ages: and at the same

time was found a great abundance of the lapis calaminaris, so necessary for brass works.

† Burleigh's Papers, p. 368.

‡ Strype.

good order she introduced into the kingdom, since many endeavours were used at this time to corrupt and draw them into rebellion. The catholics began to meet and plot to restore their religion by arms. Besides the design of Arthur Pole and his accomplices above related, Elizabeth, in the beginning of the year 1562, found out that the earl of Lenox and his countess (daughter to Margaret, queen of Scotland, eldest daughter to Henry VII. by the earl of Angus) held a secret unlawful correspondence in Scotland, the plan of which was to assert Mary's prior right to the crown of England, and raise a party to defend the same. This correspondence being discovered, the earl was committed to the custody of the master of the Rolls, and the countess to the care of sir Richard Sackville.

Mary, from what reasons may easily be guessed, did not shew the least resentment at this usage of the earl of Lenox, though he was her own subject; on the contrary, she affected to shew great complaisance to Elizabeth's resident, Randolph; and the queen of England was not behind her in those dissembled marks of a good understanding. The proposal of an interview was again revived, but did not take place this year.

Elizabeth's attention was now called towards the affairs of the continent, particularly those of France, which were now involved in the utmost confusion and disorder. The duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine, still pregnant with design upon England, had endeavoured to gain Anthony de Bourbon, king of Navarre, over to their scheme, by promising him their niece, Mary of Scotland, in marriage, and, by the assistance of the pope and Philip of Spain, to put him in possession of the throne of England. Elizabeth, coming to the knowledge of this scheme, dispatched sir Henry Sidney into France, under pretence of complaining of some acts of piracy committed by certain French freebooters on the English merchantmen, but in fact to inform himself exactly of the affairs of the French, and of what was contriving against her, that she might take her measures accordingly.

Catherine de Medici, the queen mother and regent, still continued to foment the differences between the two factions, and seemed to incline to the side of the Huguenots, who were the weakest. As the Guises had artfully persuaded the catholics to compromise their differences with the chiefs of the protestant league, she feared to see herself once more left to their mercy, as she had been in the last reign, if the Huguenots were oppressed. For this reason she supported them, and procured them a favourable edict, called the Edict of January, because published in that month this year: it permitted the protestants to have preaching places without the city. But though the intent of this edict was to quiet matters in the kingdom, it proved the source of the civil wars which soon after desolated France. The duke of Guise, though removed from his post of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, still wanted to be its master. He was already looked upon by the people as the protector of the catholic religion. As he was going through Vassy, a town on the borders of Champagne, he fell in with a body of Huguenots, who in consequence of the privilege granted them, were singing Psalms, after their manner, in a barn: he gave orders to his servants to fall upon these poor defenceless people, of whom upwards of sixty were killed by

them, and the rest, being wounded, fled to the woods for shelter from the murderous cruelty of their own countrymen. Upon this there was a general rising of the protestants in almost every part of the kingdom, and the nation became divided between the duke of Guise and the prince of Condé: Catherine de Medici fluctuated between both; nothing was seen on all sides but bloodshed and pillage. The queen was then at Paris, with the young king her son, where finding herself deprived of all authority, she wrote to the prince of Condé, to come to her deliverance. The fatal letter was as a mandate for continuing the civil war, which was carried on with the greatest inhumanity: every town was a fortified post, every street a field of battle. Anthony, king of Navarre, the first prince of the blood, a weak and irresolute man, who knew not of what religion or party he was, jealous of his brother Condé, and obliged against his will to serve the duke of Guise, was dragged to the siege of Rouen, together with the queen-mother: he was killed at this siege, and deserves a place in history on no other account than that of being the father of the great Henry IV.

Philip II. who was uneasy at the progress which the Huguenots made in France, and who apprehended that the contagion might spread into the Low Country provinces under his dominion, who had already given strong intimations of their affection to the reformed religion, had engaged in a secret alliance with the duke of Guise, for the defence of the ancient faith, and the extirpation of heresy. He now sent six thousand men with a supply of money to strengthen the catholic party. The first pitched battle between the catholics and the reformed was fought near Dreux: the battle was remarkable by both generals being made prisoners; de Montmorency, who commanded the king's army, in quality of constable of France, and the prince of Condé, who was at the head of the reformed army. The duke of Guise, who was second in command to the constable, gained the battle, and after his victory went and laid siege to Orleans, of which the reformed had possessed themselves at their first taking up arms.

The Huguenots, unable to resist such a powerful confederacy formed against them, supported by the royal authority, were obliged to dispatch the vidame of Chartres and de la Haye, with some other agents, to solicit the assistance of Elizabeth for preventing the total ruin of the protestant cause in France. The vidame and his colleagues arrived at London in the latter end of June this year (1562), and, having obtained an audience of the queen, demanded, in the name of the prince of Condé, and the protestant league in France, a supply of ten thousand men, and a considerable sum of money; but the politic Elizabeth, though inclined to assist the prince, would not agree to send either, unless some strong places were delivered to her, for the safety of her troops, and to remain in her hands till Calais was restored to the crown of England. This demand proved very disagreeable to the French; but Condé and his party were in too much distress to reject any terms that should be insisted on, and a treaty in his name, and that of queen Elizabeth, was signed on the twentieth of September, at Hampton-court, by which the prince engaged "to put Havre de Grace into the queen's hands, to be kept by a garrison of three thousand English

English, till the restitution of Calais." Elizabeth on her part undertook "to send three thousand men to assist in the defence of Rouen and Dieppe, and to supply them with one hundred thousand crowns, besides forty thousand for the garrisons she should put into these two last places: and both of the contracting powers obliged themselves not to treat with the adverse party, but by common consent*."

These were the principal articles of the treaty, in consequence whereof Elizabeth immediately sent over Ambrose Dudley (one of the sons of the late duke of Northumberland, whom she had the year before created baron Lisle and earl of Warwick) to France, with six thousand men, part whereof were landed at Dieppe, and the rest took possession of Havre. The queen published at the same time a manifesto, declaring, "that she did not send troops into Normandy with a design to recover that province, the ancient patrimony of her ancestors, and unjustly wrested from them; but to preserve it for the king of France, during his minority, and to rescue it from the ambition and tyranny of the princes of Lorraine: that she was the more concerned to endeavour to prevent that province falling into their hands, as it was manifest their design was to seize the ports of Normandy, and from thence to invade her dominions, after the extirpation of the reformed in France: that for these reasons she thought herself obliged to assist the young king, hinder his subjects from being oppressed by the Guises, protect the professors of the reformed religion, and provide for her own safety."

Immediately upon this manifesto being published, and that the English troops had landed in France, a proclamation was issued by the faction of Lorraine in Paris, in which queen Elizabeth being charged "with breach of faith, seizing the king's fortresses, and aiding his rebels, war was declared against her, her dominions, and subjects†." This hasty step, which was taken by the advice of the cardinal of Lorraine, and was followed by a seizure of all the English ships at Bourdeaux, and the imprisonment of her ambassador's courier at Boulogne, soon appeared to be impolitic. The English began to fit out privateers to make reprisals on the French; and at the same time the queen required the court of France to declare plainly their resolution, whether they would have peace or war with England. The court was resident at Paris at the very time the proclamation above-mentioned had been made, but, not being prepared for an open war, thought fit to disavow any knowledge thereof, hoping thus to elude Elizabeth's demands: but that princess, not satisfied with a verbal disclaiming of the proclamation, insisted that the king and queen-regent should, either by some public act, notify to the world that no proclamation of war had been made against England in Paris, with their knowledge, or by their orders; or else write her a letter, under the king's hand, to the same effect. This being complied with by the court of France, Elizabeth declared herself satisfied, and hereupon declined following the advice of Throgmorton, that she would take advantage of the proclamation for the recovery of Calais, which he represented as an easy enterprize. The best

soldiers it seems had been drawn out of the place to join the army, insomuch that there were not left in it two hundred fighting men; and if six thousand men were landed from Havre, in a moonlight night, on the sands about it, they might easily make themselves masters of Newenham bridge, and of Calais itself before it could be relieved. What were the queen's reasons, or those of her council, for neglecting so favourable an opportunity of recovering this place, we have no authorities to declare from: thus much, however, is certain, that the parliament, which met in January following, offered to grant the supplies necessary for the recovery of Calais. Such was the state of the French affairs at the end of the year 1562.

In Scotland, the family of the Gordons, of which the earl of Huntley was the chief, being privately countenanced by the house of Guise, endeavoured to take queen Mary out of the hands of her brother James Stuart, earl of Murray. The proceedings in this affair not having any immediate connection with England's concerns, we shall not stop to relate them, but only observe that the attempt proved fatal to the enterprizers, the earl of Huntley being defeated by the earl of Murray, in a battle fought near Inverness, and himself, with his eldest son George, taken prisoner, and conducted to Dunbar, where they were tried, and sentenced to die; but the sentence was not executed. While these things were transacting in that kingdom, James Melvill, author of the Memoirs that bear his name, was employed at Inspruck (in Germany) to sound the inclination of the Imperial court concerning the marriage of Mary with the archduke Charles of Austria, one of the sons of the emperor Ferdinand. The first overture of this design had been made by the cardinal of Lorraine, in his way through Inspruck to the council of Trent, with the offer of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland for his niece's portion, whom her uncles were ready to dispose of to any powerful prince who would assist them with his forces in their unremitted plots against England, especially as their project had been lately in part spoiled by the death of the king of Navarre.

Elizabeth at this time lived in so good correspondence with Mary, that she made her boast of it in all the courts of Europe, to prove that all their misunderstandings had been owing to the practices of the Guises alone; but when this negotiation came to her knowledge, she could not bear the thoughts of Mary's matching with any foreign prince, as being extremely jealous of every accession of power to one whom she on all occasions had discovered to be her chief rival to the crown of England: she therefore ordered Randolph, her ambassador at the Scottish court, to acquaint that queen, "that if she encouraged any notion of the marriage, it would put an end to their friendship, and to all Mary's hopes of succeeding to the crown of England, since the English would never run the hazard of falling under the dominion of the house of Austria." She added, "that Mary's only way to remove all jealousies betwixt them, was for her to marry some English nobleman, to be recommended by Elizabeth." So far the ambassador was ordered to represent to queen Mary, and then to intimate to the earl of Murray and secretary Mait-

* Thuanus, lib. xxx. P. Daniel. Forbes, vol. ii. p. 48.

† Forbes, vol. ii. p. 116, 246, 333.

land, that he believed Elizabeth had intentions to recommend Robert, lord Dudley, whose lady was lately dead. Mary, on the other hand, thought (and indeed not without some justice) that she had a right to chuse a husband for herself, and had already entertained some notions of giving her hand to Henry Stuart, lord Darnley, a handsome young nobleman, and eldest son to the earl of Lenox: however, she thought it politic for the present to reject all farther treaty with the archduke.

This year Shan O Neil earl of Tyr Oen, in Ireland, who had, in 1560, broke out into rebellion, came and made his submission to queen Elizabeth, and received her pardon.

On the eleventh of January, 1563, the parliament of England sat down, and Mr. Thomas Williams was chosen speaker of the house of commons. The chief intention of the members in this parliament was to second Elizabeth's laudable zeal for the improvement of trade and manufactures, for the increase of her navy, for the suppression of vice, and the more effectual curbing of popery. She had done the greatest things, with the least burden to her subjects that had ever been known, and it was thought reasonable that she should be supported; it was therefore voted, that the clergy should grant one subsidy, and the laity another, besides two fifteenths and tenths. "A fifteenth and tenth (says Camden) is a certain tax on every city, borough, and town; not upon every man in particular, but a general sum, in proportion to the fifteenth part of the wealth of the respective places. A subsidy, we call that which is imposed on every single person, as they were assessed by poll, according to the value of his goods or lands."

A little before the meeting of this parliament, the queen had been seized with the small-pox; and as her life had, for some time, been in great danger, the commons presented an address to her majesty, entreating her to fix the succession in such a clear and explicit manner, as might prevent the calamities to which the neglect of so important a point would certainly expose the nation. But Elizabeth found means to elude their application, by alleging the same reasons which she had formerly given to the queen of Scots.

The bill that made the greatest noise, and was most vigorously opposed in this parliament, was "An act for assurance of the queen's power over all estates," which was levelled against the usurped jurisdiction of the Romish see within England. By this act all who maintained, by printing, preaching, or teaching, the pope's authority within Elizabeth's dominions, were made, by the first offence, liable to the penalties of *Præmunire*. The oath appointed by the statute which revived the supremacy, in the first year of this reign, was by this act, "extended to all who have been, or shall be admitted to holy orders, or to any degree in the universities, and to all school-masters and lawyers almost of any denomination." But if it was tendered and refused a second time, the penalty was then the same as in the cases of high-treason, only the blood was not to be corrupted, nor the heir disinherited, nor the dower forfeited. It is farther enacted, "that all members of the house of commons are to take this oath, or to lose their seats in parliament. But it was provided, that the oath should not be pressed the second time upon any but ecclesiastics, or notorious recusants, who are to

take it, or become liable to the penalties of treason. All persons of or above the degree of a baron, are exempted from this oath. Mr. Atkinson, in the house of commons, and the lord Mountagu (who was now returned from Spain) in the house of lords, made strong speeches against the tyranny of this bill; nor do their adversaries seem to have answered some of the arguments urged against it.

The other acts of this parliament chiefly related to the discouragement of prophecies, magical practices, and forceries, to which the ignorant were much addicted. A celebrated convocation sat at the same time with the parliament; and, after many altercations, published the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion of the Church of England, in the same form we now have them. The parliament continued sitting till the tenth of April, and the queen, after passing an act of general pardon, with some exceptions, ordered the same to be prorogued till the second of October.

While Elizabeth thus regulated her domestic concerns, the duke of Guise was carrying on with great vigour the siege of Orleans, which was defended by d'Andelot, brother of the admiral, who marched into Normandy to make a diversion in favour of the besieged, and receive supplies of men and money, which he expected from the queen of England. Orleans was almost reduced to extremity, when the duke of Guise was mortally wounded with a pistol-bullet, by a young enthusiast of the protestant party, named Poltrot de Mere, who, pretending to be a deserter from the town, had been received into the camp of the royalists, and watched an opportunity to shoot the duke in the back. The duke, finding his end approaching, expressed a deep-felt remorse at the remembrance of his having excited a civil war, and exhorted the queen-regent to conclude a peace with all possible expedition.

The death of the duke of Guise, which happened on the twenty-fourth of February, 1563, rendered the queen-mother mistress of the court and army of France, and the imprisonment of the prince of Condé had disposed him to an accommodation. The queen-mother, alarmed by the accounts of the English preparations, sought nothing so much as to unite the kingdom against the English. The progress of this accommodation amongst the French is foreign to our history: suffice it to say, that both parties being heartily tired of the war, they soon agreed to the conditions of a pacification, the chief articles being the extension of the Edict of January, with a few qualifications for the Huguenots free exercise of their religion, the repeal of all the decrees and sentences against them, the release of prisoners on both sides, and that all the parliaments in France should publish and register the edict to be issued for the observation of the treaty. This edict was passed on the nineteenth of March, at Amboise, and, being approved by the parliament, was executed without any difficulty or delay. Orleans, Caen, Lyons, and other cities in the hands of the Huguenots, returned to the king's obedience.

In this treaty, however, neither Condé nor his party paid the least regard to that generous friend, the queen of England; on the contrary, the Huguenots, impatient to see the English in possession of any part of their country, joined the army of the royalists in laying siege to Havre de Grace, garrisoned by the English troops under the earl of Warwick,

wick, and distinguished themselves in driving the English out of a place which themselves had put into their hands, when their case was desperate and they could not have been supported without their assistance; a conduct which, though it might shew them to be good Frenchmen, proved them bad friends and perfidious allies. In this change of sides and distress, the earl of Warwick defended the town with great bravery and intrepidity, and it was verily believed would have baffled their united force, had he not been obliged to a capitulation by the plague breaking out among his garrison, which swept off fifty of his soldiers in a day, among whom were his chief officers.

The queen, hearing of the distress of her gallant soldier, sent a commission to the earl to yield up the place, and at the same time dispatched admiral Winter and another sea officer, with a squadron of ships and transports to bring off the garrison. The earl, having obtained honourable conditions, delivered up the place on the thirty-first of July; but the most fatal event of all was, that the English garrison, which arrived in England in the beginning of August, brought with them a pestilence so raging, that it swept off upwards of twenty thousand persons in and about London alone, amongst whom were the following great personages: first died William, lord Grey of Wilton, governor of Berwick, a man famous for his great military talents; then William, lord Paget, who had been equally serviceable in the cabinet, and, though he had always shewn himself a zealous patron of the Romish religion, yet was held in great estimation by queen Elizabeth; Henry Manners, earl of Rutland, descended by his mother's side from king Edward IV. fell likewise a prey to this raging destroyer; as did Frances, duchess of Suffolk, mother to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, and daughter to the unfortunate ladies Jane and Catherine Grey.

The interest of the queen of Scots was very much reduced in France by the death of the duke of Guise, especially as Charles IX. who had declared himself of age to govern, was wholly under the influence of his mother, who sought all opportunities to mortify Mary, her daughter-in-law: the Scottish guards were dismissed; the duke of Chatelerault was denied his revenues; and the payment of Mary's dowry was discontinued, notwithstanding the warm representations of the cardinal of Lorraine, whose credit sunk at court with the death of the duke his brother. This made him more anxious than ever to bring his niece to consent to give her hand to the archduke Charles; but Mary, after a mature examination of what had been offered on both sides, resolved to persist in her refusal of that prince, for fear of doing herself a prejudice in England; but withal she determined to evade the proposal Elizabeth intended to make her concerning the lord Dudley, without breaking however with her. It was absolutely necessary to shew a regard for Elizabeth, in order to continue with more ease her intrigues in England, and increase there the number of her friends, which was become very considerable since the death of the duchess of Suffolk, who was the only competitor with her for the crown, after the death of Elizabeth without issue.

In a word, both queens professed the most sincere affection for each other, and adopted, in all appearance, the sentiments as well as style of sisters.

In September this year, a new border-treaty was made between them, in which the stipulations are much more explicit than any of the preceding; but they are too minute to have a place here. In the beginning of December Elizabeth sent to Mary, as a token of her affection, the famous ring which we shall so often have occasion to mention, and which Mary received with great demonstrations of kindness. Elizabeth also inflicted a severe punishment on one Hales, who had composed a book against Mary's title; and the lord-keeper Bacon being supposed to have prompted Hales to this undertaking, he incurred her majesty's displeasure, and it was not without extreme difficulty that he could recover her good opinion.

Queen Elizabeth, having found by experience how fickle the French protestants had carried themselves towards her, resolved to embarrass herself no longer with their affairs, but to make peace with the court of France, if the same might be obtained upon honourable terms. Accordingly, in the beginning of the year 1564, negotiations were set on foot for that purpose, and a treaty was finally concluded at Troye, in Champagne, on the eleventh of April, by which each crown preserved entire all their pretensions; and Elizabeth agreed, by a separate article, to release the French hostages, on consideration of one hundred and twenty thousand crowns of gold. Throgmorton, who had been detained prisoner in France, was set at liberty; and Elizabeth nominated the lord Hunsdon, her kinsman, to carry the Garter over to the French king, who was so well pleased with the compliment that he offered to give the order of St. Michael to any two Englishmen the queen should name. England at this juncture enjoyed the most profound tranquility: her trade with the Low Countries had been interrupted by the intrigues of cardinal Granville, who, foreseeing a war in the Netherlands, wanted to remove the English, and persuaded the government to prohibit the importation of English cloth, a branch of traffic which was carried on to a prodigious extent; but Philip perceiving this prohibition was in all respects as detrimental to his own subjects as to those of England, desired the old treaty, called *Magnus Intercursus*, made in the reign of Maximilian I. might be renewed; and the affair was determined to the satisfaction of both nations.

The queen, no longer taken up with foreign cares, made a progress this summer to the university of Cambridge, where she was received with great pomp and magnificence. She testified her satisfaction in an elegant Latin oration, wherein she assured the university of her protection and intention to encourage learning to the utmost of her power. It was on her return from this progress that she, on the thirtieth of September, created the lord Robert Dudley baron of Denbigh, with a grant of that castle and honour, and the next day advanced him to the higher title of earl of Leicester, the castle and manor of Kenelworth, which had belonged to the ancient earls of Leicester, being given him for the better support of that dignity. He was soon after chosen chancellor of the university of Oxford; and (at the queen's recommendation) received from Charles IX. of France the order of St. Michael. In a word, Elizabeth seemed to set no bounds to her favours in behalf of a person who, according to her own declaration to Mel-

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vill, envoy to her from the queen of Scots, "she esteemed as her brother and best friend, and whom she would herself have married, had she not determined to live and die a virgin *."

This nobleman did not want talents and qualities to recommend him to a lady's good graces: he had great accomplishments of mind and body, an open countenance, a graceful address, a courteous and winning behaviour, and such an absolute command of his temper, that he could suit himself to all humours: but with all this he had great vices; he was void of all sense of honour, justice, or religion; his boundless ambition put him upon aspiring to the marriage of his own sovereign, and, in despair thereof, to that of the queen of Scotland, one of the finest and most accomplished princesses of her age. Such was the man recommended by Elizabeth as the fittest husband for queen Mary; and accordingly, in the month of May this year, she wrote a letter to her, wherein she laid before her many arguments, shewing the dangerous consequence of matching herself to a foreigner, and concluded with promising her, that if she would consent to marry the earl of Leicester, (then only lord Dudley) Elizabeth would, in the next parliament, acknowledge Mary as the successor to her crown and dignity; but that if she married without her consent, she must look on her affairs in England as ruined.

This liberty taken by Elizabeth to advise a queen, her equal, with such an air of superiority, so exasperated Mary, who was naturally warm and haughty, that, forgetful of her political maxim, not to quarrel with Elizabeth, she returned such an answer as greatly offended the English queen. However, Mary, when grown cool, reflecting how much it was her interest to maintain an intercourse with Elizabeth, sent sir James Melvill to London, with a letter containing some concessions, and a proposal of renewing their former friendship. The queen of England, who was a perfect mistress of the art of dissimulation, admitted her rival's excuses with great good-humour, expressed the warmest affection for her royal kinswoman, and concluded with several reasons why Mary should be convinced it was her interest to take Dudley as the most suitable person for her. Not that Elizabeth ever wished this match might really take effect: she loved Dudley too well to part with him to a detested rival; but her aim was to detach the queen of Scotland from the alliance with the house of Austria, and amuse her with a treaty which would never be brought to perfection.

In the mean time the court of France was greatly alarmed at the prospect of Mary's marrying an English nobleman. The queen-mother and the cardinal of Lorraine sent orders to de Foix, the French ambassador at the Scottish court, to offer Mary, if she would refuse the proposed match with Dudley, and adhere to her connections with France, that they would pay her dower-money that was in arrears, continue it punctually for the time to come, and restore the Scots to all their former liberties in France. They observed, that, beside the injury offered to Mary's royal dignity, Elizabeth never could be sincere in proposing to match her with a man who was so dear to herself: that as to the bait of declaring Mary her successor to the

crown of England, she could have no security for the performance, even though it could be done by parliamentary authority, since it was no uncommon thing for one parliament to repeal the acts of another.

These suggestions had their effect upon Mary: but, willing to keep fair with Elizabeth, she consented that a conference (at that queen's desire) should be held upon the subject of her marriage with the earl of Leicester, at Berwick; that the earl of Bedford should be one of the commissioners on the part of England, and that the earl of Argyll should, with Murray and secretary Maitland, be for Scotland. This conference was accordingly held in the month of November this year; but as both parties were insincere, Mary never intending to take a husband upon Elizabeth's recommendation, and Elizabeth's sole view being to amuse the queen of Scotland, or, as it was suspected in that kingdom, only proposing the earl of Leicester to Mary that she herself might marry him with less dishonour, after his having been encouraged by an absolute queen; nothing passed in the conferences but what was trifling, dark, and general. Leicester himself seems to have thought himself so sure of Elizabeth, that he was not only cold in his addresses to the queen of Scotland, but secretly warned the earl of Bedford, the first commissioner on the part of England, not to be too eager in the affair. The Scottish commissioners, on their part, were so well instructed, that they rather outdid the English in their cold reception of the proposals made in Leicester's favour. Thus the affair hung for some time, till at length, as the conferences were going to break up, the earl of Murray frankly declared to the English commissioners, that the situation of his mistress's affairs would not suffer her longer to live single, and that if she did not match in England, she would with some other foreign prince. Mary, however, had other views, as we shall soon see. Thus stood affairs between England and Scotland in 1564. This year died the emperor Ferdinand I. leaving the Imperial dignity and his hereditary dominions to his eldest son Maximilian.

The year 1565 opened a new scene of discontent and troubles between the two queens, and between Mary and her subjects. We have already observed, that she had for some time fixed her mind on marrying the lord Darnley, son to the earl of Lenox: she was first inspired with this design by one David Rizzio, a musician, whom she employed in her service. He had come to Scotland in the ambassador of Savoy's train, and his parts far exceeding his station, it is no wonder that, in a country rude like that of Scotland in the times we are describing, a princess, who had necessarily so great a foreign correspondence as Mary had, put him in a station about her person beyond what he could claim from his excellency in his profession. His person was mean, shrivelled, and deformed: he was advanced in age, so that it seems the pure invention of scandal and malice to represent him as possessing from Mary other favours but those to which he was entitled by his superior capacity in her service as secretary for the foreign tongues. However, the queen at length distinguished him so much by her favours, that almost every one who

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had any thing to ask of the court applied to him, so that in a short time he amassed a handsome fortune: but as he was suspected to be a pensioner of the pope, it gave grounds of suspicion that he would find means to set the queen against those of the reformed religion; and the lord Darnley being a papist, and Rizzio the pope's emissary, it is generally believed that Mary was determined on this match by her favourite's advice: but, indeed, there appears to have been very many reasons in sound policy why Mary should have listened to such an alliance.

Young Darnley was her cousin-german by the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to Henry VIII. and daughter to the earl of Angus, by Margaret, queen of Scotland. He had been born and educated in England, where his father had constantly lived ever since he had been expelled his native country by the superior interest of the Hamiltons. Darnley was likewise by his father descended from the same family with Mary, and would, by marrying her, preserve the royal dignity in the house of Stuart. He was, after her, next heir to the crown of England; and those who affected to deny her title on account of her being a foreigner, had endeavoured to maintain his claim, and gave it the preference. It was, moreover, deemed no inconsiderable advantage, that she could by espousing him, unite both their titles; and as he was an Englishman by birth, and could not, by his power and alliances, give any cause of suspicion to Elizabeth, it was presumed that the proposal of this marriage would not be disagreeable to her.

But that jealous prince's presently dived into Mary's politics; and as her drift was always to keep the royal widow in a state of submission to her will, she strove all in her power to prevent this marriage also, by which the titles of the two families to both crowns would be united, and the queen of Scotland become independent upon her as to the succession; she therefore became now more urgent than ever for Mary to give her hand to the earl of Leicester: and so intricate and unaccountable was the conduct of each of these princesses at this juncture, that, by one of Randolph's dispatches to Cecil, it appears that so late as the fifth of February this year, Mary shewed some compliance to this match, provided she was gratified in her demands of a large pension from England, and being declared next heir to the crown; though but a very little time before she had sent for the earl of Lenox into Scotland, by the advice of the countess of Lenox, her aunt, under pretence of restoring him to his ancient inheritance, from which he had been banished twenty years; but in reality to consult with him about her marriage with his son; and Elizabeth had not only agreed to the earl's departure, but actually wrote to Mary, earnestly recommending that nobleman to her favour, and thanking her for her kind intentions towards him: and the earl accordingly went into Scotland.

But as Darnley was yet in England, some way was to be found to get him clear of Elizabeth's power, before the intended match could be made public: this was effected on pretence of his presence being necessary in the assembly of the Scottish states, summoned to restore his father to his honours and estates. Accordingly leave was asked and obtained of the English court for his absence for three months on that business, Elizabeth and her council not supposing that this young lord would

dare to marry Mary without the queen of England's consent.

Darnley arrived in Scotland in the month of March this year, and by his presence completed the conquest he had made by his fame: Mary, forgetting all her ideas of grandeur, and all her schemes of policy, listened only to the dictates of her growing love; and secretary Maitland was named ambassador to go into England, and from thence to France, to notify and excuse her marriage with Darnley. Rizzio soon found means by his address to win the confidence of this young nobleman, who made him his friend and companion. This gave great umbrage to the English party, who, with Randolph, immediately doomed Darnley and him to the fate they afterwards experienced.

In the mean time Murray, perceiving his credit daily decline, and foreseeing the difficulties and dangers such a match, with a popish lord and contrary to the advice of the queen of England, would precipitate the reformed religion and state into, withdrew from court, and was soon joined by the duke of Chatelerault, the earl of Argyll, and others of the nobility, who thought it time to apply effectual remedies to the impending mischiefs; and their party being strengthened by several who opposed the advancement of the house of Lenox from private views, they set about means to overturn that by force, which could not be otherwise prevented.

On the other hand, Mary, who had intelligence of their designs, endeavoured to strengthen herself by taking into favour all the enemies of the opposition. She recalled the earl of Bothwell from France, and the earl of Sutherland from Flanders; and she not only released George Gordon from the castle of Dunbar, then under sentence of death, but pardoned him, and permitted him to assume the title of earl of Huntley. These nobles and their party were now the only attendants at court, and these the queen assembled as soon as notice arrived of the pope's dispensation for her marriage with Darnley being granted, and asking their advice concerning her intended espousals, obtained their unanimous consent. Buchanan says that even the earl of Murray, when he perceived there was no hindering it, proposed to gain Elizabeth's consent, provided the protestant religion could be secured.

Secretary Maitland, who had been sent to England, executed his commission to Elizabeth, who referred him to her privy-council, where the thing was for some days very seriously debated. At last, on the first of May, they came to a resolution, "That such a marriage would be dangerous to religion and to the kingdom of England, and therefore that the queen of England could not give her consent thereto." And Throgmorton was immediately ordered to repair to Scotland with a copy of the said resolution, and with instructions for dissuading queen Mary from marrying the lord Darnley: at the same time letters were sent to Randolph, to be delivered from Elizabeth to Lenox and Darnley, ordering them, upon the expiration of their leave of absence, to return home, under the highest pains and penalties the law of England could inflict: and the countess of Lenox and her second son, who were then in England, were committed to close confinement in the Tower.

The conduct of Elizabeth, though usually judicious, was always full of duplicity and deceit; but never did she behave with greater insincerity than in her transactions with the queen of Scotland. Notwithstanding that she at this time expressed so violent a resentment against the projected match with Darnley, she was in her heart not averse to it: she would rather have wished indeed that Mary had remained for ever in a single state; but finding that her sister (as she always affected to call her) had less ambition, or at least less continence, than herself, she did not dislike a choice which delivered her at once from the fear of a foreign alliance, and the necessity of yielding up her favourite Leicester: but she had strong reasons of a political nature for affecting displeasure on the present occasion, it furnished her with a plausible pretext for refusing to declare Mary her successor to the English crown, a point which she had always laboured to evade; and it likewise served her for another purpose, still more unjust and dangerous, namely the fomenting a spirit of discontent and rebellion among the Scottish nobility and clergy; a scheme which, unhappily for the peace of Scotland, she succeeded but too well in.

As to Mary, when the resolution of the English council was notified by Throgmorton, she very properly observed, that as Elizabeth had already signified her inclination for her marrying an English subject, to avoid the umbrage her matching into any foreign great family might give her, she was in effect following her advice. She promised however, that, to give time for Elizabeth seriously to weigh the matter, she would defer her marriage for three months. Elizabeth, not contented with this concession, directed Throgmorton and Randolph to encourage the malecontents of Scotland with the promise of her assistance and protection. Accordingly the noblemen began to enter into association, the townsmen of her capital to raise tumults, and all the Scottish nation appeared under a panic, on account of the queen's marriage. But Mary, whatever representations had been made to the contrary, was still dear to her people: Edinburgh was in an instant reduced to her obedience; and the traitors found themselves so warmly pushed, that they actually applied to Elizabeth for support, in order immediately to take arms against their prince, who had not yet done one public act to justify resistance, much less rebellion. Mary however, notwithstanding all opposition, married the lord Darnley, about the middle of July; and drove the malecontents to such a brink of despair, that they were obliged to take refuge in England about the beginning of November. In this distress they nominated the earl of Murray their deputy to Elizabeth, and he repaired to London to solicit her protection: but the subtle princess gave them to understand, that he had nothing to expect from her, unless he would publicly own that she had no concern in their revolt. Having extorted such a confession from the mean-spirited nobleman, in the presence of the French and Spanish ambassadors, she reviled the Scottish lords as rebels and traitors, and forbade them to appear in her presence. Nevertheless they found protection in her dominions; and the earl of Bedford, by her private orders, supplied them with money for their subsistence. Mean while Mary convoked an assembly of the estates of her kingdom, that the fugitives might, by an act, be degraded and banished.

The transactions of this year between England and France carry with them nothing particular. The proposal of Elizabeth marrying the archduke of Austria had been lately revived, but, on the accession of Maximilian to the Imperial dignity, a new difficulty started; the Imperial court pretended that they could not in honour suffer the archduke to match with a princess, who had given such extravagant marks of affection to a man, as Elizabeth had to Leicester: even the English council could not reconcile to their own judgments the enigmatical behaviour of their queen; and Elizabeth went so far as to have it debated at the council-board, whether she should marry the earl of Leicester or the archduke of Austria. There is extant, in lord Burleigh's papers, a curious abstract of this debate, which we shall give to the reader, on account of the instructive matter it contains.

The reasons which ought to move the queen to marry the arch-duke, besides his person, his birth, his alliance, were as follow: "I. She shall not diminish the honour of a prince, to match with a prince. II. When she shall receive messages from kings, her husband shall have of himself by birth a countenance to receive them. III. Whatsoever he shall bring into the realm, he shall spend it here in the realm. IV. He shall have no regard for any person, but to please the queen. V. He shall have no opportunity nor occasion to tempt him to seek the crown after the queen, because he is a stranger, and hath no friends in the realm to assist him. VI. By marriage with him the queen shall have the friendship of king Philip, which is necessary, considering the likelihood of falling out with France. VII. No prince of England ever remained without good amity with the house of Burgundy; and no prince had ever less alliance than the queen of England hath, nor any prince ever had more cause to have friendship and power to assist her estate. VIII. The French king will keep Calais against his pact. IX. The queen of Scots pretendeth title to the crown of England; and so did never foreign prince since the conquest. X. The pope also, and all his parties are watching adversaries to the crown."

The reasons against the queen's marrying the earl of Leicester were as follow: "I. Nothing is increased by marrying him, either in riches, estimation, or power. II. It will be thought that the slanderous speeches of the queen with the earl have been true. III. He shall study nothing but to enhance his own particular friends to wealth, to offices, to lands, and to offend others: sir Henry Sidney, earl of Warwick, Sir James Crofts, Henry Dudley, sir Francis Jobson, Appleyard, Horsey, Leyghton, Molineux, Middlemore, Colshil, Westman, Killigrew, John Dudley, Christmas, Foster, Ellyfs, Middleton. IV. He is infamed by the death of his wife. V. He is far in debt. VI. He is like to prove unkind or jealous of the queen's majesty."

Leicester, who was of an haughty impatient temper, could not brook the freedoms that were taken with his character; and, depending on his interest with Elizabeth, he treated some of his enemies with great indecencies; but Elizabeth soon convinced him that he was but the second idol of her heart, and that she was resolved to suffer no affection to come into competition with her power: for even at the time when she suffered the expediency of his becoming her husband to be debated, she ordered him not to appear in her presence.

This

This severe mortification, joined to the marriage of the queen of Scots, which Leicester always believed to be effected by Elizabeth's private intrigues, soon convinced him, that obedience was his best course, and zeal his strongest recommendation to the favour of his mistress.

Pope Pius IV. dying in September this year, his successor took the name of Pius V. We return now to the affairs of Scotland, which are very material to clear the history of Elizabeth.

After the dissolution of the council of Trent, the pope had endeavoured to form a league with the courts of France, Spain, and the empire, for the extirpation of the reformed religion: at length, in a conference between the queen of Spain and her brother, the French king, who met on the frontiers, and by means of a correspondence between the queen-mother of France and the duke of Alva, a resolution was taken, and measures concerted, for crushing the Huguenots in France, the protestants in the Low Countries, and the Reformation in all parts of Europe. This league, thus formed at Bayonne, was sent over to Scotland, and subscribed by Mary; and the cardinal of Lorraine pressed her, by Rambouillet, the French ambassador, to proceed with the utmost vigour against the protestant leaders, who had presumed to take arms against her: and the cardinal had gained such an ascendancy over the mind of his royal niece, that he diverted her from the more mild and moderate course which she intended to have pursued, and made her resolve on the total ruin of the fugitive lords.

A parliament was summoned to meet at Edinburgh in the beginning of the year 1566, for their trial; and as the crime of which they had been guilty was notorious to all the world, it was generally believed that sentence would be given against them, notwithstanding the warm instances of the English ambassador, who conjured the queen to pardon them, or at least delay their sentence: they were, however, preserved by a sudden and unforeseen accident, which brought Mary herself to utter and irretrievable ruin.

The fugitive lords had many friends in Scotland, and amongst them the lord Darnley himself, now consort to the queen, to whom he had been married but a very short time before there appeared visible marks of discord between them. Mary had been so captivated with the external charms of this young nobleman, that she had entirely overlooked the imperfections of his mind, which little corresponded with the fair form set forth to the eye of the world. He was of a weak understanding, but of an insatiable ambition and intolerable pride; he was mean, loose, and dissolute in his manners; and so little regard had he to gratitude, or the common laws of decency and honour, that he is said to have brought to the arms of his royal bride, the most lovely of her sex, a disease that should never be known out of the confines of a brothel. Not content with these domestic injuries, he demanded from her the matrimonial crown in such a manner as shewed him to be determined to strip her of her own, and he openly put himself at the head of a party that wanted to deprive her of all authority, that they might engross it to themselves under his weak management. His unhappy wife in vain attempted to reclaim him by every effort of conjugal tenderness, but, finding her endeavours fruitless,

her former love sunk into indifference, and from thence soon to aversion.

The discontented faction, who looked upon Darnley, from his disposition, as a proper tool for ambition and treason, spared no pains to improve the visible discord between him and the queen to their own advantage. Rizzio, Mary's secretary and favourite, had at first exerted his utmost endeavours to forward the marriage of Darnley, and a firm friendship seemed to be established between them; but in the following change of the queen's sentiments, it was easy for Henry's companions to make him believe that Rizzio was the real cause of the queen's coldness towards him, and even to infuse into his mind jealousies of the most unjust as well as of the most dangerous nature.

The earl of Morton, the lord-chancellor, was the chief of those, who, under pretence of religion, set themselves up as opposers of Mary's government: with him were joined George Douglas, natural brother to the countess of Lenox, and the lords Ruthven and Lindsey. These had the ear of the weak Darnley, and moulded his mind to their own purposes. They persuaded him to expostulate with the queen on her too great intimacy, as it was called, with David Rizzio; and the queen, secure in conscious innocence, treated these insinuations with the indignation they merited; and, in order to let her consort see, that in exalting him she meant not to divest herself of all authority, she ordered his name to be omitted on the coin, and to be set after her own in public acts, which at first she had ordered to be set before; and, perhaps, from a spark of female pride and resentment, might shew more countenance to Rizzio, after this insult she had received on his account than she otherwise, would have done. The event, however, was what the incendiaries had well foreseen: the hot-headed Darnley, inflamed with rage, resolved to make the favourite fall a victim to his resentment, hoping by his death to remove the cause of his royal consort's coldness and aversion to himself; and, consulting with Morton and his other friends on the occasion, they not only encouraged him in his design, but also advised him to recall the exiled lords, and by their means form a balance of power in his favour, sufficient to supersede the authority of Mary; promising him in that case not only to fix the matrimonial crown on his head, but also to get an act of parliament passed for continuing the succession in his person, should he survive his queen. But as they knew that Henry was no less fickle than rash, they persuaded him to sign a paper, in which he engaged to screen them from any danger to which the assassination of Rizzio, now resolved upon by the junto, might possibly expose them, avowing that undertaking, and declaring it to be done in consequence of his desire. These necessary precautions taken, a messenger was dispatched, in Henry's name, to the banished lords, who were lurking about the borders (all but the duke of Chatelerault, who had been permitted by Mary to return, on his humble concessions, and promises of future peaceable behaviour), inviting them to return to their own country, and binding himself to obtain their remission, restore them to their estates, espouse their quarrels, and concur with them in supporting and establishing the protestant religion.

However, Darnley could not conceal his intention so closely, but some of his domestics, whom he had endeavoured to gain over to his assistance in the projected murder, discovered it to the queen, who expressed herself with so much resentment against Darnley for his base design, and vindicated her favourite with so great warmth, that Henry began to fear for his own liberty, and therefore was easily persuaded by his advisers to have the fact perpetrated without farther delay. That Mary was blameable in giving Rizzio so great ascendancy at her court, is indeed past dispute; and, perhaps, her favour had rendered him insolent; but he might have been removed by legal methods, while Darnley had recourse to ruffian force; and his design, so detestable in itself, was rendered still more odious by the circumstances which attended the execution. A full account of the whole barbarity was drawn up by the lord Ruthven, the principal actor, and is now in print, by which it appears in worse colours for the conspirators than any historian has represented it; we shall therefore give it in that lord's own words.

"Upon Saturday, the ninth day of March, the earl of Morton, lord Ruthven, and lord Lindsey, with their accomplices, passed up to the queen's outer chamber; and the said lord Ruthven passed in, through the king's chamber, and up through the privy way to the queen's chamber, as the king had learned him, and through the chamber to the cabinet, where he found the queen's majesty sitting at her supper at the middle of a little table, lady Argyll sitting at one end, and David Rizzio at the head of the table, the king speaking with the queen's majesty, and his hand about her waist. The lord Ruthven, at his coming in, said to the queen's majesty, "It would please your majesty to let yonder man, Davie, come forth of your presence, for he hath been over-long here." Her majesty answered, "What offence hath he made?" The said lord replied again, "That he had made great offence to her majesty's honour, the king her husband, the nobility, and commonweal of the realm." "And how?" saith she. "It will please your majesty (said the lord), he hath offended your majesty's honour, which I dare not be so bold to speak of: as to the king your husband's honour, he hath hindered him of the crown matrimonial, which your grace promised; besides many other things, which are not necessary to be expressed: and as to the nobility, he hath caused your majesty to banish great part, and most chief thereof, in so far as he suffered not your majesty to grant or give any thing but that which passed through his hands, by taking of bribes and goods for the same; besides many other inconveniences that he solicited your majesty to do." Then the said lord Ruthven said to the king, "Sir, take the queen's majesty, your sovereign and wife, to you," who stood all amazed, and whist not what to do. Then her majesty rose, on her feet, and stood before Davie, he holding her majesty by the plait of her gown, leaning back over in the window, his whyniard drawn in his hand. And then Erskine and the abbot of Holyrood-house, and others began to lay hands on the said lord Ruthven, none of the king's party being present: then the said lord pulled out his whyniard, and freed himself while more came in, and said to

them, "lay not hands on me, for I will not be handled." And at the incoming of others in the cabinet, the said lord Ruthven put up his whyniard; and, with the rushing in of men, the board fell to the wall wards, and the meat and candles being thereon, the lady Argyll took up one of the candles in her hand, and in the same instant the said lord Ruthven took the queen in his arms, and put her into the king's arms, beseeching her majesty not to be afraid, for there was no man there that would do her majesty's body more harm than their own hearts, and assured her majesty all that was done was the king's own deed and action. Then the remanent gentlemen being in the cabinet, took Davie out of the window, and, after they had him out of the queen's chamber the said lord Ruthven followed, and bade take him down the privy way to the king's chamber: and the said lord returned to the cabinet again believing that the said Davie had been had down to the king's chamber, as said; but the press of the people pursued him forth to the outer chamber, where there was a great number standing, who were so strenuously moved against the said Davie, that they could not abide any longer, but slew him at the queen's far-door, in the outer chamber*."

The queen was then above five months gone with child, and it may be easily judged what an effect the committing such a deed in her presence was likely to have on a person in her condition. Melvill (and truly I think not without some reason) says it appeared to be done to destroy both her and her child; for they might have kill Rizzio in any other place and at any other time. Ruthven tells us, that the lords concerned in this murder were for dispatching him in his own chamber in a morning, or elsewhere; but the king insisted it should be done in the manner it was. However, it must be confessed that Mary, on this occasion, behaved with admirable prudence: after having paid a decent tribute of grief to the cruel fate of a man she had honoured with her confidence, she dried up her tears, and said she would weep no more, she would now seek revenge; while the assassins, conscious of their own guilt, and dreading the resentment of their sovereign, detained her a prisoner in the palace, dismissing all who might attempt her delivery. But, notwithstanding all their precautions, she found means to send her commands to the provost of Edinburgh to assemble the people, and come to her relief. But when the tumultuous rabble appeared before the palace, the king told them, from a window, that Rizzio had been slain by his command, upon which, and at his request, they dispersed and returned home.

Mean while Mary, who had very justly conjectured that the return of the banished lords would be the speedy result of the late rebellious proceedings against her authority, determined to secure herself against the malice of her inveterate enemies, by a coalition with those who had been at the worst but insolent opposers. With this view she found means to dispatch her trusty servant, Melvill, to confer with the earl of Murray, and endeavour to gain him over from the rebel party, by the warmest promises of her future affection and favour. Murray, who knew enough of the parties concerned in the late assassination, and of the treasonable force

* Relation of the death of David Rizzio, by the lord Ruthven, p. 27, 29.

put upon the royal person, to be sensible that they had acted only for themselves, and had made overtures to him and his fellow exiles, not out of any real friendship to them, but only to secure themselves a party, readily listened to the proposals Melvill made him from his sister; and being returned to court with the other banished lords, he gained admission to the queen, when a perfect reconciliation was effected between them; and himself, with the other lords his companions, were indulged with a free pardon, and restored to the possession of their honours and estates.

The perpetrators of Rizzio's murder applied to her for the same favour, but she artfully eluded their application, by telling them, that while she was confined in custody and surrounded by guards, any deed which she should sign would be considered as null and void: but finding that they still pressed her to an acquiescence, she had recourse to managing her husband so as to detach him from the conspirators; and this she did so effectually, that Darnley's weak head was brought to deny all that his heart had contrived, or his hand had executed: and having, by the help and policy of Murray, got her guards dismissed, she even persuaded the king to escape with her in the night, and take refuge in Dunbar. Here she was joined by so many of her subjects, that she soon assembled an army which the conspirators were unable to resist; and advancing to Edinburgh, she compelled them to fly into England, where they got leave from Elizabeth to reside: two of them only, who were left behind, were proceeded against in the way of justice, and executed. Darnley, by a proclamation, declared himself innocent of the murder of Rizzio, and declared that he repented having given any countenance either to the conspirators or the banished lords.

Mary in a short time reconciled herself to all the nobility about her court, and them to each other, and Murray once more appeared to be the most zealous of her friends. But Randolph, the English envoy, had by this time fallen into great disgrace with Mary, who accused him of having not only privately given three thousand crowns to the conspirators, but of being the author of a scurrilous pamphlet against her person and government; and sent Robert Melvill to the English court, to have that minister recalled. Elizabeth was not at a little loss how to behave on this occasion; however, after mature reflection, she ordered Randolph home, who had been forbidden to appear at Mary's court, and named Henry Killigrew to succeed him: at the same time she, at Mary's earnest instances, gave orders to Morton, Lindsey, Ruthven, and others of the conspirators, to withdraw out of her dominions; but Ruthven dying at Newcastle on the thirteenth of May, Mary, out of her own good-nature, gave, before the end of the year, a remission to the rest, at the intercession of some of the nobility. Murray, Argyll, and Glencairn, were soon after sworn of the privy-council, and the earl of Huntley was made chancellor in Morton's stead. As for the king, he made but a very indifferent figure at this time, being universally despised for his late behaviour, even by the murderers of Rizzio, for disowning the part he acted in that affair, and every one shunned his company. The queen now effected a formal reconciliation between the fugitive lords and the earls of Huntley and Bothwell,

though it does not seem to have been sincere on the part of the latter, who utterly hated the earl of Murray; and being by this time become a favourite with Mary, he soon involved her in fresh troubles.

All this time the two queens were each of them labouring in private, by their emissaries, to corrupt each other's subjects, and inspire them with a spirit of rebellion against their lawful sovereign, in order to turn their dissensions to their own advantage. These proceedings, however, they pretended to conceal under the mask of regard and deference for each other. Elizabeth had her spies about Mary; and when she sent the fugitive lords out of England, it was with assurance of her protection in time of need, in order to retain them as instruments of disturbance in their own country when time served. Mary kept her ambassadors at the English court to spirit up a faction: and, if we may believe Melvill, that minister executed his instructions so well, that at the birth of the young prince James, many whole shires were ready to insult, and their leaders already named by some of the nobility.

During these transactions, Mary, on the nineteenth of June, 1566, was delivered of a son, afterwards James I. of England, in the castle of Edinburgh, and sir James Melvill was forthwith sent to impart the news to Elizabeth, and desire her to stand god-mother to the new-born prince. Melvill acquaints us, that this princess, the evening of his arrival at London, had given a ball to her court at Greenwich, where she appeared in high good-humour and gaiety; but that when the birth of the prince of Scotland was communicated to her, she threw herself into a chair, leaning her head upon her hand, without speaking a word; upon which one of her ladies taking the freedom to ask the reason of her sudden melancholy, she replied, "Know ye not that the queen of Scots is mother of a fair son, while I am no better than a barren flock?" Next day, however, at the audience of the Scottish ambassador, she reassumed her usual dissimulation, put on a chearful countenance, thanked Melvill for the dispatch he had made in bringing her the agreeable news, and expressed the most cordial friendship for her dear sister of Scotland. Soon after she sent the earl of Bedford, with his relation George Carey, son to the lord Hunsdon, in order to assist at the baptism of the young prince, and charged them with several magnificent presents for the queen of Scots.

The birth of a son contributed greatly to encourage the zeal of Mary's partizans in England; and even men of all parties began to cry aloud for some settlement of the succession; but Elizabeth, whenever she was pressed on this point, put off the matter by pretending an inclination to match with the archduke Charles. However, the duke of Norfolk, the earls of Pembroke and Leicester, with several others, imagining that the prince's birth, which had encouraged them to declare openly their sentiments in Mary's favour, might have a like effect upon their mistress, and engage her to declare that princess her successor, advised Melvill to make the proposal. This he did, but with great circumspection, telling her "he was assured she formerly delayed declaring his mistress presumptive heir of the crown of England, only till she might see some issue of her body; and this being now the case, he hoped her majesty would no longer defer gratifying the

the desires of her subjects, who wished to see one point settled, in doing justice to the title of his sovereign, who would never seek any place or right in England, but by her favour and furtherance." To this Elizabeth replied, "that the prince's birth was a strong inducement to her using greater diligence in making an inquisition into that matter; and that she thought the right belonged to her good sister, in whose favour she heartily wished it might be decided; but waved making the declaration till the young prince was baptized, when she said she would certainly satisfy the queen of Scotland in that matter." The ambassador took this to be a mere evasion, and so it proved.

About the beginning of December, the earl of Bedford, by Elizabeth's order, assisted at the ceremony of baptizing the prince of Scotland, which was performed in presence of the ambassadors from France, England, and Savoy. After the ceremony, the earl of Bedford pressed the queen of Scotland to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh; but Mary declined complying with this request. Nevertheless she offered to sign a new treaty, importing that she should not assume the title or arms of the queen of England during the life of Elizabeth and her posterity. Before Bedford's departure from the Scottish court, sir James Melvill acquaints us, that he was very earnest with Mary for her receiving Darnley again into her good graces; but that princess would by no means listen to any proposal of the kind; and, indeed, the affront he had caused to be offered to her person (exclusive of his domestic ill treatment of her) in the affair of Rizzio's murder, the blemish he had endeavoured to throw upon her character, the danger to which her life had been exposed by his brutal behaviour, on account of her pregnancy, were injuries so great and intolerable, that they seemed entirely to preclude him from all hopes of overcoming her just indignation.

The earl of Bothwell was now in great credit with Mary. He had been always sincerely attached to her family and person, and had performed signal services to both. His courage and conduct, as a soldier, were unquestionable, and he had a most cordial hatred of the English, against whom he had been a great and successful commander upon the Borders, where his estates lay. He had been for some years before banished, through the influence of the earls of Arran and Murray, but had been recalled by Mary, and pardoned. In his private life he was completely profligate; he had, by his intemperance, dissipated a large estate, but he still retained all the means of mischief except money, and all manner of vice but hypocrisy. His appearance, however, was manly, though now advancing to the decline of life; he was equally gallant in the court as in the field; and he had that openness of manners that, with his experience in life, rendered him to both sexes an agreeable companion. Such a man could not but be ill-relished by the gloomy reformers of Scotland; and this very circumstance, perhaps, served to rivet him in Mary's esteem. But, notwithstanding all the malicious suggestions of Buchanan of a criminal conversation between Mary and Bothwell, we should be careful how we too lightly give our assent to charges unsupported by authentic documents.

As the knowledge of the affairs of Scotland is absolutely necessary for understanding the motives of

queen Elizabeth's conduct and politics, we have therefore thrown together, without interruption, whatever passed of moment in that kingdom in the year 1566, but shall now proceed to other matters.

In England, this year, Elizabeth was not without both her pleasures and perplexities. The troubles of Ireland gave her some concern; but it was allayed by the submission of Donald M^c Carty More, an Irish nobleman of great power, who, upon his knees, made a surrender to her of his estate, which was returned him with the title of Glencairn. But her chief vexation proceeded from the manifest affection which many of her great men discovered for Mary's title, which was more strengthened than ever, since the birth of her son. She was likewise not a little embarrassed by the pressing instances the Imperial ambassador made for her answer as to her marriage, which she continued still to evade with great dexterity. But her reputation abroad was now so high, that the marquis of Baden, with his wife the princess Cecilia, came to England with no other apparent design than to gratify a violent curiosity the lady had to see Elizabeth, the female Solomon of her age. This compliment pleased Elizabeth excessively; she gave a pension of a thousand crowns a year to the marquis, and prevailed with him to leave his wife in England till she should be delivered, as she soon afterwards was, of a boy, to whom Elizabeth stood god-mother. About autumn, Elizabeth, who had great pleasure in displaying her learning, made a progress to Oxford, where she harangued the university in Latin, to the no small admiration of the students and the foreign ambassadors who attended. During her stay she affected great concern for the prosperity of literature, and the welfare of the university, which so endeared the members to her government, that she became ever after the arbiter of all their disputes. She had paid the like compliment two years before, but not with the like success, to the university of Cambridge.

Upon her return from Oxford, on the thirtieth of September, the parliament, which had, for various reasons, been prorogued from time to time, sat at Westminster. The friends of Mary in England had now raised a powerful party in her favour, and it was resolved to leave nothing undone that might induce Elizabeth at length to recognize her right to the crown after her own decease. With this view the house of peers, which had hitherto declined touching on the delicate point of the succession, now led the way, and the commons soon followed the example of the lords.

For Mr. Molyneux made a motion, that the affair of the subsidy (which had been moved at the opening of the session, by sir Francis Knolles and secretary Cecil) might go hand in hand with that of the succession. The house in general expressed great satisfaction in the motion; but some of the privy counsellors, who knew how disagreeable a subject it was to Elizabeth, sought to divert it. They told the house, that she pledged to them the word of a queen, that she would marry as soon as she could find a person to her liking; that the appointment of a successor would expose her person to great danger; and that she was determined to delay to a more proper opportunity the decision of that important question. The house, not satisfied with these reasons, and resuming the subject with some

some warmth, Elizabeth, on the ninth of November, sent a message by sir Francis Knolles, expressly commanding them to meddle no farther in the matter of the succession, but to be contented with her promise to marry.

Upon this Paul Wentworth, a spirited member, made a motion that the question should be put, "Whether that message was not a breach of privilege?" This brought on very warm debates; and, on the twelfth of the same month, the speaker was sent for, and ordered by Elizabeth to repeat to the house her commands against their meddling any farther in that matter. This threw the whole house into a flame; and such strong symptoms of discontent began to appear, that, on the twenty-fifth, she found herself under a kind of necessity to revoke, by the mouth of the speaker, her two former orders, by which she had imposed silence on the house in the affair of the succession, and to allow the house liberty of debate.

They were so mollified by this gracious condescension, that they thenceforth conducted the matter with more calmness and temper, and they even voted her a supply, to be levied at three payments, of a subsidy and a fifteenth, without annexing any condition to it. But Elizabeth, thinking this was only meant as a sweetener, to bring her to comply with their desires, remitted a third part of the sum, declaring, that she looked upon money in her subjects purse to be the same as if it were in her own Exchequer. Nevertheless, several very severe reflections were thrown out by some of the members against Cecil, on a supposition that he had the chief hand in advising Elizabeth to decline settling the succession. Her physician Dr. Huick, who was a member of the house, had his share likewise of censure, being charged with having frightened the queen from marriage, by persuading her that it would be hurtful to the constitution and frame of her body. These indecencies ruffled the queen so much, that, on the second of January, she put an end to the session with a very smart speech, reprimanding the members of both houses for their eager meddling in the point of the succession, and advising them not to try her patience for the future; declared she knew how to distinguish the principal offenders from the rest; and that the greatest part of the members departed in her good graces. To shew, however, to the nation her own opinion as to the successor, whose right there was no reason to doubt, she imprisoned Thornton, reader of the law in Lincoln's Inn, upon a complaint from the queen of Scots that he had written and published a book against her right. It is not improbable that this affair would have been debated again in the next parliament, if, in the mean while, the queen of Scotland had not lost herself by her ill conduct, and visibly lessened her party in England. But before we proceed to shew in what manner this happened, we shall close the year 1566 with a brief account of the affairs of the Netherlands.

After Philip had quitted these provinces, in 1559, in order to reside in Spain, the discontent of the nobles and people was grown to that height, that it was impossible for the affairs of that country to remain any longer in their present situation. This universal dissatisfaction flowed from several causes: I. The people's belief that the king had formed a design to abolish their liberties and privileges, and establish an arbitrary power. II. The

erection of bishoprics, which greatly lessened the jurisdiction and revenues of the abbeys, in which many families were concerned. III. The Inquisition, which was intended to be set up in these provinces, and which was little less abhorred by the catholics than by the protestants themselves. IV. The prohibition to assemble the states. V. The king's project to extirpate the heretics, who were now very numerous in that country. VI. And lastly, the interest of the great men, who plainly saw how fatal to them the execution of the king's design would be. They had in vain, for several years, besought their governors to assemble the states, and prevent the calamities with which they foresaw their country was soon going to be afflicted. Their request was constantly rejected: this rigour had at length obliged the prince of Orange, count d'Egmont, count Horne, and several other lords, to withdraw from the council of state, and write to the king. The cardinal de Granville had rendered himself so odious, that the worst was to be feared if he continued any longer in the Low Countries: Philip not thinking proper to recal the cardinal directly, advised him however to withdraw. As soon as Granville was gone, the great men went and resumed their places in the council.

Mean while the Inquisition being universally abhorred, the people began to stir, and shew their resolution to free themselves from that yoke. The great men supported this resolution, and with two motives; first, because they perceived the Inquisition must prove destructive of liberty: in the second place, because they were informed the king had taken terrible resolutions against them, on account of what had passed about cardinal Granville: whereupon they formed a confederacy against the Inquisition, and Lewis, count of Nassau, brother to the prince of Orange, with four hundred attendants, presented a petition to the governors. On this occasion it was that the protestants received the name of Gueux, or Beggars. The governors not having the power to grant their request, the protestants, of their own accord, took the liberty to preach publicly, and the governors was forced to suffer it, and at length expressly to allow it. From that time Philip considered the people of the Low Countries as rebels; and they, for the most part, looked upon him as an unjust and cruel sovereign, who required to be absolute master of their estates, their bodies, and their souls. I shall enter no farther into these affairs: it suffices to have briefly shewn the spring of the troubles of the Netherlands, which I shall have occasion to speak of sometimes in the sequel. I now return to the affairs of Scotland, which more nearly relate to England.

The earl of Bothwell, whose character we have already given, had by this time acquired the entire confidence of Mary, and all her measures were directed by his advice and authority. Reports were spread of more particular intimacies and familiarities between them, and these reports gained ground from the continuance, or rather increase, of Mary's hatred to her husband. The queen seems to have been stung with these reproaches; for, on Darnley's falling sick, about the middle of January, 1567, at Glasgow, where he had for some time resided, she, in defiance of the inclemency of the season, the badness of the roads, and her own weakness so soon after lying-in, made a journey from
Edinburgh

Edinburgh on purpose to visit him, and behaved to him on this occasion with the greatest tenderness, forgetting in the duty she owed him as a wife, the causes of resentment he had given her as his sovereign. This step gave great pleasure to all those who wished well to her character, and they flattered themselves with the hopes of a speedy reconciliation, especially when it was found that she had brought the king along with her to Edinburgh, and seemed disposed to live with him on terms more suitable to the connexions between them: but these hopes were soon overturned by a fatal accident, which was the astonishment of every one, and which brought upon Mary a load of blackest infamy; with what justice will best appear when we come in a few years to treat of this event, as becoming an English concern.

The queen lived in the palace of Holyrood house, but as the situation of that place was low and unhealthy, and the concourse of persons about the court was necessarily attended with noise, Darnley was lodged in a house in the Kirk Field, a place in the more healthful suburbs of the town. Here the queen continued to visit him with the most endearing marks of affection, and some nights lay in a room in the said house. It happened that on the ninth of February, one of the queen's maids of honour was married, and Mary, to shew her regard for a favourite servant, resolved to honour the ceremony with her presence, and therefore returned not that night out of the city. About two o'clock in the morning, the whole town was much alarmed with a violent noise, which, to the amazement of every one, proved to be from the blowing up of the house in which the king lodged, whose dead body was found at a distance in a neighbouring field. Buchanan and others, who have delighted in raking for every circumstance that can possibly fix an odium upon Mary's character, pretend that the whole was a plot concerted between her and Bothwell; that her assisting at the marriage of her servant was merely a pretext to be out of the way when the deed was performed; and they add, that when the dead body of Darnley was discovered, his shirt was not the least singed with flame, his slippers lay just by him, and that some black and blue marks were seen round his neck, whence they would infer that he was strangled before the house was blown up. But this supposition is contradicted by the confession of the criminals; and there is no necessity to admit it in order to account for the condition of his body: there are many instances that men's lives have been saved, who have been blown up in ships; had Henry fallen into the water, he had not probably been killed.

No doubt, however, could be entertained but Henry was murdered, and the general conjecture soon pointed out Bothwell as the author of that crime. As to Mary, she caused the body of Darnley to be interred with as much pomp as the four manners of the protestants in her court would admit of, in a vault, where, to ocular demonstration, it yet rests, with the remains of other royal personages, contrary to the infamous falshood of Buchanan, who has made Mary mingle his dust with that of the ignoble Rizzio. According to Leslie, Mary was inconsolable on this occasion: she shut herself up in the castle of Edinburgh, and could not be drawn from the melancholy life she

led there, but by the repeated remonstrances of her council, and the advice of her physicians.

In the mean while, it appears from authentic papers, that she omitted nothing to bring the authors of her husband's murder to justice; and even the earl of Lenox, father of the deceased king, expressed under his own hand his satisfaction in that respect: but he advised her to call a meeting of parliament, as the most effectual course for discovering the truth. Mary readily agreed to this; and the earl of Lenox having named Bothwell and six others whom he suspected, on the twenty-eighth of March an order was made by the privy-council of Scotland for the trial of Bothwell and his supposed accomplices. This trial came on the twelfth of April, proper notice having been given to the earl of Lenox to come prepared with his witnesses: but whether he was conscious that he had no convincing proofs to bring besides the vulgar suspicion, which was pretty general indeed, or that he thought himself too weak in point of interest, he did not think proper to appear against Bothwell, who was consequently acquitted, as no person appeared to carry on the prosecution. Then a good number of the nobility engaged in a bond, acquitting Bothwell of the murder, and engaging to maintain his innocence with their bodies, heritage, and goods. The earls of Murray, Morton, and Argyll, were among the chief of those who signed this bond, which may account for Bothwell's insolence during the parliament which immediately succeeded his acquittal.

This nobleman being, as he thought, immovably confirmed in the great authority he had assumed in the government, by the late bond subscribed by the principal nobility of Scotland, began now to open the whole project of his ambition, which terminated in the enjoyment of Mary as a wife, and he resolved to marry her by force, if he could not obtain her voluntary consent. With this view he raised a body of eight hundred men, and, intercepting her on her return from Stirling, where she had been to visit the young prince her son, conveyed her to his castle of Dunbar, where he completed his rape. All this, it must be confessed, appears to have passed without any resistance on Mary's part; and, though it does not appear by any evidence, that Mary could of herself so much as suspect Bothwell to be the author of her husband's death, yet she doubtless acted very imprudently, not to give it a worse term, to smile upon him while he was committing a double rape upon her person and dignity.

Next followed a very illegal divorce between the earl of Bothwell and his countess; and Bothwell brought Mary to Edinburgh castle, still with an appearance of force. Some of the nobility, however, in order to put matters to a fair trial, sent her a private message, in which they told her, that if in reality she lay under force, they would use all their efforts to relieve her; but Bothwell, to remove this and all other difficulties, got many of the principal lords of the council to sign a paper, which was something between a petition and a command that the queen should marry him. Seeing the chief part of her nobility combined, and Murray's, Morton's, and Bothwell's factions united in this affair, and reflecting on the troubles of her reign, the parties that distracted the kingdom, the continual danger

ger of insurrections, and her own inability to govern them without the assistance of her nobility, she found herself under the necessity of conforming to the petition in the paper delivered to her, which fatally operated to her ruin by her giving her hand to Bothwell, on the fifteenth of May, after having granted him a pardon for all offences, and created him duke of the Orkneys.

The news of this transaction being carried to foreign countries, filled all Europe with amazement, and threw infamy not only on the principal actors in them, but also on the whole nation, who seemed, by their submission and silence, and also by their declared approbation, to give their sanction to these scandalous practices. As to Bothwell, not satisfied with the honour of espousing his sovereign, he endeavoured to make himself master of the young prince, who had been committed to the care of the lord Erskine, lately created earl of Marr; but this nobleman refused to part with his charge. This attempt excited the most serious attention; and the principal nobility, to whom Bothwell had rendered himself extremely hateful by his overbearing insolence, even many of those who had formerly signed the application in favour of his marriage with Mary, met at Stirling, and formed an association for protecting the prince, and punishing the murderers of the late king. The earl of Athol himself, a known catholic, was the first author of this confederacy: the earls of Argyll, Morton, Marr, Glencairn, the lords Boyd, Lindley, Hume, Sempil, Kirkaldy of Grainge, Tullibardin, and secretary Maitland, entered zealously into it. The earl of Murray, foreseeing such turbulent times, and being desirous to keep free from these dangerous factions, had some time before desired and obtained Mary's permission to retire into France.

Bothwell, by his insolence, swelled his guilt: he challenged to fight any man who should accuse him of the murder; and even treated the queen herself with the greatest brutality, insomuch that she passed almost the whole day in tears, and once even called for a knife to stab herself, not being able to bear the indignities offered her by this ungrateful wretch, whom she had so highly honoured by taking to her bed.

Mean while the associated lords having gotten together a large body of men, with all imaginable diligence and secrecy, marched, on the sixth of June, to surprize the queen and Bothwell in Holyrood-house. They had undoubtedly succeeded in their design, had it not been for an advertisement sent her by one of their number, supposed to be either Argyll or Boyd, who soon after quitted their party. Upon this notice she retired with Bothwell to the castle of Borthwick, which the associators resolved to besiege: and the lord Hume coming before it with eight hundred men, Bothwell fled to the Marches, while the queen was constrained to make her escape, in mens cloaths, to the castle of Dunbar, which was capable of holding out till her friends could come to her succour. Thus disappointed in their first project of seizing the queen's person, the lords marched to Edinburgh, where they knew the people were generally on their side; and, being admitted into the city, they published, on the twelfth of June, a proclamation, declaring their designs to be only "for taking revenge on Bothwell, who had murdered the late king, had

ravished and detained prisoner the queen, and was now raising forces in order to murder the prince likewise; and ordering all who would not assist them, to quit the place in four hours, on pain of being treated as enemies.

The queen, in the mean time, was raising forces for her defence, and the country came in so fast to her aid, that she would soon have been much superior to her enemies; but being ill advised, she quitted Dunbar on the fourteenth of June, and advanced, with about four thousand men, to Preston, where she joined the earl of Bothwell. The associators marched the next morning out of Edinburgh, came, about noon, in view of the queen's forces, which were posted on Carberry-hill, and the armies prepared for an engagement. Le Croix, the French ambassador, an aged gentleman of honour and character, interposed his good offices for an accommodation: with this view he went to the associated lords, and assured them of their sovereign's inclination to peace, and readiness to forgive what they had done amiss: but Morton telling him they had taken arms, not against the queen, but the late king's murderer, and would admit of peace on no condition but either her delivering him up, or removing him from her presence; and Glencairn adding, that they were not come to ask pardon for any offence they had done, but to punish such as had offended; the ambassador, judging by these haughty replies, that nothing was to be done, took leave of the queen, and rode off to Edinburgh.

All hopes of an accommodation being now at an end, and the queen perceiving a visible backwardness in her officers and men to draw their swords in her cause, so long as Bothwell remained with her, she, in this extremity, took the fatal resolution of submitting to her enemies, and sent to desire to speak with Kirkaldy, laird of Grange; who arriving, declared to her, that the confederates desired nothing else than that she should send away the murderer of her husband. After some bravadoes of Bothwell, in which he discovered more insolence than courage, he thought proper to retire secretly, while the queen, upon Kirkaldy's promises of good treatment, delivered her person into his care, who, taking her horse by the bridle, led her down the hill, and delivered her into the hands of the confederates, by whom she was conducted to Edinburgh, where the populace treated her with the utmost indignity. From her palace of Holyrood-house she was sent, under a strong guard, to the castle of Lochleven, belonging to William Douglas, uterine brother to the earl of Murray, who received an order, signed by the associated lords, to detain her in safe custody. This was a house situated in the middle of a lake, and inaccessible on all sides but by a boat. But the most ingenious part of their cruelty consisted in committing her to the custody of the earl of Murray's mother, who pretended to have been married to James V. Mary's father, and that her son, the earl of Murray, was the fruit of that marriage; hence she was an irreconcilable enemy to all the legitimate branches of the house of Stuart, and she omitted no occasion to insult and maltreat the captive queen.

As to Bothwell, he fled unattended to Dunbar; and, fitting out some ships, set sail for the Orkneys, where he subsisted during some time by piracy. He was pursued thither by Kirkaldy, and his ship

taken with several of his servants; Bothwell himself escaped in a boat, and found means to get a passage over to Denmark, where he was thrown into prison, lost his senses, and died miserably about ten years afterwards. An end worthy of his flagitious conduct and behaviour.

Elizabeth's conduct during those misfortunes of her kinswoman, was irreproachable; and though the conspirators undoubtedly trusted to be supported by her, yet, upon the strictest enquiry, it does not appear that she had any hand at this time in the troubles of Scotland. On the contrary, on the thirtieth of June, she ordered Throgmorton to set out for Scotland, and there to inform himself fully of Mary's situation, and to promise her all the aid in her power: though Throgmorton was at the same time entrusted to expostulate very freely with her upon the imprudencies of her conduct; which she received with a flood of tears, and acknowledged her mistakes. This minister had at the same time orders to talk roundly to the confederates, and to threaten them, in his mistress's name, to force them to set their sovereign at liberty, if they refused to do it of their own accord.

Throgmorton, however, found the confederates entrenched within the insolence of success, and that they were acting in such a manner as may naturally be expected from subjects who have their future fears to provide against, as well as their present animosities to gratify. The associated lords were determined to proceed with the greatest severity against the queen, but they were divided in their opinions what to do with her: some would have her banished perpetually into England or France; some would have her brought to a trial in open court, as an accessory to the death of her husband, committed to perpetual imprisonment, and her infant-son proclaimed king; another party still more inhuman, wanted at once to deprive her of princely authority, and even of life itself; Knox and the other fanatic protestant preachers in particular were for this last bloody expedient, which they recommended with all the insolent rage of enthusiasm from the pulpit*. Throgmorton supported the mildest proposal; but, though he promised his mistress's guarantee for the performance of articles, he declared, in Elizabeth's name, that she was determined not to see her sister oppressed by her rebellious subjects; and warned them not to draw upon themselves, by their violences, the public reproach which now lay upon the queen. He found, however, that, excepting secretary Maitland, he had not the good fortune to convince any of the leaders, and was fain to accept of (all he could get from them) a writing, without any subscription, wherein they protested that they had shut up the queen for no other intent but to keep her from Bothwell, whom she loved so desperately, that, for the enjoyment of his company, she would not hesitate to compass the ruin of them all, with that of her country; at the same time professing all the duty imaginable to her royal person, and that she should be restored to her liberty the instant proper enquiry had been made into the murder of her husband: protestations which their actions and behaviour towards the unhappy princess daily gave the lie to.

For now they doubled the rigour of her confinement, and even denied Throgmorton all access to her person; nay, though with tears she besought them to deal more mildly with her, and to let her have but one sight of her son, these fiends of rebellion denied her even this consolation, so dear to the heart of every tender parent. Conscious, however, that it was necessary for them to have the form at least of the ancient government of the realm, to countenance their traitorous proceedings, they resolved at last to force her, by the threats of whatever could shake her constancy, not sparing even menaces of death, to make her comply with their views; and being by this time afraid of Elizabeth's resentment, and that of other powers, they came to a resolution of sending the lord Lindsey, one of Mary's most desperate enemies, with three instruments, ready drawn, to be signed by her: the first, constituting the earl of Murray, who was then out of the kingdom, regent during her son's nonage, and in the mean while establishing a council for the exercise of the regal authority until that earl's return, and a power to continue, in case he should refuse to accept the commission: the next was an instrument of demission from Mary, in favour of her son: and the last, an absolute commission for Murray to act as regent, without any mention of a council. The earls of Athol and Marr, secretary Maitland, and Kirkaldy of Grainge, in great concern for the queen's life, sent her their advice by sir Robert Melvill, to sign them, since no act that she did under duress could be of any validity. Throgmorton sent her the same advice in a letter which Melvill was prevailed upon to carry her, concealed in the scabbard of his sword; but she could not be persuaded to follow it, till the ruffian Lindsey and his associates came to her, who acted their parts with as much brutality as their principals could have wished; and having terrified her almost out of her senses, by their inhuman threats, she submitted to the necessity, and, with a flood of tears, which prevented her from reading a word of the contents, she signed the instruments on the twenty-fourth of July; and these being presented the next day to the pretended council of the faction, at Edinburgh, Morton accepted her resignation, "in the name of the three estates of Scotland," from whom he had no powers, and who were not so much as mentioned in the instrument, the resignation being made only in the prince's favour; a deviation from the commission sufficient, in law and equity, to invalidate the action, with all subsequent proceedings thereon. The unhappy queen however found means to convey to Throgmorton a letter to Elizabeth, wherein she declared all that she had done, as having been extorted from her by the terrors of immediate death.

In consequence of this forced resignation, the young prince, then about thirteen months old, was, five days afterwards, viz. on the twenty-ninth of July, proclaimed king, by the name of James VI. He was soon after crowned at Stirling, and the earl of Morton took in his name the coronation-oath, in which a promise to extirpate heresy was not forgot. Some republican pretensions in favour of the people's power were countenanced at the ceremony, and a coin was soon after struck, on which the fa-

* At the same time Buchanan published his elegant, but infamous, Latin pamphlet, *De jure regni apud Scotos* (Of the Scottish Government), wherein, contrary to all established truth,

he endeavours to prove, that the people have power to create and depose their king at will; and seeks to found facts which never existed, upon principles that never can be disputed.

mous saying of Trajan was inscribed, "PRO ME, SI MEREOR, IN ME, — For me, if I deserve it, against me." Throgmorton had orders from his mistress, who was punctually informed of all these transactions, not to assist at the coronation of the king of Scotland; and a protestation was put in by the Hamiltons, that all this ought to be no prejudice to the duke of Chatelerault, in his right of succession over the family of Lenox.

About the twelfth of August the earl of Murray returned out of France to Scotland, and, in a few days after his arrival, went to visit the queen in her prison, to whom he behaved with great harshness, upbraiding her for her supposed crimes and real inadvertencies, and talked to her (says Throgmorton, in one of his letters to Elizabeth) rather like a ghostly father than a counsellor. Sometimes the queen wept bitterly, sometimes she acknowledged her unadvisedness and misgovernment; and, looking for nothing less, at the hands of her rebellious lords, but an ignominious death, or perpetual confinement, she had recourse to her brother Murray, now as her only friend. This was the very point which the perfidious earl wanted to bring her, and he at last consented to stand her friend, but on condition that she should not attempt to regain her liberty, to meddle in the affairs of government, or to excite either the crowns of France or England to stir in her cause. It was no wonder if a princess surrounded, as Mary was, by merciless traitors, and fearing what they might do, from the experience of what they had done, was wrought to confess crimes they charged her with, of which perhaps she was never guilty, and to promise every thing that was required of her.

As to Murray, that he had held a private correspondence, not only with the Scottish rebels, but with Mary's enemies in England, appears very plain by a letter from Cecil to sir Henry Norris, the English resident in France, dated so far back as the twenty-sixth of June, part of which the reader will find in the note†: there is, moreover, great reason to suspect that he had other intentions of a very black nature; for, not to mention other particulars, he brought with him from France an agent, who offered the services of the French king to the lords, in case Elizabeth should proceed against them; but being denied access to Mary, the ambassador seemed very cold in soliciting: yet this very man (Murray) did the distressed broken-spirited queen, in one of his visits to her, beseech, with tears in her eyes, to take upon him the regency, the government of her son, and the custody of her jewels, which he accepted with an insolent condescension; and, upon a second visit, deigned to give her assurances of the preservation of her life and honour, but would promise nothing as to her liberty.

Murray being proclaimed regent, signed an instrument, by which he bound himself to do nothing which should concern either war or peace, the king's person, or his marriage, or the liberty of the queen, without the consent of the confederates; and then gave Throgmorton warning, by secretary Maitland,

not to make any farther intercession for the queen's liberty, for that he, and the rest of the party, would run the hazard of all events rather than suffer it. He soon after convoked a parliament at Edinburgh, in which he broke, in the most public manner, all terms of decency with the unhappy Mary: for that assembly, after voting that she was undoubtedly an accomplice in her husband's murder, condemned her to imprisonment, ratified her demission of the crown, and acknowledged her son for king, and Murray for regent.

His power thus confirmed, Murray, who was a man of vigour and abilities, employed himself successfully in reducing the kingdom. He bribed sir James Balfour to surrender the castle of Edinburgh, which had hitherto held out for the queen; he constrained the garrison of Dunbar castle to open their gates, and he demolished that fortress. He signed a warrant for the execution of Dalglish, Powry, and two others, servants of Bothwell, who had been taken, tried, and convicted of assisting in the king's murder: but it is not a little to Mary's honour, that, with their dying breath, they solemnly protested, before God and his angels, that they had heard Bothwell declare, that Murray and Morton were the contrivers of the murder, and that the queen was intirely innocent. This was a strong vindication of Mary, and did not fail to operate to such a degree amongst the wiser and more dutiful part of her subjects, that the conspirators had now no safety but in continuing her bondage. It is now time to turn to the affairs of England.

Towards the beginning of this year Elizabeth was alarmed with a copy of the league which has been already mentioned to have been signed by the Roman catholic powers, for the extirpation of the protestant religion: but the malignity of it was in a great measure diverted by the progress of the troubles in the Low Countries, of which we have, in the close of the last year, given some account.

Though the chief attention of Elizabeth, this year, was turned to the affairs of Scotland, yet she did not forget what was owing to her own and her subjects interests in other countries. The term of eight years since the treaty of Chateau Cambresis being now expired, sir Thomas Smith was sent over to Picardy, in April, with Winter, master of the ordnance, to demand the restitution of Calais, which they accordingly claimed by sound of trumpet, at one of the gates of that town, in presence of a public notary and several witnesses. But the French, without any regard to the faith of treaties to which their king had sworn, absolutely refused to restore that town to England: and Elizabeth, whose policy was to spin out a long and peaceable reign, if she could, by putting herself in a capacity to defend and maintain her possession of the throne against all attempts, did not care to be the aggressor, nor invade so powerful a neighbour as France; so the matter dropped for the present.

Whilst this matter was in agitation, the count de Stolberg came into England from the emperor Maximilian, to renew the treaty for a marriage between his brother the archduke Charles, and Eli-

† "At this time I send unto you certain packets of letters, left here by Mr. Melvill, who lately came hither from the queen of Scots. The sending of these to my lord of Murray requireth great haste, whereof you may not make the Scottish ambassador privy; but I think you may make Robert Stuart privy, with whom you may confer for the speedy sending away

of the same letters. His return into Scotland is much desired of them, and for the weal both of England and Scotland. I wish he was here (i. e. in England.) And for his manner of returning, touching his safety, I pray require Mr. Stuart to have a good care." Cabala.

zabeth, who, either to please her subjects, or from some other political view, seemed to favour the motion. The earl of Suffex, who had been just before sent to invest the emperor with the order of the Garter, did all in his power to farther this match; but it was as strenuously opposed by the earl of Leicester, with reasons drawn from the inconveniencies of engaging in so close an alliance with a foreigner, which he said England had so severely experienced in the late reign: in a word, this treaty, which had been carrying on, at different times, for seven years, was, after long debates touching the maintenance of Charles, his assuming the title of King, and the settlement of the succession, was now entirely broken off, on account of the difference in point of religion; and the archduke soon after married Mary, daughter to Albert V. duke of Bavaria.

In this same year (1567) John Basilowitz, grand-duke of Muscovy (since called Russia), sent ambassadors to queen Elizabeth, with proposals of a league offensive and defensive, and to renew and confirm the privileges he had granted to the English Muscovy company. But Elizabeth fearing such a treaty of alliance might engage her in quarrels foreign to her interest, wisely evaded the proposal, and contented herself with sending Anthony Jenkinson (who had been for some years resident in that country, and was the first Englishman who ventured through the Caspian sea into the territories of the Bactrians) back with the ambassador, giving him a commission to execute some private treaties, by which means the English obtained several very valuable privileges, and, amongst others, an exclusive trade for the above-mentioned company to Archangel.

Whilst the queen was procuring advantages to her subjects in point of commerce, she saw an happy end put to the dangerous commotions which had for some time disturbed the peace of Ireland, and had cost her great sums to endeavour to suppress: this desirable event was brought about by the vigilance, conduct, and valour of sir Henry Sidney, lord-lieutenant of that kingdom.

Shan O' Neil had tyrannized over the inhabitants of Ulster, reduced Armagh to ashes, expelled Macguire from his paternal inheritance, ravaged the lands of Macguire, and others, who were under the protection of the English, and openly rebelled against Elizabeth: but upon his submission she created him baron of Dungannon and earl of Tyrone. Not satisfied with these honours, he assembled an army of his vassals, assumed the title of King of Ulster, and offered to hold the kingdom of Ireland under the sovereignty of Mary, queen of Scotland. Randolph, a brave warrior, being sent against him by the lord-lieutenant, routed him with great slaughter at Derry, though the victor lost his life in the engagement. Shan fled to the bogs and fastnesses, while sir Henry Sidney built some fortresses to straiten him in his quarters, and re-established O' Donnel, who had been driven from his country. But Sidney being called away, to compromise a quarrel between the earls of Ormond and Desmond, Shan re-assembled a body of troops, and attacked Dundalk, from whence he was repulsed by the garrison, though he carried off O' Donnel's wife, and retired to Clandeboy, to solicit the assistance of the Scottish Highlanders, who had formerly joined his adversaries, and been defeated

by his forces; he had even slain two brothers of the Highland chieftain's, who received him with seeming courtesy; but whether they had determined to make away with him, or he provoked them over his cups with brutal language touching the chastity, of their mother, they slew him with all his company. Though he left two legitimate sons, his estate was confiscated by the Irish parliament, and Tirlagh O' Neil was, by the queen's permission, elected chief of the sept, by the appellation of O' Neil. Nevertheless, as a check upon this new chief, she received into favour Shan's nephew Hugh, baron of Dungannon, a young man of a very intriguing genius. The disorders of Ulster being thus appeased, the quarrel between the earls of Ormond and Desmond, who had fought a battle near Dromish, was partly quieted by the authority of the lord-lieutenant, who was afterwards obliged to surprize Desmond and his uncle, near Killmalloc, and send them prisoners to England.

This year, on the eighth of June, sir Thomas Sackville, ancestor to the present duke of Dorset, was created baron of Buckhurst. And the duke of Norfolk, who was also greatly in favour with the queen, lost his duchess this year; she was his third wife, and he had not lived with her above twelve months; her name was Elizabeth, she was daughter of sir Francis Leybourne, knight, and widow of Thomas, lord Dacres, of Gillestland: by her death the duke unfortunately saw himself in a condition to form projects which proved his destruction.

The affairs of the Low Countries were much altered during this year. The great men were divided, and several had betrayed the common cause. The prince of Orange was withdrawn to his government, count Horn to his own town, and count Egmont continued with the governers, who, improving the dissension, revoked whatever she had been obliged to grant to the reformed. Then she sent for forces out of Germany, and raised some Walloon regiments. Soon after Philip II. resolved to send the duke of Alva into the Low Countries, with an army of native Spaniards, to chastize both the nobles and the people: whereupon the prince of Orange retiring into Germany, the duke of Alva entered the country at the head of his army, without any opposition. On his arrival at Brussels, the duchess of Parma put the government into his hands, and then the duke exercised cruelties which it is needless to relate, since they are universally known: the counts of Egmont and Horn lost their lives by the hands of the executioner, whilst Montigny suffered the same punishment in Spain, and all the prince of Orange's lands were confiscated.

On the other hand, the court of France, under colour of fearing the duke of Alva, who was to pass near their frontiers, levied six thousand Switzers, with design to extirpate the Huguenots, whilst the duke of Alva should do the same in the Netherlands, pursuant to the agreement at Bayonne. It is easy to see, that at such a juncture Elizabeth could not attempt the recovery of Calais; it was sufficient if she could avert the flames which threatened England. Mean while the prince of Condé, having difficultly escaped the snares of the court, re-assembled the Huguenots, by the admiral's assistance, and had very near succeeded in his design of carrying off the king at Meaux. After that disappointment, he went and blocked up Paris.

In

In short, on the tenth of November was fought, at the gates of Paris, a battle, wherein the constable de Montmorency was slain. This action not being decisive, the prince marched to meet Casimir, count Palatine, who was bringing him a reinforcement of three thousand foot and six thousand five hundred horse: in September, la Noue, one of the chiefs of the Huguenots, took Orleans. Thus all the neighbouring countries of England, namely, Scotland, France, and the Low Countries, were in trouble and confusion, whilst the English, by the wise management of the queen, enjoyed a profound peace.

It was, however, at the expence of her own, that Elizabeth secured the repose of her people. She had to fear both at home and abroad, and consequently was obliged to attend perpetually as well to foreign as domestic affairs, in order to prevent the designs of her enemies. The state of the Huguenots in France made her very uneasy; their enemies were likewise her's, and as there was little appearance of their withstanding the catholics, who were an hundred to one, and supported by the royal authority, she was apprehensive that, after their extirpation, the storm would fall upon England. It was scarce to be doubted that the war which was waging at once with the protestants of France and the Low Countries, was the effect of the mutual councils of the French and Spanish courts, and that the destruction of the protestant religion was the principal object these two courts had in view; Elizabeth therefore thought it absolutely necessary to let the king of France know she was concerned for the preservation of the Huguenots, whatever reason she might have to complain of their behaviour to her. To that purpose she ordered Norris, her ambassador to Charles IX. to intercede earnestly for them, and give him to understand she knew her own interest too well to suffer them to be entirely ruined. These threats from England, the resolution of the Huguenots, and their assistance from Germany, produced a good effect, and procured them a peace; but it was only a treacherous peace, wherein the court intended only to deceive them, and which, for that reason, was afterwards called the *Lame Peace*. Catherine de Medici, knowing it would not be long before the war was rekindled, resolved to be before-hand to prevent Elizabeth from assisting the Huguenots. To that end she began now to hint to the English ambassador a marriage between Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou, who was but seventeen years of age: but we shall have occasion elsewhere to speak of the sequel of this project.

Philip, who was now become an implacable foe to Elizabeth, as well on account of the zeal she had shewn for the restoration of the reformed religion, as through resentment of her refusal of him for her husband, took this opportunity to shew his enmity against her, by confining her ambassador, Mann, on some frivolous pretence, to his own house. On the other hand, sir John Hawkins, an English merchant, who was gone to trade in the Bay of Mexico, with five ships, by virtue of the treaty between Charles V. and Henry VIII. was insulted by the Spanish fleet, which took and rifled three of his ships. These outrages were very grievous to Elizabeth, especially as the merchants loudly murmured, and were importunate for a war with Spain; but she did not think proper then to shew her re-

sentment, for fear of being engaged farther than the situation of her affairs would permit. She had the more reason not to enter into a war of this nature, as at the same time the affairs of Scotland, which touched her more nearly, took a new turn, and might be to her of very great consequence.

While Mary continued in prison at Lochleven, she found means so far to mollify the hearts of her jailors, that, on Lady-day, 1568, some of them undertook to favour her escape, which she attempted in the habit of a laundress; but one of the boatmen discovered her by the whiteness of her hand, which she put up to prevent her mufflers from dropping from her face: the fellows were so honest to their master, the keeper of the castle, as to row her back, notwithstanding her commands, but so humane to her as to conceal her attempt, notwithstanding their danger in so doing. Murray, on his part, was too secure to give much heed to the repeated advertisement he received of Mary's meditating an escape, and had the insolence to refuse a new ambassador from France, one Beaumont, a man of great quality, admission to her.

Mary's next attempt, however, proved more successful. She found means, by her charms and caresses, to gain the confidence of Charles Douglas (brother to William Douglas, lord of the castle and isle to which she was confined), a youth only in the eighteenth year of his age, who, unable to resist the temptation of so much beauty, suing to him in distress, yielded to her importunities, and drew others into a plot to effect her flight; and on Sunday, the second day of May, while his brother was at supper, and the rest of the family engaged in their devotions, he stole the keys out of his brother's chamber, and opening the gates to the queen and one of her maids, locked them behind her, and threw the keys into the loch; then getting into a small boat, rowed her to the shore, where, upon a signal given (and previously concerted) the lord Seaton, James Hamilton of Rochbank, and John Bethune of Pillochie, came down to the shore, with a few servants, and received the queen with the utmost transports of joy. She instantly mounted on horseback, and rode towards Hamilton, where she was soon joined by numbers of the nobility, with their friends and dependants. A bond of association was formed for her defence, and signed by the earls of Argyll, Huntley, Eglinton, Crawford, Cassils, Ross, Montrose, Sutherland, Errol, nine bishops, the same number of barons, and a great posse of the most considerable gentry: and in a few days she found herself at the head of an army amounting to no less than six thousand men.

So sudden a revolution in favour of a princess, who, but a day before, seemed abandoned to all the world, and doomed to drag out the remains of a wretched life in a loathsome prison, may seem to border upon the romantic; it may therefore be necessary to assign the causes which apparently produced this unforeseen effect. It must be observed then, that, notwithstanding the universal submission which was paid to the regent's authority, there still remained in the kingdom many secret murmurs and cabals: the friends of the house of Hamilton considered Murray's promotion to the regency as an injury to the duke of Chatelerault, who, as first prince of the blood, had, in their opinion, the best title to that office: all those who leaned to the ancient opinions in religion, were

naturally inclined to favour the interests of Mary; and even the people in general, though they had formerly detested her crime, or condemned her imprudence, in being so closely connected with Bothwell, the murderer of her husband, now that obnoxious person was removed, began to be touched with pity for the unhappy condition of their imprisoned sovereign, and lamented that a person, endowed with so many amiable qualities, and possessed of such high dignity, should be subjected to such hard and severe treatment. Moved by these considerations, many of the principal nobility began to assemble at Hamilton, and to concert measures for supporting the cause of their oppressed sovereign. Such was the favourable disposition of the nation towards Mary, when she received her liberty in a manner no less surprizing to her friends, than unexpected by and mortifying to her enemies.

Among the first steps that Mary took, after her escape, she dispatched Bethune, a person of abilities, and one who had been very instrumental in her release, with a letter to Elizabeth, to acquaint her with the transaction, and to demand of her a body of forces to act against her rebel subjects: but as Bethune was ordered, after having obtained an audience of Elizabeth, to proceed to France, to ask an aid from that king likewise, Elizabeth thought proper to send Leighton, a gentleman of her court, to Scotland, to assure Mary of her readiness to assist her, both with her good offices in the way of mediation between her and the malecontents, and with a body of forces if the exigence of circumstances should require it; but, as she was afraid of the entrance of French troops into a kingdom so nearly bordering on her own, she begged that the difference between Mary and her subjects might be left entirely to her arbitration, and that no foreign succours might be invited or suffered to enter into Scotland.

The intention of Mary was to avail herself of the general good disposition of her subjects in her favour, and to have retired to the strong castle of Dunbarton, there to wait till she could be either restored to her throne in a parliamentary way, or be reinforced from England or France, so as to crush the opposition: she had even taken some steps towards bringing on a treaty with Murray, by means of secretary Maitland and Kirkaldy of Grainge; and had also employed Beaumont, the French ambassador, for that purpose: but Murray refusing to hearken to any terms that were to divest him of his ill-assumed power, every thing was prepared by both parties to decide matters by a battle. The regent could get together no more than four thousand men; but notwithstanding that his army was so inferior in number to that of the queen of Scots, he took the field against her; a battle was fought, on the thirteenth of May, at Langside, near Glasgow, which was intirely decisive in favour of the associated lords, and the queen's troops were entirely discomfited.

Mary was so dispirited with this event, which she looked upon as the destruction of her last reserve, that she lost her usual courage, and, with a few friends, betook herself to flight, not stopping till she arrived on the borders of England. Here she held a consultation about the course she ought to pursue, and which, in all probability, would determine her future happiness or misery. It was probably the late good offices done this princess by

Elizabeth, in sending Throgmorton to solicit for her liberty, and the assurance given Bethune, which, with her own unwillingness to disoblige the queen of England by retiring elsewhere for succour, and the hopes of forming a strict friendship with her, determined Mary to take refuge in England, contrary (as the Scottish writers say) to the opinion of the wisest of her servants: but, however it was, the resolution seems to have been taken on a sudden, for, on the fifteenth of May, the second day only after the battle, the lord Herries wrote to Lowther, deputy-governor of Carlisle, to know whether the queen of Scots, his sovereign, might come safely to Carlisle, if she should be forced to seek refuge in England? But the next day, without waiting for an answer to this letter, she embarked herself, with that lord and a retinue of sixteen persons, and landed at Warkington, in Cumberland; from thence she was conducted to Cockermouth, and remained there till Lowther, assembling all the gentry of the country, attended her in an honourable manner to the castle of Carlisle.

Mary, the same day she landed on English ground, wrote a letter to Elizabeth, acquainting her with her misfortune in losing the battle of Langside, of having taken refuge in her territories, and desiring liberty to visit her good sister (as she called her), and soliciting that aid and assistance which her former professions of friendship gave her reason to expect. The lord Herries was the bearer of this letter, and was charged by his mistress to deliver into Elizabeth's own hand the very ring she had formerly sent Mary as a pledge of her sisterly affection and readiness to assist her on all occasions.

Had Elizabeth been left on the present occasion to follow the natural bent of her own mind, the manner in which she received this letter seemed to shew that she would willingly have complied with the request of the Scottish queen; but, from such a resolution, which indeed would have been more generous than prudent, she was soon diverted by the remonstrances of Cecil: however, she determined to proceed in a seemingly friendly, but really cautious, manner with the queen of Scots; and soon after the receipt of her letter, she dispatched the lord Scroop, warden of the Marches, and sir Francis Knolles, vice-chamberlain, to pay her compliments to Mary; but, as the event proved, to detain that princess by fair words, in order to gain time for consultation, and improve this misfortune of her sister queen to her own advantage. In the mean time Mary was treated according to her high birth and royalty; but, for security sake, she was, on the sixteenth of June, removed from Carlisle, and lodged at Bolton, a place of more security, under the custody of lord Scroop.

The privy-council being assembled, great debates ensued concerning the manner how to proceed with the fugitive queen: to detain her in England had many mischiefs attending it, to send her into France as many, to send her back into Scotland still more; at length, however, it was resolved by the majority to have her detained, as one taken by right of war, and not to be dismissed till she had made satisfaction for assuming the title and arms of England, and for the death of her husband Darnley, who was born a subject of the queen of England. Leicester, the moment that Mary's misfortunes commenced, became her most mortal enemy, and Cecil had been so from the beginning.

ginning. It is plain, from the foregoing account, that Mary had entered England without Elizabeth's leave, or any safe-conduct; hence the majority of the council were of opinion, that she thereby became a prisoner. It cannot be denied that a sovereign has power to seize a foreign prince who enters his dominions without a safe-conduct; but there are cases wherein strict right becomes the greatest injustice: such was that of Henry IV. with regard to the prince of Scotland, afterwards James IV. but in Mary's case the circumstances appeared still more favourable; she had been driven out of her own kingdom by her rebellious subjects, and forced to take the shelter nearest at hand; and as she not only was in peace with England, but had received good offices from Elizabeth, that opinion was as contrary to the law of nations, as to the dictates of humanity.

It is hard to say what Elizabeth's secret resolutions were, after hearing the debates of her council; they probably were not favourable to Mary, for that princess having wrote a second letter of supplication to Elizabeth, to be admitted to her presence, or to be permitted to depart the realm, the queen returned for answer, "that as she (Mary) stood charged by the voice of the public with being privy to the murder of the king her husband, or at least with not causing strict enquiry to be made after the murderers, and with keeping still about her person, or in her service, such as were accused of being accomplices, she could not see her till she had cleared herself of so heinous an accusation; and desired to know in what manner she intended to justify herself."

Mary, upon receiving this letter, perceived that Elizabeth expected she was to clear her honour in a formal legal way, and before commissioners. This filled her with surprize and apprehension, and she could not help expressing herself as highly offended (in a letter she wrote to Elizabeth) that her good sister would not hear the cause herself, but refer her, who was an absolute prince, to subjects, whose proceedings she had no reason to abide by. However, as she saw no other method of extricating herself from her present difficulties, she sent the lord Herries with another letter to Elizabeth, wherein she declared that she would willingly vindicate herself to her sister from all imputations, and would submit her cause to the cognizance of so good a friend.

Elizabeth, taking Mary at her word, offered to send two noblemen as her commissioners, to hear the mutual charges between her and her subjects. The noblemen named were the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Suffex, and to them, because of his knowlege in Scottish affairs, was added sir Ralph Sadler. Elizabeth then wrote to Murray, in a very peremptory manner, to desist from any farther hostilities against the queen of Scotland's party, and to appear in person to justify his conduct with regard to his sovereign, before the commissioners, who were to sit at York, on the fourth of October following.

Murray was somewhat surprized at a message which had so much the appearance of a command; but he had from the beginning been the abject slave of England, and as his domestic enemies were many and powerful, and Elizabeth was the only ally upon whom he could depend, he was determined to digest the affront, rather than forfeit the friend-

ship of the queen by a refusal. Accordingly, in spite of the remonstrances of Maitland, and several of the most judicious of his party, who represented to him the the dishonour it would bring upon himself and country, to accuse his lawful native sovereign, in a judicial way, before foreigners, professed enemies of the Scottish nation, he, on the eighteenth of September, passed a commission under the great-seal, empowering himself, James, earl of Morton, Adam, bishop of Orkney, the lord Lindsey, and the abbot of Dumfermlin, to appear as delegates from the king of Scotland; to whom were added, as assistants, Maitland of Ledington, James M'Gill, a Scottish lawyer, Henry Balnaves, the laird of Lochleven, George Buchanan, the historian, and Mr. David Lindsey. The commissioners named by the queen of Scotland were the bishop of Ross, the lords Boyd, Livingston, and Herries, Cowan, abbot of Killwinning, sir John Gordon, of Lochinvar, and sir James Cockburn, of Stirling. But it is now proper to attend other affairs, which, having a great influence on Elizabeth's proceedings towards Mary, are necessary to be premised in this place.

After the convention patched up between the queen-mother of France and the protestants, the civil war, towards the end of the last year, broke out more furiously than ever in that kingdom. The court of France made dispositions for seizing the persons of the chiefs of the Huguenot party; but they were so much upon their guard that they made their escape to Rochelle, as the cardinal Chastillon did his, in the habit of a sailor, to England, where he managed the affairs of his party with Elizabeth. The prince of Condé having brought the queen of Navarre and her young son (afterwards the great Henry IV.) to declare themselves in favour of the Huguenots, soon after took the field, and the beginning of the year was spent in a variety of military operations, not much to the advantage of either party. The queen-mother in the mean time renewed her proposal, through Norris, the English resident at the court of France, for a marriage between Elizabeth and her son the duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III. then only seventeen years of age, and far from being a bigot to any religion. Elizabeth, for certain reasons, did not seem to discourage this motion; and the prince of Condé, fearing her steadiness, in September this year, dispatched Cavaignes, one of his friends, into England, with such instructions as were most likely to bring Elizabeth over to his party. Cavaignes exerted himself so effectually, that he entirely fixed Elizabeth in the resolution of powerfully assisting the protestant cause in France, and she agreed to pay the prince of Condé one hundred thousand crowns, and to lend him a good train of artillery, with ammunition. At the same time, perceiving that the protestants were debarred in France from the exercise of their religion, she offered a safe retreat to the Huguenots in England: upon which many of the principal manufacturers came over hither, who were kindly received, and permitted to settle at Norwich, Colchester, Sandwich, Maidstone, and Southampton, to the inexpressible improvement of the English woollen manufactures; for they were the first who brought into the nation the art of making bays, says, and other light stuffs, to which we were before strangers.

The

The conduct of the duke of Alva in the Netherlands was equally alarming to Elizabeth as was that of the court of France: he had now established the court of Inquisition, he had abolished all the privileges of the inhabitants and nobility of the Low Countries, he ruled them by Spanish laws, and omitted no occasion of persecuting with the utmost cruelty all whom he suspected of favouring the reformed religion, in order to extirpate protestantism in those provinces, and render Philip absolute there. The prince of Orange had raised an army in Germany, with which he marched to support the protestants; but the duke of Alva took such precautions, and the prince's army was so ill paid, that he was obliged to take shelter in France.

These proceedings convinced Elizabeth that she had nothing to expect from France and Spain but to be attacked also in her own dominions by their united forces, should she suffer the protestants to be destroyed, and put her upon a resolution to aid them as above, and to seize upon a great sum of money which was on board some vessels of Biscay, that had been driven by stress of weather, or otherwise, into some of the English ports, and which the cardinal de Chastillon offered to prove not to belong to the king of Spain, but to certain private merchants, who designed the money to be employed by the duke of Alva to the ruin of the protestant cause. The seizure of this treasure so exasperated the duke, that, though Elizabeth promised to repay it, with interest, as soon as it should be made appear, by good proofs, to belong to the king of Spain, he seized all the effects of the English within his power, and sent their persons to prison; which was returned on the part of Elizabeth by the like treatment of the Flemings in England. De Spesi, the Spanish ambassador, behaving on this occasion with great indecency, and even reflecting personally on the queen herself, this, joined with the treatment which Mr. Mann had received in Spain, exasperated Elizabeth so much that she ordered de Spesi to be confined to his own house, under a guard.

On the fourth of October, Elizabeth's commissioners and those of queen Mary had their first meeting, and both parties produced and exchanged copies of their powers. But the duke of Norfolk, who is said, about this time, to have conceived hopes of gaining the queen of Scots in marriage, so managed Murray and his assistants in private, that by his persuasions they refused to produce their allegations against their queen, till Elizabeth had given them a formal promise under her hand, to pass sentence as soon as the proofs should be produced, and to support the king of Scotland's party, in case the queen his mother was found guilty; alleging their apprehensions that Elizabeth had only in view to make the troubles of Scotland subservient to her own ends.

Mary, on her part, endeavoured to ward off their proceedings, by a message to queen Elizabeth, which the lord Herries delivered in these most pressing terms.

"Madam,

"The queen, my mistress, who is nothing subject to you, but by misfortune, does desire that you would consider, that it is a work of evil example, and most pernicious consequence, to give way that her rebellious subjects should be heard against

her; who, not being able to destroy her by arms, do promise themselves to assassinate her even in your own breast, under colour of justice. Madam, consider the state of worldly affairs, and shew some compassion to the calamities of your poor suppliant. After the most horrid attempt upon the king, her husband, the murder of her servants, and the cruel design on her sacred person; after so many prisons and chains, the subjects are heard before their queen; the rebels against their lawful mistress; the guilty against the innocent; and the felons against their judge. Where are we? or what do we do? Though nature hath planted us in the extremities of all the earth, yet hath she not taken the sense of humanity from us. Consider, she is your own blood, your nearest kinswoman, one of the best of queens in the world, for whom you are preparing bloody scaffolds, and that in a place where she was promised, and expected, greatest favours. I want words to express so barbarous a deed. But I am ready to come to the effects, and justify the innocence of my queen, by witnesses unreprieveable, and by papers written and subscribed by the hands of the accusers. If this will not suffice, I offer myself, by your majesty's permission, to fight hand to hand, for the honour of my queen, against the most hardy and resolute of those who are her accusers. In this I do assure myself of your equity, and that you will not deny this favour unto her, who will acknowledge herself obliged to your bounty."

This pathetic remonstrance, however, produced very little effect upon Elizabeth or her counsellors, who had already planned out the track they meant to pursue. But Murray having now engaged in a correspondence with the duke of Norfolk, and being gained over by his arguments, Maitland, his secretary, the captive queen's friend, and privy to the resolution which had been formed of effecting a marriage between Norfolk and his mistress, to which Mary had shewn herself not at all averse, was more explicit, and opened the congress with a speech, directed to the regent and deputies of Scotland, telling them, "that whereas it appeared by the authority granted by the queen of England to her commissioners, that her whole design was to engage the Scots to throw a blemish on the reputation of their king's mother, they would therefore do well to consider carefully beforehand, what hazard they exposed themselves to, and how they would draw upon themselves the resentment of the queen, her relations, and friends, and the indignation of all Europe, should they impeach her of a crime which must stain her honour, and in so public a manner, before the English, the professed enemies of Scotland: what account would they be able to give their king, when he came of age, of a charge so bold and dishonourable to the king, to his mother, and to the whole nation? He therefore, for his part, thought it necessary to wave so scandalous an accusation; or, if they would proceed, it was requisite at least that the queen of England should expressly engage to assist them against such as should hereafter give them any disturbance upon this account."

This speech produced the desired effect; the regent and deputies acquiesced in Maitland's advice, and it is probable would never have departed from this resolution, had not Mary been weak enough to talk of the duke of Norfolk's friendship, and proceedings

ceedings at York in her favour, which reaching the ears of Cecil, he caused the congress to be removed from York to Westminster, and from thence to Hampton-court, under a new commission, which opened a way to gain Murray over to Elizabeth's will, and in the end proved the ruin both of the duke and queen Mary.

This management succeeded to the wish of Elizabeth; Murray now thought that his best course was to link himself with Cecil more closely than ever, and wholly to throw himself upon Elizabeth's generosity: accordingly, on the twenty-sixth day of November, he first entered a protestation, containing his reasons for delaying to charge Mary home with her husband's death, and his unwillingness to do it then, were it not that he could not by any other means vindicate himself from her charge, which had made impressions upon Elizabeth, and her council, very much to his prejudice. This protestation was attended by an additional article of accusation against Mary, called by the Scots an Eik, and was as follows.

"The accusation against queen Mary, entitled, An Eik to the answer presented by us, James, earl of Murray, and regent of the realm of Scotland, and remanent commissioners, appointed for the king's majesty of Scotland, our sovereign lord, in his highness's behalf, and for ourselves and remanent states and people, his majesty's obedient and faithful subjects, to the letter presented to your grace the lords commissioners for the queen's majesty of England, at York, on behalf of the queen, mother to our said sovereign lord, presented the twenty-sixth of November, 1568.

"Whereas in our former, upon good respects mentioned in our protestation, we kept back the chiefest causes and grounds whereupon our actions and whole proceedings were founded, wherewithout seeing our adversaries will not submit themselves, but by their obstinate and earnest pressing we are compelled, for justifying of our cause, to manifest the naked truth; it is certain, and we boldly and constantly affirm, that as James, some time earl of Bothwell, was the chief executor of the horrible and unworthy murder, perpetrated in the person of unquile (deceased) king Henry, of good memory, father to our sovereign lord, and the queen's lawful husband, so was she of the foreknowledge, even to counsel, devise, persuade, and commander of the said murder to be done, maintainer and fortifier of the executors thereof, by impeding and stopping the inquisition and punishment due for the same, according to the laws of the realm; and consequently by marriage with the said James, some time earl of Bothwell, declared and unanswerably esteemed chief author of the above-named murder. Wherethrough they began to use and exercise an uncouth and cruel tyranny in the whole state of the commonwealth; and with the first (as will appear by their proceeding) intended to caule the innocent prince, now our sovereign lord, shortly to follow his father, and to transfer the crown from the right line to a bloody murderer and godless tyrant. In which respect the estates of the realm of Scotland, finding her unworthy to regiment (i. e. govern), discerned her demission of the crown, with the coronation of our sovereign lord, and establishing the regiment of that realm in the person of me, the earl of Murray,

during his highness's minority, to be lawfully, sufficiently, and righteously done, as in the acts and laws made thereupon more largely is contained.

James, regent.

Patrick, lord Lindsey. Morton.

Ad. Orchard.

Dumfurline."

Copies of this eik being given to Mary's commissioners, some days passed before they made any answer, because of the delicacy of the subject: at last, on the first of December, they attended the commission; and both the bishop of Ross and the lord Herries, by their speeches, very properly took notice, that the matter had taken a new turn, and that the nature of the commissioners proceedings were altered; because, hitherto, Mary had been the accuser of Murray, but Murray was now of her: they therefore demanded, in the name of their mistress, that Murray should now in person clear himself before Elizabeth, her nobility, and all foreign ambassadors; and that in the mean while, the parties who had subscribed the eik, should be put under arrest till the matter should be tried; when it was promised to throw the whole blame of Mary's accusation on Murray and his colleagues.

Elizabeth found herself under inexpressible difficulties at this demand; but found means to shift it off by numberless evasions; which Mary's commissioners perceiving, and understanding Elizabeth's drift, they, on the sixth of December, entered a protest, that they would proceed no farther, unless Mary might be permitted to answer for herself: they also farther excepted against the English commissioners, and required that the French and Spanish ambassadors might be added to them: nothing of all which Elizabeth could consent to.

The necessary consequence of the queen of Scots revoking the powers of her commissioners, and refusing to give any answer to Murray's charge, seemed to be, that there could be no farther proceedings in the trial: but though this silence might be interpreted as a presumption against her, it did not fully answer the purpose of those English ministers (Cecil and Leicester in particular) who were the enemies of that princess; they still desired to have in their hands proofs of her guilt, and, in order to draw them with decency from the regent, a farce was now acted, which had been planned out by Elizabeth for that very purpose. Murray was called before the English commissioners, and sharply reproved, in the queen's name, for the atrocious imputations which he and his associates had the temerity to throw upon their sovereign; at the same time telling them, that though they had so far forgot the duty of allegiance to their prince, the queen would never forget the love of a good sister, and of a good neighbour and friend towards the queen of Scotland; and she therefore demanded to know what they could say in their own justification.

Murray, thus urged, proceeded to produce the proofs of his charge against the queen of Scotland, and, among the rest, some love-letters and sonnets of her's, to Bothwell, wrote all in her own hand, and two other papers, one wrote in her own hand, another signed by her and wrote by the earl of Huntley, each of which contained a promise of marriage with Bothwell. There were other papers likewise, which, if not forged to answer the villainous purpose

purpose on foot, contained incontestible proofs of Mary's criminal correspondence with Bothwell, of her consent to her husband's murder, and of her concurrence in that rape which Bothwell pretended to commit upon her.

We shall not take upon us to enter into a discussion of the authenticity of these letters, a subject which has furnished immense volumes from the pens of the different advocates; we shall only remark in general, that they were said to have been intercepted during the siege of Edinburgh, by the earl of Morton, and that they all passed through that nobleman's hands, who was well known to be the least scrupulous of all Mary's enemies; and that it even appears, at the time they were produced, Mary's commissioners were not so much as present; and that the collation between them and other letters of her writing, to prove the hand to be the same, was made at a time when no friend of Mary's was present. Surely now there was a fair opportunity here for Elizabeth, and Mary's other enemies, to have justified themselves to all the world, by shewing her to be a monster, as they could easily have done, had the letters produced been demonstratively authentic!

This accusation produced another protest from Mary's commissioners, on the sixth of December, which should seem to be a full vindication of Mary as to the charge brought against her by some authors, as if she had declined to put in any answer to the regent's accusation, or to have the matter farther tried, from a consciousness of her own guilt, and an intention to stop all enquiry concerning the genuineness of the letters and papers produced against her. After recapitulating the many steps they had taken to have this matter brought to a full hearing, and Mary to be confronted by her accusers, which had been constantly denied them, even though they had offered to enter deeper into the matter than Murray himself had proposed, they go on thus:

"Because we could not obtain a direct answer to our petition and supplication (for the queen of Scots to be admitted to Elizabeth's presence) the desire thereof being so reasonable, we did signify to her majesty, like as we now presently do to your honours, conform to our commission and instruction, that we consent on no wise that any farther should be proceeded in this conference, nor yet our sovereign's disobedient and rebellious subjects be heard, to give in any pretended probation for proving of their said intended addition unto the time that the queen's highness, our sovereign, was present and had conform to the desire of our said supplication. And we also solemnly do protest, in case your lordships proceed in the contrary, that whatsoever has been, or shall be done hereafter, shall not prejudice any manner of way our mistress and sovereign's honour, person, crown, and state; and for our part dissolves and discharges this present conference, having special command thereto by our said sovereign, in case aforesaid. And also in respect that if her own presence was admitted (as all reason requires) her highness would not alennerly declare her innocence to the satisfaction of the queen's majesty, and all Christian princes, but also would make her rebellious subjects, for their heinous and ill deservings, unworthy to compeer before any Christian prince, to exhibit so contrived and invented allegations against

their native sovereign, as hereafter to the world shall plainly be known. And desire, before any farther proceedings, this our present petition, protestation, and discharge, be inserted in this conference; and that we have the doublet thereof authentically subscribed for our warrant.

"Presented and given into the queen's majesty's commissioners of England, by the queen's highness commissioners of Scotland, at Westminster, the sixth day of December, in the year of God 1568, and subscribed with their hands.

Jo. Ross, Herries,
Boyd, Killwinning."

To say the truth, Mary's cause was plainly prejudged, since she was required to answer in a corner to a charge of the blackest nature, and upon points in which her judges had declared themselves to be against her; for, after her commissioners had protested against the conferences going on, unless she was admitted to a public audience in person, Cecil and her enemies refused to treat any longer with them as her commissioners, but as her servants. There was, however, great formality, and great shew of impartiality preserved in the proceedings of the other commissioners.

For Elizabeth, apprehensive that her conduct towards Mary might be liable to some misconstruction, she therefore resolved to acquaint the most eminent of her court with all these transactions, and to convince them of the equity of her proceedings. She convened the members of her privy-council; and, in order to add to the solemnity of the scene, as well as to shew her candour and impartiality, she joined with them the earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Huntingdon, and Warwick.

The whole proceedings of the English commissioners were laid before them; the proofs adduced by Murray were examined: the authenticity of the love-letters and sonnets was ascertained by comparing the writing with that of several letters which Elizabeth had received from Mary: the refusal of the queen of Scots commissioners to make any reply was mentioned: and after considering all these circumstances, Elizabeth declared, that as she had, at first judged it improper to favour Mary with a personal interview, until she should have cleared herself from the crimes of which her enemies accused her, so, now that her guilt was proved by so many plausible evidences, and all answer denied, she must, for her part, adhere to the same resolution.

She then called in the queen of Scots commissioners, and after observing, that it would be more for the honour of their mistress to continue the conferences, than to demand the liberty of vindicating herself in person; she told them, that Mary might either transmit her answer by one of her own servants, or deliver it herself to some English nobleman, who should attend her for that purpose: but as to her resolution of giving no answer at all, she must consider it as the strongest presumption of her guilt; nor could they ever be her real friends who advised her to follow such an imprudent course. In a few days after, she wrote a letter to Mary herself, in which she insisted on the same topic.

The queen of Scots had no other method to elude these pressing instances, than still to require the liberty of visiting Elizabeth; a favour which she

knew

knew would never be granted: both because that expedient could be productive of no good effect, and because it would bring matters to extremity, which Elizabeth, above all things, wanted to avoid.

Mean while, in order to keep herself in countenance, Mary had recourse to another device. Even after the conference was entirely dissolved, she ordered her commissioners to accuse the earl of Murray and his colleagues of the murder of the king: but this impeachment, exhibited so late, occasioned merely by a complaint of Murray's, and supported by no kind of proof, could only be considered as an angry retaliation upon her enemy. She likewise required to have copies of the papers delivered by the regent; but as she still persevered in her resolution to make no reply, the demand was finally refused her.

The conference being now at an end, the regent was impatient to return into Scotland, where his enemies were endeavouring, in his absence, to raise some commotions. Elizabeth therefore dismissed him, after having gratified him with the sum of five thousand pounds, in order to defray the expence of this journey.

During the conference at York, the duke of Chatelerault arrived at London, in his way from France; and as the queen knew that he was strongly attached to Mary's party, and had some claim to the regency of Scotland, she detained him in England till after Murray's departure.

But notwithstanding these instances of favour, and some other assistance which she secretly afforded to Murray, she could not be persuaded to acknowledge the young king, or treat with Murray as regent of Scotland.

Murray having thus secured the friendship of Elizabeth, applied himself to re-establish a good understanding with Mary likewise. The Hamiltons and the earl of Huntley were in arms in Scotland, and had taken possession of Glasgow, with a body of seven thousand men, intending to march forward and to fight Murray as soon as he should arrive. Murray apprehending the consequences, before he set out sent sir Robert Melvill to Mary, to propose the marriage between her and the duke of Norfolk, and at the same time a cessation of all hostilities between the two parties in Scotland. Mary, though by this time fully acquainted with Norfolk's intentions, affected to be a stranger to the motion: she expressed herself to be ready to agree to any match that should be approved by her parliament, and to compromise matters with the rebels, but declined giving any definitive answer till she was set at liberty and restored; however, she condescended to send orders to the lords of her party to suspend all hostilities against Murray till her farther orders; and thus he obtained a safe re-admission into Scotland.

Mary now began to think her troubles were drawing to an end, but they were indeed only beginning. Elizabeth was exasperated to the highest degree by some letters which Mary had wrote to her friends in Scotland, which, being intercepted, were put into the hands of the queen of England; and being informed that the pope was endeavouring to raise a rebellion in England in favour of Mary, by means of one Ridolfi, a Florentine merchant; on the eighteenth of January, 1569, she ordered sir Francis Knolles to remove his prisoner (for so we must

henceforth call the unfortunate Mary) to Tutbury castle, in Staffordshire, where she was put under the custody of George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury. But it is now time to attend other affairs.

The difference which had lately arose between Elizabeth and Philip II. of Spain, brought on not only that king's resentment against the English merchants in Spain, and that of the duke of Alva in the Low Countries, but also put him upon several intrigues with her subjects, both in England and Ireland, in order to stir up a rebellion in both countries at a time; which being discovered to the queen by the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Ormond, to whom Philip had principally applied, the English, notwithstanding no war was proclaimed, fitted out a prodigious number of privateers, with which they fell upon all Spanish merchant ships that came in their way, and did Philip's subjects so much damage by sea, that Elizabeth found herself obliged to restrain their reprisals by proclamation, lest she should thereby be forced into a formal war, which she did not desire. The vigorous support which Elizabeth had given to the Huguenots in France, and the treaty which she had made with the prince of Condé, had so disobliterated that court, that it had ordered its subjects to interrupt the intercourse between England and Rochelle: this produced a kind of a piratical war between the two nations; but when Elizabeth found herself embroiled with Spain in the same manner, she ordered a proclamation to be issued, "for admitting Frenchmen to traffic in England as heretofore, notwithstanding the many great causes of offence she had with that court, which she had so greatly obliged, and whose king and ministers she hoped would amend."

While the commercial affairs of England were thus embroiled with France and Spain, they were not in a much better condition in Muscovy, through the avarice of the English merchants, who had injured the czar Basilowitz: but the queen speedily sent thither sir Thomas Randolph (the same who had been her minister in Scotland) to make up matters; and though he had no commission to treat of the favourite point which Basilowitz had in view, namely, a treaty offensive and defensive with England, yet he managed affairs so well, that he obtained divers privileges for the Russia company. Shortly after the czar sent Andreas Gregorewitz Saviena his ambassador to the court of England, who was magnificently received by Elizabeth. According to Camden, she gratified the czar, who, by his abominable cruelties, had rendered himself most hateful to his subjects, with a promise, if ever he should have occasion for it, of a safe retreat in England. This so pleased the tyrant, that he ever after took the English company and nation into his special protection.

This cautious behaviour in Elizabeth to avoid a war with Spain and France if possible, and to strengthen her interest by that alliance with Muscovy, was soon accounted for, by a plot she had discovered to deprive her of her most faithful and able counsellor, secretary Cecil. The duke of Alva had sent over d'Assonville, to reclaim the money that had been seized by Elizabeth from the Italian merchants; but d'Assonville receiving no satisfaction, returned to the duke his master, who thereupon oppressed all the English in his dominions

nions in the most cruel manner. Cecil had been the chief adviser of that seizure, concerning the legality of which the council were greatly divided in their opinions, and a great handle was taken by Cecil's enemies to inveigh against him, as leading his mistress into wrong measures, both as to the breach with Spain and the enormous sums she had sent over to France to supply the Huguenots. The chief of those who set themselves against the secretary on this occasion were the duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Winchester, the earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Arundel, Pembroke, and Leicester, and sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who, having consulted privately together, it was agreed upon that they should order matters so as that Cecil should be sent to the Tower. But, to their great surprize, Elizabeth, who knew that Cecil always preferred her interest to every other view, and that the rest of her council were too frequently led to make the interest of their sovereign and country subservient to their own private intrigues, imposed such a profound silence on her secretary's accusers, as took from them all hopes of succeeding in a like enterprize for the future.

The proposal, however, of Norfolk's marriage with the queen of Scots was still very warmly pursued, and some talk was likewise held concerning a marriage between the young king of Scotland and the duke of Norfolk's daughter, who was about the same age. But Norfolk, before he would resolve on the matter, deliberated with the earls of Arundel, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Suffolk, Pembroke, and Southampton, whom he found all agree in advising him to it; and as the duke was extremely popular with men of all parties, he easily engaged the principal nobility and gentry in his scheme: the lord Lumley and sir Nicholas Throgmorton also embraced the proposal with great cordiality; and every thing being agreed upon, their next consultation was how to proceed in it with safety. Throgmorton advised the duke to open the affair to the earl of Leicester, who, though Elizabeth's declared favourite, and one who had formerly flattered himself with the honour of espousing Mary, yet relinquished all his pretensions, and seemed zealously to promote the interest of Norfolk, insomuch that when the bishop of Ross, by the duke's desire, made that nobleman a compliment that if his mistress's marrying with an English nobleman was necessary for the good of the two kingdoms, he (Leicester) might, if he pleased, be the man; Leicester answered, that he would have nothing to do with such a marriage; but he would be for the duke's espousal, if no other way could be found to be rid of so dangerous a rival, and provided Elizabeth was pleased with the match.

Some little time after the earl of Leicester himself mentioned the matter to the duke, and even wrote a letter to Mary, which was subscribed by several persons of the first rank, recommending Norfolk to her for a husband, and stipulating certain articles for the advantage of both kingdoms: these were, "that she should attempt nothing in consequence of her pretensions to the English crown, prejudicial to Elizabeth or her posterity; that she should agree to a league offensive and defensive between the two kingdoms; that she should confirm the present established religion in Scotland,

and grant pardon to such of her subjects as had appeared in arms against her*." It may easily be supposed, that the queen of Scotland was not long in giving her consent to what seemed the ready road to liberty and recovery of royal dignity. But now the duke of Norfolk took a step, the most imprudent of any he had yet taken: he communicated the matter to the kings of France and Spain, who were warmly attached to Mary's interests, and who heartily approved of the projected marriage, a treaty concerning which he consulted foreign princes while he concealed it from his own sovereign, could not be deemed entirely innocent, nor was it possible that a confederacy so extensive and complicated could long escape the penetrating eye of Elizabeth.

But, to say the truth, Leicester, in the whole of this affair seems to have acted the same part as Murray did, that of a traiterous spy, and that he only seemed to join with the Norfolk party, in order to get at the bottom of their secrets and ruin them effectually with Elizabeth; for the rumour of this marriage becoming in a manner public, the duke feared it might have reached Elizabeth's ears, and make her resolve his ruin: he therefore repeatedly pressed Leicester to make her majesty privy to it out of hand, and, if possible, gain her consent, or at least know her disposition on that head. This Leicester promised to do, but put it off from time to time, under various pretexts. The duke then made it known to Cecil, who advised him to go and acquaint the queen with it himself. This counsel Leicester opposed, promising to open it to her majesty as she went in progress. At length, when the court was at Farnham, the duke standing by as the queen sat at dinner, she took occasion, in a tart manner, to bid him take heed what pillow he rested his head upon. Leicester, who attended the queen in her progress, pretended to be taken ill at Titchfield; and when the queen visited him in his apartment, he shewed great signs of fear and trouble, which she perceiving, asked him the reason. Then begging her pardon for having so long concealed from her a secret which he ought to have told her, he discovered all that had passed concerning the duke of Norfolk's marriage with the queen of Scots; whereupon she sent for the duke, and, after upbraiding him sharply for presuming to treat of such an affair without her knowledge, she commanded him, upon his allegiance, to desist. The duke made her a solemn promise of obedience, and even affected to speak contemptuously of the Scottish alliance.

Finding however, that the queen gave no credit to his asseverations, and that many of the nobility, and even Leicester himself, regarded him with an eye of coolness, he withdrew from court, without taking leave, and repaired to his house of Kenninghall, in Norfolk. He was so much beloved in that county, that he could have assembled a considerable army in his own defence; but he piqued himself upon his loyalty, and resolved to return again to court, and use his utmost endeavours to recover his sovereign's confidence; but he had proceeded no farther than St. Alban's, when he was met by Fitz Garret, lieutenant of the band of pensioners, who arrested him in the queen's name, and conducted him to Burnham, three miles distant from Windsor,

* Camden, p. 240.

where the court was now kept, where he underwent several examinations touching the marriage; his coffers were searched, his papers seized, and himself soon after sent to the Tower. Leicester also underwent an examination, but received the royal pardon. The earls of Pembroke, Arundel, and the lord Lumley, were confined to their houses; sir Nicholas Throgmorton and Robert Rodolfi, a Florentine merchant (and an emissary from the pope), were imprisoned; the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland made their submission to the earl of Suffex, warden of the Northern Marches. All these noblemen, as well as the bishop of Ross, agreed in declaring that the marriage had been proposed by the earl of Murray, and that neither the queen of Scotland nor they would have concluded the match without Elizabeth's consent. However, when the bishop of Ross applied to the queen for the enlargement of Mary, she, in a great rage, answered him, "that the best step his mistress could take would be to rest satisfied, unless she had a mind to see those on whom she most relied, shorter by the head."

While these things were transacting in England, the earl of Murray, on his return to Scotland, invited several of the nobility of that kingdom to a conference, on pretence of accommodating matters, and restoring the queen to her liberty; but as the duke of Chatelerauld, by Elizabeth's permission (who probably knew of the treachery intended against him); and the lord Herries, with the abbot of Killwinning, were repairing thither, in order to appear in Mary's behalf, the regent caused them to be way-laid, and conducted, under a strong guard, to Edinburgh, and, before any of the other lords could appear to be present at the proposed consultation, he committed them prisoners to the castle, and then proceeded by force of arms, to oppress every one whom he thought in the interest of his captive sovereign. It is not improbable, from the general tenor of Murray's conduct, but he could have been content that Mary should have been set at liberty, only that he was fearful her freedom might have brought on his own bondage; nay, Elizabeth perhaps would not have been unwilling to have had her restored to her kingdom, but that she doubted such an event might have been attended with consequences detrimental to her own interest and security. Thus, while they both regarded their own ends as the principal object, and her's only in a secondary light, she had the fortune to be pitied, but not the happiness to be relieved; and all she could do of herself, was to tie the knot of her bonds the faster: if she could have remained quiet, they would perhaps have loosened of themselves; but now the more she struggled, the more she was entangled.

The rigorous treatment of the duke of Norfolk, and the imprisonment of so many noble lords, filled the whole nation with terrors, and several suspicious assemblies began now to be held in the North, where Mary was the darling of the people. The earl of Suffex, lord-president there, had notice of this, and, alarmed at the proceedings, sent for the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, in order to question them on the subject; at the same time orders were sent to them from the queen to repair to court, and answer for their conduct. This unexpected summons reduced the two earls to take arms before they were fully prepared; and,

without waiting for a supply of men and money, which it is certain they had actually solicited from, and which had been promised by, the duke of Alva.

The first hostile action happened on the sixteenth of October, when the earl of Northumberland, entering Durham, tore the Bible and Common Prayer Book in the public market-place, erected a crucifix in the cathedral, and caused mass to be openly said, no less than six thousand persons assisting at the celebration. He proposed likewise to seize York and Newcastle, but was prevented by the diligence of the earl of Suffex. The rebels, however, soon became very numerous, and detached a party of five hundred horse, to bring away the queen of Scotland from Tutbury: but she having been removed, before their arrival, to Coventry, that enterprize miscarried. They afterwards laid siege to Bernard's castle, which sir George Bowes, after holding out eleven days, was forced to surrender, for want of provisions; upon which the insurgents fortified Hartlepool.

Whilst part of their forces, which amounted to above fifteen thousand foot and two thousand horse, were employed in these operations, the rest, in different bands, over-ran all Yorkshire, while Suffex, the lord Hunfdon, and the governor of Berwick, were cooped up with five thousand men, a force far too weak to hazard an engagement. But the rebel-chiefs falling short of money, the only sinews of war, either civil or foreign, they could not furnish proper subsistence for their forces, which for that reason could not move for London, as was at first intended, nor keep in a body longer than the beginning of November. In these circumstances Westmoreland began to despond so visibly, that many of his men slunk away: the earl of Northumberland still kept up his resolution, and remained master of the field till the thirteenth of December, when the earl of Suffex, marching out of York with three thousand foot and two thousand horse, was joined by sir George Bowes, with a good body of both, raised in the palatinate of Durham. Upon this shew of resolution, and hearing that the earl of Warwick and the lord Clinton were advancing against them with eight thousand men, levied in the midland counties, the rebels fled to Hexham, and from thence, on Suffex's approach, into Cumberland, on the borders of Scotland, where they dispersed, the common men retiring to their own houses, and the leaders escaping into Scotland. Northumberland being found skulking in that country, was seized by Murray, and committed to the castle of Lochleven. Westmoreland took refuge among the clans of the Grahams and Kers, by whose assistance he made shift to get into Flanders, where he had a slender pension from the king of Spain, and there lived to an old age.

This rebellion was soon followed by another, still more rash and imprudent, raised by Leonard Dacres, second son to the lord Dacres of Gilleland. He was a party with the two earls in all their projects; but they breaking out into action sooner than he expected or thought prudent, he thought proper to temporize; and being then at court, and admitted to kiss the queen's hand, he tendered his service to go against them, and to that purpose was sent home: but, by a stretch of double disloyalty, he repaired to the rebels, and encouraged them, by all the arguments he could devise, to continue their insurrection; then, making use of the letters of

credence he had received from the queen, he surprized the castle of Greystock (in Cumberland), and gathered together a body of three thousand men. But after the overthrow of the two earls, being encountered by the lord Hunfdon, at the head of the garrison of Berwick, after a sharp battle, in which Dacres behaved with a gallantry that would have done honour to any cause but that of rebellion, his army was put to flight: he himself fled into Scotland, from whence, soon after, he passed into the Low Countries, and, in great misery and poverty, died at Louvaine.

The unhappy people who had engaged in these criminal enterprizes were treated with great severity. Sixty-six petty constables were condemned to the gallows, and no less than eight hundred persons are said in the whole to have fallen by the hands of the common executioner: and the chiefs of the rebels, being convicted of high-treason, were proscribed, namely, Charles Neville, earl of Westmoreland; Thomas Piercy, earl of Northumberland; Anne, his countess; Edward Dacres, of Merton; John Neville, of Leveredge; John Swinburn; Thomas Markenfield; Egremond Radcliff, brother to the earl of Suffex; Christopher Neville; Richard Norton; Christopher Marmaduke; George Stafford, and forty other gentlemen of condition*.

It must be remarked, that both these rebellions declared for the releasement of Mary, queen of Scots, the settlement of the succession, and the restoring the popish faith and religion; and the conspiracy was looked upon by Mary's party so sure of success, that she sent a letter to the states of Scotland, desiring them to enquire into the validity of her marriage with Bothwell, who was still alive in Denmark, in order to have it annulled, and make room for her intended marriage with the duke of Norfolk: and Murray was assured, by a letter from sir Nicholas Throgmorton, that all the forces of England and Scotland were not able to prevent its success. It is surmised that Elizabeth herself was terrified at their first appearance in arms; and that, to take off the equity of the demand of her rebellious subjects in regard to the queen of Scots releasement, she wrote to the same states, demanding that they should either restore Mary to her throne, as formerly, or admit her to reign jointly with her son, or that she might live in Scotland with such honours as should not be prejudicial to the young king's authority. But after the danger was over, Elizabeth, in her discourse with foreign ambassadors, affected to laugh at the whole as a foolish trifling enterprize; and thought on nothing but how she might distress the queen and her friends more and more. Camden scruples not to say, that she entered into a private negociation with Murray, to deliver Mary into his hands, finding the detention of her in England so dangerous, that she would have been pleased, on any safe terms, to rid herself of a prisoner that gave her so much inquietude. But all these schemes were defeated by the death of the regent, who was murdered in revenge of a private injury, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton.

While the rebellions were raging in England, the duke of Norfolk, who still remained in the Tower, underwent frequent examinations, to draw

from him whether he had any concern with the conspirators; but either his constancy, or his innocence, baffled all attempts that way. The earl of Pembroke continued inconsolable at Elizabeth's displeasure; and his great age, his former services, and his penitence, won so far upon her, that she ordered the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Leicester, and Cecil, to send him a letter declaring that she took him again into favour, and was willing to accept of his services as lord high-steward: but he did not long enjoy this comfort, for he died some months after. As to the duke of Norfolk, the queen's resentment was so much appeased by his behaviour that she released him from the Tower, and, upon his engaging to relinquish all farther thoughts of the Scottish alliance, she allowed him to live in his own house under a slight guard.

France was this whole year distracted with the continuance of the civil war. On the thirteenth of March was fought the battle of Jarnac, wherein the prince of Condé was killed; d'Andelot, the admiral's brother, did not long survive him. Some time after, the duke of Deuxponts led an army into France to the assistance of the Huguenots; but died there in June, leaving the command of the army to count Mansfeldt, who joined the admiral. With this reinforcement the admiral laid siege to Poitiers, but was forced to raise it in September. In October the Huguenots lost the battle of Moncontour. This defeat obliged the admiral to send for a speedy aid from Elizabeth, who lent him money upon the queen of Navarre's jewels, which were sent to her in pawn: she also furnished a company of gentlemen volunteers, to be raised to serve in the army of the Huguenots. The campaign ended with the taking of St. Jean d'Angeli, which the king became master of before the end of October.

The duke of Alva still continued his oppressions in the Netherlands. The Inquisition, which he had set up, acted with the most bloody fury against the wretched protestants; and all who had the temerity to appeal to the king against the rigorous treatment they suffered, were punished without mercy: in short, these provinces were now considered by the Spaniards but as a conquered country, and every method taken to drive them to despair.

The death of the earl of Murray, regent of Scotland, which happened on the twenty-third of January, 1570, involved that kingdom in its former anarchy; for, immediately upon his assassination, a large body of Scots, under the command of Walter Scot, and Thomas Carr, or Ker, of Fernherst, entering England, ravaged the places where they came with greater cruelty than had been practised even in the most barbarous times between those two nations. This seems to have been done on purpose to provoke England to revenge these affronts on all the Scots without distinction, and thus to revive the old enmity between the two people, and unite all the Scots against the English; whilst the more zealous papists were to act their part in this kingdom: and, indeed, this intention is in a manner confirmed by an embassy to the duke of Alva from the Hamiltons, and the pope's bull which was soon after issued to stir up Elizabeth's subjects to rebellion, as will be hereafter shewn.

* Camden, p. 422, 423.

As Mary's party had resolved to bring the state into confusion by the regent's death, so they had address enough, under the specious pretence of conferring the regency on a person to be approved by both parties, to put off the election of a new regent till the great men on all sides should concur in such a choice: but as this was barely a feint to gain time to see how the court of England would behave under the late unprovoked ravages on their borders, Elizabeth and her council were too wise to give into the snare; on the contrary, the more they perceived the Hamiltonian scheme to be to unite the Scots in one interest, the more they judged it necessary to keep them divided, nothing being found more advantageous to Elizabeth's politics than to tie up her neighbours hands, by cutting them out a sufficiency of work at home, through the stirring up or encouraging intestine broils and confusion among them.

With this view Randolph, who had now returned from Muscovy and was made post-master-general, was dispatched to Scotland, to assure the king's party (as we must henceforward denominate those who headed the opposition against Mary, and had the young king in their hands), that she could not suppose them guilty of being concerned in the late unprecedented insult upon her subjects, nor was inclined to cast the blame on the whole nation; on the contrary, she offered her assistance to the young king to resettle the affairs of his kingdom, and to redress the great disorders that had been committed by Mary's friends upon the Borders; adding farther, that should her so friendly offers be rejected, she was ready to do herself justice by force of arms, which should attack, not the whole nation, but only take condign vengeance on such as had wantonly, and without the least provocation, insulted her crown and dignity.

This declaration, which was delivered by Randolph to an assembly of the states, on the tenth of April, discovered all the measures of Mary's friends, and all they could do was to take advantage of the excuse which the anarchy furnished the ministry with, namely, to put off their answer to the first of May, when the states were again to re-assemble. In the mean time both parties set all their political talents to work: Elizabeth prepared an army to give weight to her counsels, her ambassador artfully cherished the divisions of Scotland while he seemed to be labouring to promote its union; and the queen of Scotland's party employed the keenest writers they could engage to try what they could do, by publishing libels and the most provoking sarcasms upon Elizabeth and her council, to urge them to a general rupture.

Elizabeth's army being ready, and it being apparent that Mary's party, which grew daily stronger, waited only for promised succours from France and Spain, to enable them to carry their purposes against England into execution, she ordered it to march to Berwick, under the command of the earl of Suffex, to revenge her subjects, to support the king's party, and to influence the election of a regent that should be a friend to the interests of England. Accordingly the earl of Suffex, the lord Hunston, and the lord Scroop, warden of the Western Marches, entered Scotland on the eighteenth of April, and, in the space of a few weeks, razed, burned, and overthrew above three hundred towns and villages; but at the same time these

generals declared against taking part in the quarrels of the two factions, though it visibly appeared by the whole of their conduct, that their orders were to oppress Mary's friends and countenance the king's party to the utmost of their power; and as the former were not in a condition to defend themselves, they could not hinder a resolution of the states, assembled in the beginning of July, in the king's name, by the earl of Morton, the chief of that faction, by which they chose the earl of Lenox their regent, upon the recommendation of Elizabeth; and he was accordingly invested with that high office on the twelfth of the same month.

But, notwithstanding this instance of partiality to Mary's enemies, Elizabeth still maintained her ambiguous conduct, and preserved the appearance of friendship with that princess: at the request of the bishop of Ross, and her other agents, as well as of some foreign ambassadors, she now procured a suspension of hostilities between the Scottish factions, and by that means checked the progress of the king's party, when they appeared likely to gain too considerable advantages over their opponents. By this variable conduct did the artful Elizabeth feed the flames of discord in Scotland, and rendered the whole country a scene of desolation and bloodshed. Throgmorton, who now remained under confinement in his house at Carshalton, scrupled not to load Cecil with all the blame of so perfidious a dealing, which, however reconcileable it may be to the policy of the sovereign or her ministers, is the disgrace of honour and humanity.

As a counter-scheme to these machinations of Elizabeth, several schemes were set on foot to procure the deliverance of the captive queen of Scots, who was now more closely confined than ever; and the instruments to carry on those schemes were appointed and supported by France, Spain, and the pope. Charles IX. sent Montluc, bishop of Valence, to London, to join with the Spanish ambassador in soliciting her enlargement of Elizabeth in a public manner, and at the same time to raise, if possible, a strong party to back them, in case of need: but when not all the instances of these ambassadors wrought any effect on Elizabeth, pope Pius V. tried to terrify her into a compliance, by fulminating forth a bull of excommunication against her, which was fastened, in the night-time, upon the gate of the bishop of London's palace, wherein he absolved all the queen's subjects from their oath of allegiance, or any other duty to her, and pronounced anathema against all who should continue to acknowledge or serve her as their sovereign. This bull was affixed by one John Felton, who, being seized, boldly owned the fact, for which he was arraigned, and hanged in Aldersgate-street, opposite the said palace. Upon this several insurrections presently began in different parts of the kingdom. John Throgmorton, brother to sir Nicholas, was detected of a design to take up arms, and executed for the same. It was also discovered that sir Thomas and sir Edward Stanley, two younger sons of the earl of Derby, by a daughter of the duke of Norfolk, had plotted to carry off the queen of Scotland, and set her at liberty; and as John Lesley, bishop of Ross, who acted as Mary's ambassador, was accused of being the chief promoter of these plots, it was thought proper to confine him prisoner in the bishop of London's palace.

The longer Mary continued in England, and the more closely she was confined, the more Elizabeth found her own dangers increase, both at home and abroad. She had been this summer upon a progress; on her return she feigned to listen more kindly than ever to the pressing remonstrances made in her favour by the ambassadors of foreign powers to release her captive sister; she even pretended that she desired nothing more earnestly than to find means to restore Mary to her royal dignity, provided it could be done without danger to England: and, the more easily to amuse and deceive that princess and her friends, she, in the beginning of October, dispatched secretary Cecil and sir Walter Mildmay, chancellor of the Exchequer, to Mary, who was then removed to Chatworth, in Derbyshire, to propose certain articles of agreement for her deliverance. The terms were somewhat rigorous, and such as the captive queen might expect from a jealous rival, whereby they bore a greater semblance of sincerity on the part of the English court.

"It was required that the treaty of Edinburgh should be ratified: that Mary should renounce her claim to the crown of England during the life of queen Elizabeth, and her heirs lawfully begotten: that she should not enter into any confederacy against England, nor permit foreign forces to land in Scotland, nor maintain correspondence with the English or Irish, but with the consent of Elizabeth: that she should deliver up the English fugitives who had taken refuge in Scotland; and repair the damage done to the English frontier: that she should punish the murderers of her husband and the earl of Murray, and send her son to be educated in England: that she should not marry an Englishman without the consent of Elizabeth, nor any other person except such as should be approved by the estates of Scotland: that her subjects should not cross the sea into Ireland, without permission from the queen of England: that this treaty should be signed by Mary and her delegates: that, for the ratification of the articles, six hostages, to be named by Elizabeth, should be sent into England: that Mary, by engaging in any attempt against the queen of England, should forfeit all title of succession to the crown: that Hume castle and Fast castle should remain three years in possession of the English; and some other fort, in Galloway or Cantyre, be delivered to Elizabeth, for preventing the Scots from infesting Ireland: and lastly, that the estates of Scotland should ratify these articles by act of parliament."

Queen Mary referred Cecil and Mildmay for an answer to the bishop of Ross, her ambassador, the bishop of Galloway, who was uncle to the earl of Huntley, and William, lord Levingston, who were delegates from her lieutenants in Scotland. These agreed to some of the articles, but refused to renounce the ancient league with France, because the queen would lose her dowry, and the Scottish nation forfeit the valuable privileges they enjoyed in that kingdom. "They promised that no foreign troops should be admitted into Scotland, except in case of a rebellion which could not be suppressed by the domestic forces of the nation: that the queen of Scotland should not maintain any correspondence with the subjects of England to the prejudice of Elizabeth, provided this last would enter into the same engagement with respect to the subjects of Mary: they said they could not deliver the

prince to Elizabeth, because they were not masters of his person: that the demand with respect to the queen's marriage was altogether unreasonable, considering she was an independent princess: that the Scots should not molest Ireland, provided the Irish were prohibited from making descents on Scotland: that any hostages required, should be given, except the duke of Chatelerault, the earls of Huntley, Argyll, and Athol: that Mary should forfeit her title to the crown of England, according to the proposal on that subject, provided that queen Elizabeth should be restrained by the same penalty from attempting aught to the prejudice of the Scottish queen: but they absolutely insisted on Elizabeth's restoring Hume castle and Fast castle to the proprietor, and refused to deliver any fortresses, either in Galloway or Cantyre, into the hands of a foreigner." After these articles had been debated twenty days successively, the English commissioners returned, and made such a report to Elizabeth, that she declared herself perfectly well satisfied with the answers of the Scottish queen, and said, she did not doubt that the only difference remaining, would be removed at the arrival of the commissioners from the regent of Scotland, without whose consent the young prince could not be conveyed to England.

But it was not long before she altered her language, but without seeming to alter her sentiments; for she pretended, that before the treaty could be either ratified or executed, it was necessary to have the consent of the earl of Lenox and the nobility of the country; and it was agreed that the queen should require Lenox, the regent, to send up commissioners to treat of conditions, under her mediation. At the same time Elizabeth took care to support the spirits of the king's party, by informing them, through Cecil, that all the proposals she had done were so far from being irrevocably fixed, that they were to be canvassed anew in the conference, and that it should be her care effectually to provide for their future safety. Hereupon Lenox convened the Scottish parliament, and, laying before them the transactions in England, and the dispatches he had received from the queen, they proceeded to nominate commissioners for ending the treaty; these were the earl of Morton, the abbot of Dumfermling, who had been made secretary of state in the room of Maitland of Lethington, and sir James McGill, a famous civilian. In this situation were affairs between the courts of England and Scotland at the close of the year 1570.

In Ireland, Connor O'Brien, earl of Thomond, being disgusted with the government of Edward Fitton, president of Connaught, entered into a consultation with other malecontents, to raise a new rebellion; and they had taken their measures so well, that they were on the point of making themselves masters of the president's person, and of the whole province, when their plot was frustrated by an odd accident: the day before they were to have executed their project, Fitton, who knew nothing of their design, sent the earl word in a friendly manner, that the next day he, and a few friends with him, would come to be his guests. The earl, struck with conscious guilt, imagined that his machinations were all discovered, and that Fitton meant to make him his prisoner under the pretence of a visit, and thereupon, in a violent panic, took shipping and fled over to France, where he confessed the

the whole plot to Norris, the queen's ambassador there, and, by his intercession and his own submission, and promises of future loyalty, he was afterwards pardoned and restored.

This year also produced a peace to the French Huguenots, which was concluded at St. Germain en Laye. This peace, though made by the queen-mother (Catherine de Medici) with a wicked view, bore a good appearance to the protestant cause, nor could the Huguenots have hoped for a better, in the most prosperous situation of their affairs: among other advantages, Rochelle was suffered to continue in their hands, by which they still retained their communication with England.

In the Low Countries, the duke of Alva continued his infamous cruelties: and being in want of money to pay his troops, imposed the most arbitrary taxes on the people. He not only required the hundredth penny, and the twentieth of all immoveable goods; he also demanded the tenth of all moveable goods on every sale: an absurd tyranny, which would not only have destroyed all arts and commerce, but even have restrained the common intercourse of life. The people refused compliance; the duke had recourse to his usual expedient of hanging. And thus matters came still nearer the last extremity between the Flemings and the Spaniards.

We enter now upon the year 1571, which began in Elizabeth's court with a commission to her faithful and most trusty servant and secretary, sir William Cecil (whom she now created baron of Burleigh), and to Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester; Radcliff, earl of Suffex; sir Nicholas Bacon, lord-keeper; Vere, earl of Oxford, lord-chamberlain; sir Walter Mildmay, and sir Francis Knolles, all privy-counsellors, to hear the reasons for and against the queen of Scots, alleged by the deputies from Scotland already mentioned, and those for queen Mary, who were the bishops of Ross and Galloway, with the lord Levingston*. The conference was opened at London, on the twentieth of February, but was spun out, in the same manner as the former, with fruitless enquiries and remonstrances, and at last broke up, on the eighteenth of April, without coming to any determination, Elizabeth's sole aim being to gain time, and to furnish herself with a plausible answer to the French king's unremitting solicitations in behalf of the captive queen, who, upon finding herself thus trifled with, and that the treaty of Chatworth was not likely to be ratified, lost all patience, and loaded Elizabeth and her council with the most bitter reproaches. This so nettled Elizabeth, that at first she ordered the bishop of Ross to leave London, with the other commissioners; but he pleaded the commands of his mistress for his remaining there: Elizabeth repeated her orders, and he his plea, till at last he drove her to the alternative, either to suffer him to remain in London, or to deny his privilege as an ambassador of an independent prince.

Upon the breaking up of the conferences in England, all Scotland became a scene of blood and confusion: the truce between the two factions was now expired, and the regent, Lenox, began hostilities with the surprize of the castle of Dunbarton, which was still kept for Mary by the lord Fleming, but in so careless a manner, that when it was at-

tacked, the garrison had no time to save either their persons, their effects, or their papers. Amongst the prisoners was Hall, who had been deeply concerned in the late rebellions in the North of England; Verac, the French agent; and James Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, an inveterate enemy to all Englishmen. Hall was sent to England, and there executed; Verac was sent prisoner to St. Andrew's, but afterwards suffered to go to France; but the archbishop of St. Andrew's, being extremely obnoxious to the regent and his party, it was resolved to get rid of him at any rate; accordingly he was proceeded against as an accessory in Darnley's murder, on the evidence of a priest, who declared that he had revealed the same to him in confession; upon which the archbishop was condemned, and publicly executed on a gallows at Stirling.

Sir Nicholas Throgmorton during all the last year, had been kept in confinement, either in London or at his own house at Carlhalton; but perceiving that the earl of Leicester had abandoned his former party, in the matter of the duke of Norfolk's marriage with the queen of Scotland, both the duke and he threw themselves upon Cecil's friendship, who did them many services with Elizabeth: but Throgmorton, being soon after set at liberty, died suddenly at an entertainment in Leicester's house, and the public did not spare to load Leicester with the blame of having poisoned him, from an apprehension that he might make discoveries to his prejudice.

In the mean while Mary's party in England grew very alert, and more bold than ever, which gave a suspicion that some new plot was hatching against Elizabeth and her ministry, who being persuaded that nothing but a marriage could secure their queen from so many conspiracies, which were daily renewed, importuned her so much, that at last Elizabeth yielded for them to resume the negotiations for her marriage with the duke of Anjou; though, as it afterwards appeared, she never had any intention that the match should take place.

Soon after the peace of St. Germain en Laye was concluded, Elizabeth had recalled Norris from his embassy in France, to make room for sir Francis Walsingham, who was a creature of Cecil's (now lord Burleigh), and sent to reside in that court, to take care of Elizabeth's interests, and to countermine the many plots which the papists had formed against her crown. Walsingham was in all respects, as a statesman, a very extraordinary person: his sagacity in tracing all the windings of a conspiracy, is perhaps not to be paralleled; his intelligence being so admirable, that it gave him as it were a key to every cabinet in Europe. This man, therefore, was thought the most proper person to manage the affair of the projected marriage, and he had orders to talk at the court of France as if Elizabeth was sincerely resolved upon it, provided that court was equally well disposed. This brought on a negotiation, which took up great part of the summer, and was managed by Walsingham, on the part of Elizabeth, at the court of France; and here by the French ambassadors, Mauvassiere and la Motte Fernelon.

Towards the end of August each party was brought to state their respective demands: those of

* Spotswood, p. 248.

the court of France were, "that the duke of Anjou might be crowned king; secondly, that he might be joined in the administration of public affairs; and lastly, that he should have a toleration for his religion." The two first were points that had been already settled in the former negotiation between Elizabeth and the archduke Charles; and she readily agreed that the duke of Anjou should have the matrimonial crown, and be admitted to the joint-administration; but insisted "that the duke, if she thought proper to make him her consort, should promise to accompany her whenever she went to chapel, and not refuse to hear and learn the principles of the church of England; and that his domestics should use no rites and ceremonies repugnant to the church of God, and those only in a private place, and so as the people might not take occasion from thence to violate the established laws of the land*." After various conferences, in which the French court endeavoured to render Elizabeth more flexible on the point of religion, while she still persisted unalterably in her demand, this difference was made a pretext for breaking off the treaty, in which indeed both parties seem to have been alike insincere.

The queen-mother of France wanted to divert Elizabeth from a rumoured match between her and the young king of Navarre, and to create a false confidence in the chiefs of the Huguenots, whom she had devoted to destruction; while, on the other hand, Elizabeth's aim was to amuse the court of France with a negotiation, which would prevent their sending succours to Mary's friends in Scotland. After this treaty was laid aside, Francis, duke of Alençon, younger brother to Henry of Anjou, was proposed as an husband to the queen of England; but the same difficulties about religion recurred, Elizabeth objected to his youth, and declared she would not engage in any contract of marriage before she should have seen the person proposed to be her husband.

In the mean time a new parliament, after five years interval, was assembled at Westminster, on the second of April this year; and as the queen, by the rage of the pope against her, was become still more the head of the ruling party, it might be expected, both from this incident and her own prudent and vigorous conduct, that her authority over the two houses would be absolutely uncontrollable. It was so in fact; yet it is remarkable, that it prevailed not without some small opposition, and that too arising from the height of zeal for protestantism, amongst a new sect lately sprung up, called Puritans (of whose rise and principles we shall give an account in their proper place), and who had, in the former parliament, introduced several bills for a farther reformation in religion, but had not been able to carry any one of them. Religion was a point of which Elizabeth was extremely jealous; she pretended that, in quality of supreme head of the church, she was fully empowered, by her prerogative alone, to decide all questions which might arise with regard to discipline or worship; and she never would allow her parliaments so much as to take these points into consideration. The courtiers forgot not to insist upon this topic, when the Puritans resumed their motions for a farther reformation: this brought on several warm debates,

in which many principles, very popular, noble, and generous, were advanced; but the open assertion of them was very new in England, and the queen was so highly offended with the speech of Strickland, one of the members, that she sent for him to the council, and prohibited him from thenceforth to appear in the house of commons. That act of power was too violent even for this submissive parliament to endure; and the queen, finding that the experiment which she had made was likely to excite a great commotion, sent, the next day, to Strickland her permission to give his attendance in the house; but, at the same time, the parliament was, by Elizabeth's orders, hurried to a close, on the twenty-ninth of May.

The following were the principal laws enacted this session: it was declared treason, during the life-time of the queen, to affirm, that she was not the lawful sovereign: that any other enjoyed a better title; that she was an heretic, schismatic, or infidel; or that the parliament has not power to settle and limit the succession of the crown: whoever should assert, in writing, or printing, that any person, except the natural issue of her body, is or ought to be the queen's heir or successor, was, for the first offence, to be imprisoned during a year, and to forfeit half their goods; for the second offence, they were to incur the penalty of a *Præmunire*. This law was directly levelled against the queen of Scots and her adherents; and plainly implied that Elizabeth never intended to name her successor.

It is observable, that the usual term of *lawful issue*, which the parliament thought indecent in speaking of the queen, as if she could be supposed to have any other, was changed into that of *natural issue*. But this alteration was a fund of much wit and humour during the time; and some people suspected a deeper design, as if Leicester intended, in case of the queen's death, to impose one of his own bastards on the public, as the offspring of her majesty.

It was also decreed, that whoever should publish bulls or other mandates of the pope, or should, by means of these, reconcile any man to the church of Rome, should themselves, as well as those who were so reconciled, be guilty of treason. Whoever imported any agnus dei, crucifix, or such other implement of superstition, was subject to the penalty of a *Præmunire*. It was likewise moved, that if, for the future, the queen of Scots should be concerned in any conspiracy, she should be proceeded against by law, as the wife of an English peer; but the queen hindered this bill from passing, being satisfied with letting her prisoner see to what she would be exposed, in case of such practices. The former laws against taking interest, which was called usury, were enforced by a new statute; and a supply of one subsidy and two fifteenths was granted to her majesty. We must now turn to other matters.

During the before-mentioned negotiation between Elizabeth and the court of France, the queen of Scotland, looking upon her own affairs as entirely ruined, should they unite, tried what assistance she could procure from the king of Spain, by the means of Rodolfi, the Florentine, whom she dispatched, with letters, to Philip and the pope; but first with copies of them in cypher, and a let-

* Camden, p. 433.

ter of credence to the duke of Norfolk, recommending him as a trusty person, and desiring he would give him full confidence. Rodolfi, who was the pope's private agent in England, prevailed upon the duke to undertake the queen of Scotland's defence, upon assurances of a powerful aid from the pope and the king of Spain, and the queen's repeated promises to make him her husband as soon as she should have recovered her liberty.

The duke of Norfolk was naturally cautious, and gave his ear rather than his assent to this plausible proposal; neither would he sign the letters of recommendation to foreign powers, which Rodolfi presented him in his own favour, and which Mary requested the duke to honour him with: however, he ordered Hickford, his secretary, who had the key to decypher the queen's letters to Rome, and Madrid, and to the duke of Alva, and then bid him throw them into the fire: but Hickford, whether he was already gained by the court, or thought to make his own fortune by betraying his master, hid all these papers under a matt in his bed chamber, which proved fatal to the duke and Mary also. These proceedings could not be long a secret in so prying a court as that of Elizabeth. Rodolfi, indeed, got safe abroad, but one Bayley, a servant to the queen of Scots, whom Rodolfi had sent to inform that princess of his negotiations, and had likewise entrusted with letters for her, the Spanish ambassador, the bishop of Ross, the duke of Norfolk, and the lord Lumley, was seized at Dover immediately upon his landing, and those letters were sent to the lord Cobham, governor of the Cinque Ports, who, being a friend to the duke of Norfolk, suffered the bishop of Ross to change the packet for other letters of no moment: but the privy-council were not to be so easily imposed upon; Walsingham had gotten notice of the whole affair in France, and was perpetually alarming Elizabeth and her ministry with the plots forming against them by Mary's party. Bayley was sent for to the council, and, being a simple young fellow, he betrayed as much upon his apprehension as made the government send him to be racked in the Tower, where he presently confessed all he had learned from Rodolfi; and that the original packet he had brought over, was in the bishop of Ross's possession.

The bishop had foreseen this, and, suspecting that his public character would not protect him, prudently secreted all his papers of any consequence; and, on the thirteenth of May, after undergoing a strict examination by a committee of the council, he was given into custody of the bishop of Ely; as Henry Howard, who had aspired to the archbishopric of York, was to the custody of the archbishop of Canterbury; and sir Thomas Stanley, sir Thomas Gerard, and one Rolston, to the Tower on suspicion. Hitherto nothing had appeared that could effectually hurt the duke of Norfolk; but another attempt, in which he was concerned, being diligently traced, produced a full discovery, which completed that nobleman's destiny.

Mary had given a large sum of money to the French ambassador, to be conveyed to her friends in Scotland. The ambassador, as afterwards appeared, with the duke of Norfolk's privity, gave the money to Bannister, one of the duke's gentlemen, who was to find some means to transmit it to Scotland; but a menial servant, who was not in the

secret, suspecting from the weight and size of the box that it was full of gold, carried it, with a letter he was also charged with for Bannister, to lord Burleigh, who immediately caused Bannister and Hickford to be apprehended and brought before the council, where, being threatened with the torture, they immediately confessed the truth; and as Hickford, though enjoined to commit all the copies of Mary's decyphered letters to the flames, had disposed of them as above related, he now thought proper to put all the cyphers and papers into the hands of the government, together with other letters from Mary to the bishop of Ross, containing her resolution to retire to Spain rather than France; her intention to amuse don John of Austria, natural son to the late emperor Charles V. with overtures of marriage; her settled resolution to reserve herself entirely for the duke of Norfolk; many injurious reflections on queen Elizabeth; and a request that he would dispatch her messenger, Rodolfi, with instructions to Rome.

Norfolk himself, who knew nothing of the discoveries made by his servants, was cited before the council, and, though exhorted to merit the mercy of his sovereign by a full confession, he still continued to deny every article of the charge preferred against him; upon which the queen ordered him to be sent to the Tower, on the seventh of September. The bishop of Ross was already in private custody, and every method was used to make him disclose the share he had in the conspiracy: he at first alleged, that, as an ambassador, his person was sacred; but he was told, that as his mistress was no longer a sovereign, he could not be considered as a public minister, and that even if that character was allowed, it did not warrant him in forming conspiracies against the sovereign in whose court he resided. As he still refused to answer any interrogatories, he was informed of the discovery made by Norfolk's servants, and then he admitted the truth of some of the points alleged against him, by which the duke of Norfolk's guilt was more plainly proved. On the nineteenth of October the bishop was committed to the Tower, "for attempting to disturb the peace of the kingdom."

While these matters were in agitation, Scotland was more and more rent by intestine broils: each faction summoned a separate assembly of the states, and met in two different places, mutually condemning and annulling the acts of each other; but, by the policy and assistance of Kirkaldy, laird of Grainge, governor of the castle of Edinburgh for the young king, but in reality Mary's friend, her party got possession of the city and the said castle; and, about the latter end of August, met with such success that they seized the persons of the earls of Morton and Lenox the regent, and must have carried off all the lords of the king's party, assembled at Stirling, had not the earl of Marr sallied out of the castle, and with his garrison compelled the queen's soldiers to retire, who, for the sake of plunder, had dispersed themselves carelessly in parties about the town. In the disorder the earl of Morton happily escaped, but the regent was carried off, and murdered in cold blood on the road, by one captain Calder, on the eighth of September; upon which the lords of the king's party chose John Erskine, earl of Marr, to succeed him in the regency, to the great mortification of the earl of Morton, who aspired to that dignity, and was zealously

zealously supported by the English ambassador, who knew him to be a pensioner to his court.

The imprisonment of the duke of Norfolk, and that of so many noblemen and gentlemen who had been committed with him*, made so much noise in England, that the court thought it was proper to satisfy the public concerning the same. Accordingly, by Elizabeth's orders, the recorder of London laid before the lord-mayor and court of aldermen a full account of all that the duke had been charged with and confessed; and they again were ordered to communicate the same to the several companies and wards of the city. This step had great effect upon the populace, whose vast regard for the duke of Norfolk was formidable to Elizabeth.

We have little to add to the account of public affairs in England this year, only that the English having, since the year 1552, carried on a gainful trade for gold with the natives of the coast of Africa, wherein they had often been disturbed by the Portuguese, who laid claim to an exclusive trade to that country, as the first discoverers of it, Elizabeth made a treaty with the court of Portugal this year, by which all differences were adjusted between the two nations on that score. On the fifth of October this year, the famous sea-fight of Lepanto was gained by don John of Austria against the Turks; and though the news was first communicated to Elizabeth by her mortal enemy, the duke of Alva, yet, to shew her great regard for the general interests of Christianity, she gave orders for public rejoicings to be made all over England for the victory†. In the beginning of this same year 1571, viz. on the twenty-third of January, queen Elizabeth went in great state into the city, to dine with sir Thomas Gresham, an eminent merchant, and visited the magnificent structure he had lately erected, upon the model of the Bourse at Antwerp, for the use and convenience of the merchants to meet and do business in, when she gave it, with great solemnity, and under the sound of

trumpets, beating of drums, &c. the name of the ROYAL EXCHANGE. This year also died, in an advanced age, William Parr, marquis of Northampton.

Burleigh and his party were now very earnest to bring the duke of Norfolk to a trial, and were very importunate with the bishop of Ross to give full evidence against him, which that prelate, with a great and noble resolution, refused, insisting on the promise that had been made him by the council, at a former examination, that nothing of what he said should be made use of to accuse any man; and declaring that, as he had never conferred with the duke himself on any of the matters in question, but only with his servants, what he could say would not affect him; and he must at the same time publicly profess before the court, that he never heard him, in all his life speak one word at any time that was against his duty to his queen and country. This made them think it improper to produce him in person, though Basham, the queen's serjeant at law, in breach of the solemn promises of the council, made use of his confession at the duke's trial, who, on the sixteenth of January, 1572, was brought, with the other lords and gentlemen in confinement, by water to Westminster-hall, the streets being lined with soldiers, and the guards doubled at Whitehall, and arraigned before a jury of twenty-six peers, George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, sitting as lord high-steward. The articles upon which he was accused, were as follow:

"That, in the eleventh year of queen Elizabeth, and afterwards, he had entered into a treasonable conspiracy about deposing her from the throne, and taking away her life, and invading the kingdom, by raising war, and bringing in a foreign power.

"That though he knew for certain, that Mary, late queen of Scots, had usurped the crown of England, with the title and arms thereof; yet he had treated about a marriage with her (without acquainting the queen) and had lent her a great sum

* These were the earls of Arundel and Southampton, the lords Lumley and Cobham, with his brother Thomas, and Lowther, Powel, Gooder, and sir Henry Piercy.

† Pope Pius V. out of his great zeal for Christianity, had endeavoured to stir up several of the princes of Christendom against the Turks, who were by this time become very formidable; but there was only Philip II. who took part with the pope in his design. He alone, of all the Catholic princes, was sufficiently rich to answer the prodigious expence of the necessary armament; and was alone able, by the good regulations of his government, to carry this project into speedy execution. He was principally interested in this, through the necessity there was of securing his Italian dominions, and the places he possessed on the coast of Barbary, from the insults of the Ottoman fleet; accordingly he entered into an alliance with the Venetians, though always their secret enemy in Italy, against the Turks, whom he feared still more.

Never was so large an armament fitted out with so much expedition. Two hundred gallies, six large galleasses, twenty-five ships of war, with fifty sail of transports, were all ready in the ports of Sicily by the month of September, which was less than five months after the taking of Cyprus. The one half of this armament was furnished by Philip; the Venetians were at the charge of two thirds of the other half, and the rest was supplied by the pope. The command of the fleet was given to the famous don John of Austria, natural son to the emperor Charles V. and Marc Antonio Colonna commanded under him, in the pope's name.

Historians tell us, that there were no less than fifty thousand fighting men on board this fleet. Nothing but exaggerations are to be found in the accounts of battles. A fleet of two hundred and six gallies, and twenty-five other ships, could not contain at most more than twenty-thousand fighting men. The Turkish fleet alone was stronger than the three Christian squa-

drons all together: it was composed of about two hundred and fifty gallies. The two fleets met in the gulph of Lepanto, the ancient Naupactus, not far from Corinth. Never since the famous battle of Actium, had so numerous a fleet been seen in the Grecian seas, nor so memorable an engagement. The Turkish gallies were worked by Christian slaves, and the Christian gallies by Turks, who were, against their wills, obliged to serve against their country.

The two fleets engaged with all the ancient and modern weapons of offence; such as arrows, long javelins, grenades, grappling-irons, cannon, muskets, spears and sabres. Most of the gallies were grappled together, and the soldiers fought hand to hand on their decks, as on a field of battle. At length the Christians gained the victory, which was the more glorious, as being the first of its kind.

Don John of Austria, and the Venetian admiral Veniero, attacked the ship which carried the Turkish admiral Ali, who was taken with his galley, and his head struck off, and hoisted upon his own flag-staff. This was abusing the rights of war; but those who had slayed Bragadino in Famagosta, did not deserve better treatment. The Turks lost above one hundred and fifty ships in this engagement. It is difficult to tell the number of slain: some make them amount to fifteen thousand; about five thousand Christian captives were set at liberty. Venice celebrated this victory with such feasts as she alone was capable of giving at that time. Constantinople was in the utmost consternation; and pope Pius V. when he received the news of this signal victory, the honour of which was ascribed to the generalissimo don John, but in which the Venetians had the greatest share, cried out in a transport of joy: "There was a man sent from God, and his name was John!" words that were afterwards applied to John Sobieski, king of Poland, when he delivered Vienna. Volt. Gen. Hist. vol. v. p. 259—261.

of money, contrary to what he had promised under his hand.

“That though he was sure that the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, Markenfield, and others, had raised a rebellion against the queen, and were driven into Scotland, yet he had supplied them with money.

“That, in the thirteenth year of the queen’s reign, he had, by his letters, craved auxiliary forces of pope Pius V. the queen’s professed enemy, of the Spaniard, and the duke of Alva, to set the queen of Scots at liberty, and restore the popish religion in England.

“Lastly, that he had relieved Herries, the Scot, and other the queen’s enemies, in Scotland.”

The duke desired that he might be allowed counsel to plead for him, and that he might be informed which were articles of treason, and which not; but both his requests were refused. It was on the two suppositions, that Mary, and the lords of her party, were enemies to Elizabeth and her crown, that the charge of high-treason was chiefly founded against the duke, who was by his peers found guilty, to the astonishment of every unprejudiced person, the infinite concern of all good men, and the grief of the people in general; for no public evidence that could convict him of high-treason, was produced against him, nor were the witnesses brought into court, as the statute of 5 & 6 Edw. VI. required*: nor had he the smallest indulgence, or opportunity to prepare his defence. It is true, while in the Tower, he confessed so much, that it was thought he came within the exception of the above-mentioned statute, which, in case of voluntary confession, dispenses with the producing witnesses in court; but still the proceeding against him was inhuman and ungenerous. The reader may see a full account of the above in Camden, and in the Collection of State Trials.

The condemnation of a nobleman so high in rank, and so dear to the people, revived the compassion of the public for his fate; and several plots were laid for his deliverance, which coming to the knowledge of Elizabeth, she thought no remedy was so effectual against the danger of the times as a parliament, which was suddenly summoned to meet at Westminster, on the eighth of May. In the mean time the Spanish ambassador was ordered to quit the kingdom, for having entered into a plot with one Mather and Barney, two desperate ruffians, to kill both the queen and secretary Burleigh, and set the duke of Norfolk at liberty. Mather confessed, that he had been offered money by the ambassador and his secretary, to kill Burleigh; and Hall, another assassin in the plot, swore the same; upon which they were all three executed.

The disgraceful dismissal of the Spanish ambassador was so highly resented by Philip, that he ordered all the English subjects in Spain to be imprisoned, and their effects confiscated, and prohibited all commerce between the two nations. His resentment was very little regarded by Elizabeth, who, in the month of April, concluded a defensive league, at Blois, with Charles IX. of France, by which both parties agreed to assist each other against all invasion: they agreed that no innovation should be made in the kingdom of Scotland; but that

they should jointly defend it from all foreigners; and it was stipulated, that in case any English ships should be taken or seized in the Low Countries, or in Spain, the French king should solicit restitution at the court of Madrid, or, that intercession failing, make reprisals upon the Spanish and Flemish subjects in his dominions; Elizabeth engaging to act in the same manner in his behalf†. The lord high-admiral Clinton, now created earl of Lincoln, was sent, with a magnificent train, to Paris, to see this treaty ratified by Charles; and the marshal de Montmorency arriving in England, to procure Elizabeth’s ratification, was invested with the order of the Garter. Immediately after this event the post of lord-keeper of the great-seal, vacant by the death of the old marquis of Winchester, was conferred upon lord Burleigh; the privy-seal was given to the lord Effingham; the earl of Suffex was appointed lord-chamberlain of the household; and secretary Smith made chancellor of the order of the Garter. About the same time (namely, the fourth of April) the queen favoured Walter d’Euvreux, or Devereux, with the title of earl of Essex, he being a descendant of the noble family of Bourchier, formerly earls of Essex, by the grand-mother’s side.

The parliament meeting in May, according to its summons, the commons addressed the queen that the duke of Norfolk might be put to death without farther delay, alleging this step was necessary for her own preservation and the peace of the kingdom. Elizabeth had hitherto, from a tenderness which she well knew how to affect, delayed to order the duke’s execution; but now pretending that she could no longer resist the importunities of her people, she signed the fatal warrant, and the duke was brought to execution on Tower-hill, on the second of June. His behaviour was, as it had been all along, calm and decent; he bewailed his having broken his faith with Elizabeth, by renewing his intrigues with Mary; but to the last denied his having consented to deprive Elizabeth of her crown, to invade the kingdom, or to destroy the city of London; and openly declaring that he died in the protestant faith of the church of England, and refusing to have his eyes blinded, as being, he said, fearless of death, he received the stroke that finished his life.

Thus fell Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, the first nobleman in England. He was grand-son to Thomas Howard, second duke of Norfolk, and lord high-treasurer under Henry VIII. and son to Henry, earl of Surry, who was beheaded by that prince, in the beginning of the year 1547. This Thomas was born in 1536, and succeeded his grand-father in his title: queen Elizabeth honoured him with the order of the Garter, soon after her accession to the throne, and advanced him to the post of lieutenant-general of her forces North of the Humber. We have already shewn, in the course of this reign, how he fell under disgrace with his sovereign, on account of his proposed marriage with the queen of Scots, and that he had promised, under his hand, never more to concern himself in that affair without the queen’s approbation; notwithstanding which, and the danger that attended the breach of his engagements with a

* See p. 310, of this volume.

† Recueil des Traités, par Leonard.

princess of Elizabeth's jealous and arbitrary temper, he again countenanced the proposal, which ended in his ruin. All of his family had firmly adhered to the catholic religion except this duke, who embraced protestantism in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign; and as he declared he died in the reformed religion, charity forbids us to dispute the truth of his dying assertion. He had been thrice married: first to Mary, daughter to Henry Fitz Allan, earl of Arundel, by whom he had one son, named Philip; secondly, to Margaret, daughter to Thomas, lord Arundel, by whom he had two sons and two daughters; and lastly, to Elizabeth, daughter to sir Francis Leybourn, knight, by whom he had no issue.

Some few days after the duke's execution, queen Elizabeth sent William, lord Delawar, sir Ralph Sadler, Dr. Wilson, and Thomas Bromley, esq. to the queen of Scots, now overwhelmed with mourning, to expostulate with her by way of accusation, for that she had usurped the title and arms of the crown of England, and had not renounced the same, as was agreed upon in the treaty of Edinburgh: that, for the full possessing herself thereof, she had treated of a marriage with the duke of Norfolk, without acquainting the queen therewith; for the consummation whereof, and the freeing the duke out of the Tower by force of arms, she had used all methods possible by her: that she had raised a rebellion in the North, relieved notorious rebels in Scotland and Flanders, petitioned for a foreign aid from the Spaniard and others, by Rodolfi, an Italian, in order to invade England; and conspired with certain of the English, who should free her out of prison, and declare her queen of England: that she had received letters from the pope, wherein he promised to cherish her as a hen doth her chickens, and esteem them true sons of the church who should stand for her: lastly, that she had procured the pope's bull against the queen, and permitted her party in foreign parts to style her publicly queen of England. To all which Mary answered in general terms, insisting upon her being born of the blood-royal of England; and desiring that, if there were any malpractices laid to her charge, she might be allowed to give in her personal answer at the next session of the English parliament*. However, as there was no design at present to bring her to a trial, the affair rested there; only Elizabeth thought convenient to confine her

good sister more closely, and to reduce the number of her domestics.

All this time Scotland was distressed with a more cruel civil war than ever, and for two months no quarter was given on either side. At last the two courts of France and England ordered their ministers, le Croc and Randolph, to mediate a cessation of arms, which they effected, from the first of August to the first of October. The earl of Morton was generally looked upon as the author of those violences, and it was owing to him, that, contrary to the general sense of the Scots, the earl of Northumberland was now delivered up to the lord Hunsdon, and by him conveyed to York, where he was beheaded. The earl of Marr, the new regent of Scotland, though a wise and virtuous man, found himself too weak to withstand Morton, even after he perceived that he was the tool of the English, and that nothing was done but by his direction and advice. Killigrew, who was sent to succeed Randolph in Scotland, confessed privately to sir James Melvill, that the English court depended upon Morton only, as its friend in Scotland; and that, unless Mary's party could bring him over, they were to expect no favour from England. Ledington had been sensible of this some time, and sir James Melvill dealt so earnestly with the regent, that a coalition between him and Mary's friends in the castle was actually formed, and upon the point of being declared, when the regent, after dining at Morton's house, was seized with a sudden illness which carried him off†.

Notwithstanding the great solemnity and protestations of friendship and sincerity on both sides, with which the treaty of Blois had been sworn to and ratified by Elizabeth and Charles IX. of France, the remainder of that monarch's life was constantly employed in some action that proved his intentions to be never to perform any one of the articles, any farther than they, or any of them, might serve to cover some base and dishonourable design; his chief drift being to tie Elizabeth's hands, and to lull the Huguenots in his kingdom into a careless security, till he could effect his bloody purpose of totally exterminating their sect, of which the massacre of several thousands of them, in cold blood, on St. Bartholomew's day this year, under the royal inspection at Paris, and openly approved of by the pope, was a melancholy earnest‡. And at the very time he shewed the greatest desire to live in a good

* Camden's Eliz. ad ann. 1571.

† Melvill's Memoirs, p. 116, 117.

‡ As the particulars of this bloody massacre are not properly introducible into the body of our history, and yet may not be unacceptable to the reader, we have reserved the relation of them for this note.

This inhuman butchery, which was devised by the order, and under the immediate inspection, of Charles IX. and the queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis, evince them to be two monsters of perfidy and dissimulation. This dreadful day had been meditated and planned for above two years. It is hard to say, how a woman like Catherine de Medicis, brought up in the midst of pleasures, and to whom the Huguenot party had given the least umbrage of any, could have been capable of forming so barbarous a resolution. It is still more surprizing in a young king, not quite twenty years of age. This plot was laid with as deep dissimulation as the action itself was horrible.

The queen of Navarre was decoyed to Paris by a proposal of marriage between her son, who was afterwards Henry IV. and the princess Margaret, sister to Charles IX. the reigning king. The same pretence was used for alluring thither Henry, then prince of Bearne, and his uncle the prince of Condé. The

admiral Coligni was invited by Charles, with a promise of declaring him general in a war against Spain in the Low Countries, and Coligni was accompanied by other chiefs of the Huguenots, depending upon the peace which had been lately ratified. The queen of Navarre died suddenly, not without suspicion of poison. The admiral going home to his own lodgings, about eleven in the forenoon, and reading a petition which had been presented to him, was wounded by a shot from a window, fired by one Maurevel, hired for that purpose. The king visiting him in the afternoon, expressed the utmost concern for his disaster, and assured him he would take ample vengeance of the assassin and his abettors. This perfidious prince had, with his mother and council, already projected the scheme, which was now put in execution on the eve of St. Bartholomew. The duke of Guise, who was at the head of this shocking enterprize, communicated the king's intention to the president Charron, intendant of Paris, who ordered the captains of the different wards to arm the burghers privately: that at the alarm, which would be rung on the bell of the palace-clock, the citizens should place lights in their windows, then break into the houses of the Huguenots, and put them all to the sword, without distinction. About midnight the duke of Guise, accompanied by the duke d'Aumale, the grand-prior of

good understanding with Elizabeth, he was taking private measures to cause her disturbances both in England and Scotland, of which her watchful and faithful ambassador, Walsingham, gave her sufficient notice; yet, though Elizabeth could not longer depend upon such an ally, having a mind to see a little farther into the designs of her enemies, she kept an outward appearance of friendship with Charles, and even carried her political dissimulation so far as to stand god-mother to his newborn daughter, and to countenance a renewed proposal of marriage with his brother, the duke of Alençon, to the great surprize and terror of the Huguenots, who dreaded the most fatal effects from the growing union betwixt England and France.

But though Elizabeth so cautiously avoided the coming to extremities with Charles, whose union with the courts of Spain and Rome for the extermination of the protestants filled her with very disagreeable apprehensions, she gave all the assistance in her power to such of that sect as lived near the frontiers, and, immediately on the first news of the massacre of their brethren, fled into England; and when the French ambassador presumed to make a proposal from his master to have them delivered up as rebellious fugitives, Elizabeth plainly told him, that humanity would not suffer her to shut the door against so many wretches, who were driven by the barbarity of their enemies to seek refuge in her country.

Mean while she prepared herself for that attack which seemed to threaten her from the combined power and violence of the Romanists, as she, not without reason, looked upon the late massacre as the overt-act of the league of Bayonne, which had been formed for the extinction of the protestant religion. She therefore fortified Portsmouth, put her fleet in order, exercised her militia, cultivated popularity with her subjects, not only by restoring several sums of money she had borrowed of them for her own use, but also by freeing England at this time of the debts which her father and brother had contracted with foreign courts, and were increased by yearly interest: she also caused the obligations the city of London had given for those sums

to be remitted, to the great joy of the citizens. But we are now to attend the concerns of the Netherlands.

The same principles which had engaged Elizabeth to support the Huguenots in France, would have led her to assist the distressed protestants in the Low Countries, but the mighty power of Philip, the tranquility of all his other dominions, and the great force which he maintained in these mutinous provinces, kept her in awe, and obliged her, notwithstanding all temptations and provocations, to preserve some terms of amity with that monarch; and Philip having remonstrated to her, by a new ambassador, that many of the Flemish exiles, who infested the seas and despoiled his master's subjects, were harboured and entertained in England, contrary to the leagues subsisting between the two courts, Elizabeth thought proper to issue a proclamation, that all the Flemish, suspected of rebellion, should forthwith depart the realm: a proclamation which, in its effect, was so far from answering the views of the Spaniards, that it proved extremely prejudicial to their interests. These desperate exiles, finding no longer any possibility of subsistence, were forced to undertake the most perilous attempts. William Vandermark, lord of Luney, a Netherlander of distinction, with a great number of his countrymen, leaving England in the beginning of April, surprized the Brill* first, and then Flushing; and, before the end of this year, almost the whole provinces of Holland and Zealand had revolted from the Spaniards, and openly declared against the tyranny of the duke of Alva, whom they, by their late successful efforts, excluded from the sea. This neglect of the sea-coasts of the Low Countries was accounted an irreparable oversight in the duke of Alva, who was, in other respects, a great general; and was the first means of enabling the protestants to hold out so long as they did against all the power of Philip; it likewise encouraged Elizabeth, who had now a strong fleet at sea, by which a safe communication could be kept up with the Netherlands, to permit her subjects to go over to serve in Flanders, as in a school of war, either under the prince of Orange†, or the duke of Alva, as their affections should direct them. Some of the popish affected went to the Spaniards,

of France, a number of officers, and three hundred choice soldiers, marched to the admiral's hotel, broke open the gates, and entered the house. A colonel and two other desperadoes going up stairs to the admiral's apartment, butchered him without question, and threw his body out of the window. All his domestics met with the same fate, while the trained-bands acted the same tragedy in the Louvre, as well as within the city. Two thousand persons were massacred that night, and a great number perished next day. At the same time the Huguenots were sacrificed in like manner by orders from court, at Meaux, Orleans, Troye, Bourges, Angers, Tholouse, Rouen, and Lyons. The mangled body of the admiral was insulted by the populace, and hung upon the gibbet of Montfaucon. The young king of Navarre and his cousin, the prince of Condé, were closetted by the king, who told them, that if they refused to embrace the Roman catholic religion, they should not be alive in three days. The parliament being assembled, and informed by their sovereign of the steps he had taken, in consequence (as he said) of a conspiracy against the catholics, the president, who was father to the celebrated historian Thuanus, harangued in praise of the king's conduct; and the advocate-general proposed that the admiral and his accomplices might be proceeded against in form of law. Accordingly the murdered Coligni was tried, condemned, and hanged in effigy. In a word, this whole affair was one of the most infamous plans of perfidious cruelty that ever was executed, and leaves an indelible stain on the French nation.

* A fortified town at the mouth of the river Maes, in the isle of Voorn, in Holland, five miles distant from Helvoetsluys.

† William of Nassau, prince of Orange, descended from a sovereign family of great lustre and antiquity in Germany, inheriting the possession of a sovereign family in France, on account of his noble birth and immense riches, as well as his personal virtues, was universally regarded as the greatest subject who lived in those provinces. He had opposed, by all regular and dutiful means, the progress of the Spanish usurpations; and when Philip conducted his army into the Netherlands, and assumed the government, this prince, well acquainted with the violent character of the man, and tyrannical spirit of the court of Madrid, wisely fled from the danger which threatened him, and returned to his paternal estate and dominions in Germany. He was cited to appear before Alva's tribunal; was condemned in his absence, declared a rebel, and his ample possessions in the Low Countries were confiscated. In revenge, he levied an army of protestants in the empire, and made some attempts to restore the Flemings to liberty, but was still repulsed by the vigilance and military conduct of Alva; and by the great bravery as well as discipline of those veteran Spaniards who served under that general. The revolt of Holland and Zealand, provinces which the prince of Orange formerly commanded, and where he was infinitely beloved, called him anew from his retreat, and he added conduct no less than spirit to that obstinate resistance which was here made to the Spanish dominion. By uniting the revolted towns into a league, he laid the foundation of that illustrious commonwealth, the offspring of industry and liberty, whose arms and policy have made so signal a figure in every transaction in Europe. Hume's Hist. of the Tudors, vol. ii. p. 548, 549.

but

but far greater numbers pressed to serve under the prince of Orange; the first of whom was Thomas Morgan, who carried three hundred English to Flushing; then followed, by his procurement, nine companies more, under the conduct of Humphrey Gilbert. These volunteers arrived just as the duke of Alva was preparing to recover Flushing and the other sea-port towns, and, it is thought, defeated the duke's design. At the same time Elizabeth, by the advice of her council, sent other relief to the prince of Orange; but it was so secret that the Spaniards had no grounds to reproach her for breach of faith.

The year 1573 opened with the embassy of William Somerset, earl of Worcester, who was sent by Elizabeth into France, with a font of massy gold, to stand at the baptism of the new-born daughter of Charles IX. which was so highly relished by that court, that they began now to be more and more earnest for an alliance with Elizabeth, and the duke of Alençon was ordered to write repeated letters of suitorship to her. At last the queen-mother became very pressing, by the French ambassador here, for the young duke to have leave to come and pay his respects to the queen of England in person, to which Elizabeth, wearied out with their importunities, after some time affected to assent, but upon condition that he should not take it as a disgrace if he returned without obtaining his suit.

But Elizabeth hearing soon after that his brother Henry, duke of Anjou, was elected king of Poland, and that Charles IX. was ill of a dangerous disorder, she gave intimation to Alençon, by Edward Horsey, governor of the Isle of Wight (whom she had appointed her resident at the French court in the room of Walsingham, now recalled at his own request) that he should not for the present think of undertaking a journey to England; but, if he meant to give her real proofs of his affection, that he should first procure a peace for the distressed Huguenots in France, which would render his reception in England much more favourable. The Romanists had for some time closely besieged Rochelle, the bulwark of the protestants in France, who made such a desperate resistance, that the duke of Anjou, who commanded against the place, lost twenty-four thousand men, without making any considerable progress in the siege. When he received tidings of his being elected king of Poland, this event affording him a salvo for his reputation, he concluded a treaty with the inhabitants, in which their allies of Nismes and Montauban, and at last all the protestants of France, were comprehended, and in some places allowed the free exercise of their religion. And now the king of France and the queen-mother pressed the affair of the marriage more closely than ever to Elizabeth, and withal they requested Elizabeth to grant the duke of Anjou a safe-conduct, in case he should take his voyage to Poland by sea. To this last request she not only consented with great alacrity, but also offered a fleet to conduct him thither. In the mean while the duke of Alençon falling very ill of a fever, his mother signified the same to Elizabeth by the count de Retz, and excusing the duke thereupon for not coming to England as he had determined; Elizabeth, who had by this time received a report but little to the duke's advantage, who was represented to her as a very homely figure of a

man, and much defaced with the small-pox, cooled in her affection so much, that she gladly accepted the excuse, and even shewed a manifest reluctance to have any connections with him.

All this time, since the death of the earl of Marr, there had been no regent in Scotland; but now, by the procurement of Elizabeth, James Douglas, earl of Morton, was chosen regent; who when his authority, in a parliamentary assembly, was established, enacted many excellent laws for the support of the protestant religion against papists and heretics, in the name of the king. But the protection and keeping of the royal person he confirmed to Alexander, earl of Marr, son of the deceased regent, though that nobleman was himself a minor; the custody of the persons of the Scottish kings, during their minority, belonging, by especial privilege, to that family. In the interim the French king sent his ambassador, Verac, to engage the earls of Athol and Huntley, with large promises, to oppose the regent; while Elizabeth, on the other hand, exerted all her efforts to support her creature. She had already found means, through Killigrew, her ambassador at the Scottish court, to draw the duke of Chatelerault, with the most eminent of that faction, to acknowledge the regent, by a public instrument, dated in March this year; but William Kirkaldy, laird of Grainge, whom Murray (when he was regent, had made governor of Edinburgh castle), the lord Home, Ledington, the bishop of Dunkeld, and some others, could by no means be brought to own Morton, but fortified themselves in the castle; and, trusting to the natural strength of the place, and to the supplies promised them by the French king and the duke of Alva, they resolved to hold it for queen Mary, against all opposition.

Hereupon Morton and his party sent a deputation to the English court, for assistance to reduce the castle, then deemed impregnable. Elizabeth's wonted policy would not suffer her to be a quiet spectator, till the fortune of war should enable France and Spain to pour in troops into Scotland: she therefore readily listened to the request of the deputies, and promised them immediate assistance, upon certain conditions, whereof one was, that ten hostages should be sent into England, to be security for the safe return of the troops and ammunition, unless by the common hazard of war they should be slain or lost. The conditions being agreed on, she ordered sir William Drury, the marshal of Berwick, to march into Scotland, at the head of twelve hundred soldiers, and three hundred pioneers with a strong train of artillery. Killigrew, the English ambassador, served as an officer in this army, together with several gentlemen of the first distinction as volunteers. Upon the English forces entering the Borders, they were joined by one thousand Scots and four pieces of cannon; and on the twenty-fifth of April the whole army appeared before Edinburgh castle.

The place was very ill provided with ammunition, and the number of soldiers in garrison did not exceed one hundred and sixty. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, Kirkaldy, who was a man of exemplary courage, conduct, and experience, made a vigorous defence for three-and-twenty days; but at last, their water failing them, and a sickness getting among the garrison, which raged so as to reduce it to fifteen individuals, Kirkaldy was obliged

obliged to capitulate, and obtained from sir William Drury very honourable conditions: but Morton having, during the siege, practised with Elizabeth, she refused to accept of the prisoners taken in the castle as her prisoners, and sent orders to sir William Drury to deliver them all up, to be disposed of as the regent of Scotland should think proper. Accordingly the gallant laird of Grainge, James Kirkaldy, and some others, were ignominiously executed upon a gibbet at the Market-cross of Edinburgh. Camden says, an hundred of the family of Kirkaldy offered to be vassals for ever to the regent, to pay a yearly pension of three thousand marks, and two thousand pounds Scots in hand, if he would spare his life, but that Morton would not hear of it. As to Ledington, Elizabeth had taken care to give orders for his safety; but he died at Leith a few days after the capitulation, having contracted a mortal disease in the castle, a place noted for its unwholesomeness. The lord Home, on paying ten thousand pounds to Morton, was pardoned, and put in the possession of his estates.

The regent, not yet satisfied with blood, sent to demand of Elizabeth, that she would deliver into his hands the bishop of Rois, who had been released from the Tower, at the intercession of the French ambassador in England, and committed in custody to the bishop of Winchester: but the ambassador remonstrating against such an outrage upon good faith and the laws of nations, the queen of England rejected Morton's demand, and allowed the bishop to withdraw himself into the French dominions. And now Scotland began to rest a little from the intestine troubles which had so long desolated it, and every thing being reduced under the authority of the young king, and a regent devoted to England, Elizabeth was freed from great uneasiness: and, as a farther increase of her happiness, she received advice from the Low Countries, that the Zealanders had defeated a fleet under the duke of Medina Celi, which was destined for the assistance of the queen of Scots and her friends; as also that the duke of Alva, finding in the resolute resistance of the oppressed Flemings, the pernicious effects of his violent counsels, had solicited to be recalled from the government, and that don Lewis de Zuniga, commendator of Roquesanto, in Castile, had been sent to replace him. The tyrant Alva departed finally from the Netherlands, the beginning of the following year, leaving his name in execration to the inhabitants, and boasting in his turn, that, during the course of five years government, he had delivered above eighteen thousand of these rebellious heretics into the hands of the executioner*.

This year died William, lord Howard of Effingham, lord privy-seal, son of Thomas Howard the martial duke of Norfolk, by his second wife, Agnes Tilney. He was made lord high-admiral by queen Mary, and afterwards lord-chamberlain, in which post he served queen Elizabeth; and was succeeded by his son Charles, who, a while after, was made lord-chamberlain and lord high-admiral. This year also died Reginald Grey, earl of Kent, whom the queen, the year before, had raised from a private gentleman to that dignity, after the title had been dormant fifty years: his brother Henry succeeded him in his honours.

The succeeding year, 1574, the duke of Alençon grew more and more importunate in his suit to Elizabeth, insomuch that he obtained her consent to come into England any time before the twentieth of May; and to this concession she was the more readily moved, because she knew the young prince to be a great opposer of the family of the Guises, her sworn enemies: but before Elizabeth's answer could be carried to the duke, she received advice from Valentine Dale, doctor of the civil law and her resident in France, that Alençon and the king of Navarre were both put under arrest, through the interest of the Guises, who had persuaded the queen-mother that they held a treasonable correspondence with the chief of the protestant interest in France. It appears that Alençon, who was a weak young man, actually confessed that he had held some consultation with the duke de Bouillon, a protestant chief, about his intended marriage with the queen of England, and of the best measures to be taken for securing to the protestants the safe enjoyment of the privileges granted them by the late treaty of Rochelle, as also for supporting the Flemings against the oppressive power of the court of Spain. Elizabeth was greatly concerned at the news of Alençon's imprisonment and that of the king of Navarre, lest they should be intimidated to confess some practices which she had underhand held with the Huguenots; and accordingly she immediately wrote to Dale, to re-assure those two princes, and to give them the strongest promises of her friendship and protection. As Dale himself durst not be seen in executing this commission, he committed it to Thomas Wiekens, his secretary, who disguised himself to admiration; nor is there, in all the confessions and declarations given by those two princes, the smallest circumstance reflecting on the honour of the engagements of the queen of England. Soon after Elizabeth sent sir Thomas Randolph into France, to the queen-mother, to bring about, if possible, a reconciliation between that princess and her son, the duke of Alençon, and the king of Navarre.

But while this affair was on the carpet, Charles IX. died, on the thirtieth of May, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, after having rendered his name odious to all the world, at a time of life when his own subjects were not reckoned out of their minority. He died of a very extraordinary distemper: his blood oozed from all the pores of his body. This uncommon end, which, however, is not without example (and was probably the effect of a putrid colliquation of the blood, and a general relaxation of the smaller vessels), passed with the people, especially the protestants, for the effect of divine vengeance: an useful notion, did it put a stop to the wickedness of those who are powerful or unfortunate enough not to be subject to the curb of the laws!

The queen-mother took her measures so well, that, causing the dying king to confer on her the regency of the realm, she kept all quiet till the arrival of the duke of Anjou, king of Poland, who succeeded his brother, by the name of Henry III. He arrived in France the fifth of September this year, but came not to Paris till about the middle of February following.

Nothing memorable passed in England during the year 1574. The only thing Camden has re-

* Grotius, lib. ii.

marked in his Annals, is the marriage of Charles, earl of Lenox, uncle to the young king of Scotland, with Elizabeth Cavendish, daughter to the countess of Shrewsbury: as this marriage was made unknown to the queen, she imprisoned the mothers of the new-married couple. It may not be useless to mention, that this year, in order to put a check to the growing luxury of the English, especially in dress, the queen, by proclamation, commanded that every one should, within fourteen days, wear cloaths of such a fashion, of which she herself fixed the pattern. On the third of April the queen granted a commission to lord Burleigh, lord high-treasurer of England, and to sir Walter Mildmay, chancellor and under-treasurer of the Exchequer, to manumise and enfranchise bondmen and bondwomen, or, as they are now called, copyholders, regardant and appertaining to the royal manors and possessions within the counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and Gloucester*. It is with reluctance that we must observe, the spirit of Christianity in the church could not keep pace with its doctrines, for we find, in Stowe, that some of our reforming bishops, about this time, for a few doubtful points in religion, dragged innocent people to the stake, where they were burned to death, with all the circumstances of popish cruelty.

In the Netherlands, the confederates still continued their progress, taking several towns from the Spaniards. But, on the other hand, Lewis, count of Nassau, who was leading an army to his brother, the prince of Orange, was defeated upon Moker heath, near Nimeguen, and was himself slain, with his brother Henry and Christopher Casimir, count Palatine. Upon this untoward accident the prince of Orange began to entertain thoughts of applying to the French; but Elizabeth sent Daniel Rogers to dissuade him from it; which he not being able to do, she sent Henry, lord Cobham, to Philip of Spain to inform him of the prince of Orange's design.

The paucity of events in England during this inactive year, affords room to introduce a brief account of the affairs of its sister kingdom, Ireland.

There the deprivatory bull, fulminated by the pope against Elizabeth, continued to have dreadful effects. But sir John Perot, president of Munster, kept that turbulent country in so good order, that James Fitz Maurice, the most formidable of all the confederates against the English government, was forced to submit. In Connaught, the sons of the earl of Clanrickard took arms against the severe government of the president sir Edward Fitton, and engaged a thousand mercenary Scots in their service. The earl their father, who was then prisoner in Dublin, offered to suppress his sons, and the government there would have entrusted him with the command; but Elizabeth, more prudently, removed Fitton from his place, and the rebels then returning to their duty, the thousand Scots were left to the mercy of the garrison-soldiers, under captain Collier, by whom they were all cut to pieces. The earl of Kildare was not so successful in Leinster, against the O'Mores, whom he was unable to restrain from joining the O'Connors, and making an irruption into the Pale, where they burned Athlone, and were guilty of dreadful excesses, while their confederate Brien M^c

Phelim took and burned Carrickfergus. Fitz Maurice being subdued by sir John Perot, who likewise took the castle of Mayo, wherein was a garrison of French free-booters, the rebels of Leinster were disappointed in their intention of joining those of Munster: but M^c Phelim still continued in arms.

Those repeated commotions in Ireland, the success which the rebels received from abroad, and the small prospect of reducing the island to perfect quiet, put Elizabeth upon very serious considerations. Upon examining her accounts last year, she found that the gross amount of all the revenues of Ireland, since her succession to the throne, came only to one hundred and ninety thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine pounds, seven shillings, and six pence half-penny. This vast disproportion of expence and supply made her lend an ear to a proposal of the earl of Essex, an active young nobleman, full of spirits, and under some disgusts with the courtiers: it was, that the earl should, before Michaelmas, carry over to Ireland, two hundred horse and four hundred foot, and maintain them there, to be employed against the rebels for two years, the queen furnishing the same number during that time; while the earl was to have a commission to be captain-general for seven years. In consideration of this, the queen was to give him half the lordships of Clondeboy, Ferney, and other lands to a great extent, which were to be occupied by him; with an equal number of soldiers, as the queen should think fit to maintain upon the other half of the said lordships. They were to be at equal expence in maintaining necessary fortifications. Every horseman serving as volunteer gratis for two years, was to be recompensed with four hundred acres of land, at two pence an acre at the same rent. Several other articles were inserted in this agreement, which seems to have been founded on the foot of the old feudal tenure; but the above are the chief. Essex was so fond of this command, which set him upon the footing of a prince, that he borrowed ten thousand pounds of Elizabeth, upon a mortgage of his lands in Essex; and, about the latter end of August this year, he landed in Ireland, accompanied by the lords Dacres and Rich, three sons of the lord Norris, and many other gentlemen of distinction, who served under him as volunteers. But Fitz Williams, the lord-deputy, considered this command, given the earl of Essex, as derogating from his own authority, and underhand gave him all the obstruction he could. M^c Phelim, one of the principal chieftains, at first submitted to the earl, but soon after revolted, perceiving the troops he brought with him were but few, and ill disciplined. The lord Rich and sir Henry Knolles in a few weeks became so dispirited, that they returned to England, which threw a damp upon the whole expedition. The lord-deputy, under frivolous pretences, withheld the earl's commission, so that his hands were in a manner tied up; while M^c Phelim, putting himself at the head of the Irish and Hebridian Scots, endeavoured to cut him off. With great difficulty he kept his ground all this summer, and endeavoured to fortify Clondeboy. In the following spring the lord-deputy marched against the earl of Desmond, who had escaped out of prison, and Essex was ordered to guard the borders of

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xv. p. 371.

Ulster. The earl of Desmond, through the persuasion of Essex, submitted himself to the government. The rest of the year was spent in reducing Turlogh, Leinigh, Con O'Donald, and the other Irish. But Essex, broken both in body and mind, earnestly applied to Elizabeth for leave to return, or to allow him pay for one hundred horse and six hundred foot, or to grant him the peninsula of Mayo. Elizabeth of herself was inclinable to have recalled him, but Essex had enemies, particularly Leicester, who did all they could to prevent his returning to court, so that he continued in his disagreeable commission, to the almost utter ruin of his fortune. Towards the end of the year 1574, Essex sent over to Elizabeth a plan for civilizing Ulster, by building there three new towns and ten forts. While the project was under deliberation, M^r Phelim, Turlogh, and the Scots, again endeavoured to surprize and cut him off: but the earl discovering the plot, he was beforehand with the conspirators, of whom he killed two hundred, and took M^r Phelim and his wife prisoners. These commotions in Ireland gave Elizabeth great disquiet, she looking upon them as fomented underhand by the French and Spaniards; she therefore redoubled her attention towards settling the affairs of that country. One Chaderton, an English gentleman, offered to people the Fues and the O'Hanlan territory with English; but the inexpressible obstinacy of the native Irish, and the selfishness of the English already settled in Ireland, defeated that design, to the ruin of Chaderton's fortune. A worse fate befel a natural son of sir Thomas Smith, the secretary of state, who was sent over to plant a colony in the peninsula called the Arles, in the east of Ulster: every horseman inhabiting that tract was to have one hundred and forty Irish acres, and every footman one hundred and twenty (almost five hundred English acres); but the design was defeated, and young Smith, after carrying over the colony, was treacherously murdered by Neal Breanarths. His death was soon after revenged by Malbey, the English governor of Lecale, who killed the murderer, and left his body to be devoured by wolves. So many untowardly circumstances determined Elizabeth at last to give the earl of Essex leave to return to England, which he did; and to change the government of the country, which was once more put into the hands of sir Henry Sidney. This gentleman had served in that capacity twice already with great success; and the finances there were now put under a new regulation. He undertook to plant Leih and Offaley with English adventurers, and, if possible, to raise from them sums for discharging the crown debts in Ireland. But Elizabeth, in the mean time, besides the ordinary revenues of Ireland, was to remit him twenty thousand pounds every year out of England, provided that he fortified Carrickfergus, and built some bridges, necessary for the quiet of the country*.

Early in the year 1575, the queen sent Roger, lord North, into France, to congratulate Henry III. on his return and happy inauguration into the kingdom of his ancestors. Henry was no sooner seated

in the throne than he resolved to pursue the favourite scheme of his mother, and the late king his brother, to extirpate the protestants, and actually renewed hostilities against the Huguenots, without any provocation given by them since the peace granted by Charles IX. in the year 1573. But, fearing the queen of England should assist them, his first care was to renew the treaty of Blois in its utmost extent, to which Elizabeth consented, and, by Mr. de la Chatre, sent Henry the order of the Garter.

This, however, did not hinder her from furnishing John Casimir, son to the deceased elector Palatine, with a sum of money, to levy and lead into France a body of ten thousand Germans to the assistance of the duke of Alençon and the king of Navarre, who, making their escape from the French court, had put themselves at the head of the male-content party, and made war upon the government jointly with the Huguenots. It was probably to furnish out supplies for this occasion, that the queen, in April this year, issued out privy seals for a loan of sixty thousand pounds sterling, half of which was charged upon the citizens of London, ten thousand pounds on the clergy, and the other twenty thousand pounds on the gentry of the kingdom.

Whilst Elizabeth was thus secure from any attempts on the side of France or Spain, who were both too much embarrassed with their own affairs to have leisure to think of disturbing her peace, it is not easy to conceive how she could have any reason to be jealous of the queen of Scots, who was kept so close a prisoner, that it was scarce possible for her to correspond with any one; yet a great stir was made about letters and packets being conveyed to her, and a negociation being set on foot between her and de Guouza, the Spanish resident. Five persons of quality were committed to the Tower, and divers others examined on the subject; but, after the utmost diligence in enquiry, nothing came to light, all being founded on mere suspicion. The death of the duke of Chatelerault†, in the beginning of this year, and the insane state of mind under which his son, the earl of Arran, now laboured, seemed to overturn all hopes of reviving a party for Mary in Scotland. The regent, Morton, was master of the kingdom, and being a most obedient slave to the queen of England, this last had nothing more to desire in Scotland but to get the young prince delivered into her hands, which, perhaps, was the reason why such large sums were sent at this time to Killigrew, resident in that country. Unluckily this happened to be the only point in which Morton could not gratify her, the prince being in custody of the young earl of Marr's uncle, in the castle of Stirling; and this trusty guardian would not give up his charge without an order from the estates of Scotland, who would not suffer the prince to be carried out of the kingdom. Morton next formed a scheme for getting the king out of the hands of Erskine, by making a match between the late earl of Marr's widow and his own nephew the earl of Angus; but the lady dying in July this year, he was disappointed in this measure also.

* Cox's History of Ireland.

† James Hamilton, duke of Chatelerault, and earl of Arran, was great-grand-son to James II. of Scotland, by his daughter. He was appointed tutor to Mary, queen of Scots, and governor and presumptive heir of the kingdom during her minority.

Upon his delivering her to the French, he was made duke of Chatelerault in France. Camden, p. 454. This year also, on the fifteenth of May, died the learned Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury. Strype. Stowe, p. 679.

Before the end of this year the Huguenots, strengthened by the accession of the German army under the prince of Condé and prince Casimir, but much more by the credit and influence of the king of Navarre, who had assumed the command of them, rendered themselves so formidable that Henry III. was glad to grant them a truce of six months, at the mediation of Elizabeth, who now openly patronized the duke of Alençon. This was the fifth pacification made with the Huguenots; but the terms of it being extremely disgraceful and disadvantageous to the crown of France, it gave the highest offence to the catholics, and furnished Henry, duke of Guise (son to Francis, the deceased duke, slain at the siege of Orleans), with the desired pretext for condemning the measures and maxims of his sovereign. That bold and daring leader embraced the same opportunity of forming his party into a regular and consistent body, and laid the first foundation of the famous league, which, without regarding the royal authority, aimed at the total extirpation of the Huguenots; while Henry endeavoured, but in vain, to adopt a new plan, by acting as an umpire between the two parties, and, by balancing their power, to reduce both to a dependence on himself. But such was the wretched condition of France, from the past severities of its princes, that toleration and indulgence could be no longer practised, and an edict for liberty of conscience, which would probably have satisfied the protestants, inflamed the resentment of the catholics to the highest pitch.

Philip II. in the low ebb of his affairs, had, some time before, solicited an accommodation with Elizabeth, who, with a view to obtain some advantages in trade to her subjects, agreed to adjust the difference subsisting between the two crowns. Commissioners were appointed to settle the accompts of the seizures on both sides; the balance was very honourably paid to the king of Spain; and the commerce between England and his territories renewed by a treaty concluded at Bristol. Upon the faith of this good understanding between the two courts, Lewis Zuniga, the successor of the duke of Alva in the Netherlands, being wholly bent to recover the command of the sea, which his predecessor had so impolitically neglected, sent to Elizabeth, desiring leave to hire ships and mariners in England, and demanded that all the Dutch rebels should be expelled the kingdom. Although the queen refused to comply with those requests, yet, upon his sending away the earl of Westmoreland and other English fugitives out of the Low Countries, she banished all the Dutch who carried arms against the king of Spain, and prohibited her subjects from receiving any such persons into her ports or harbours.

This however did not hinder the prince of Orange and the estates of Holland and Zealand, who found themselves unable to support the war much longer against the wealth and power of Spain, from venturing, in the spring of the year 1576, to send deputies to implore the assistance of Elizabeth, and to offer her the sovereignty of their country, as being descended from Philippa, wife to Edward III. and daughter to William III. of Bavaria, earl of Holland and Zealand. Though this title was ridiculous, yet it served Elizabeth as some pretext to pause upon their offer. The deputation consisted of Philip Marnix, lord of Aldegonde; James Douza, Wil-

liam Nieuville, Paul Buys, advocate for the states of Holland, and Melsen, a lawyer. A deputation of so many illustrious men was what Elizabeth had long wanted, and she neither granted nor rejected their request; but, after having taken some time for consideration, she gave them for answer, that "as yet she conceived not how, with the safety of her honour and an upright conscience, she could receive those provinces into her possession; but promised she would use her best offices with the king of Spain, for obtaining them a suitable peace." Accordingly she actually sent an ambassador to the court of Spain for that purpose; but Philip found means to evade a punctual answer, no accommodation ensued, and the war continued to rage with as much violence as ever.

The Hollanders, who now appeared on the very brink of perdition, were happily delivered from their distresses by a mere accident: Zuniga being carried off this year by a sudden death, the Spanish troops, discontented for want of pay, and licentious for want of a proper commander, broke out into a most terrible mutiny; they sacked and plundered the cities of Antwerp and Maestricht, and massacred near seventeen thousand persons of all ages and sexes, without any possibility of preventing their outrages; and the mutineers menacing all the other cities of the Low Countries with the fate of the two already mentioned, all the provinces, excepting only that of Luxembourg, engaged in an association for their mutual defence, and sent to the prince of Orange, who was then in Holland, imploring his protection, and that he would put himself at their head. Hereupon conferences were held at Ghent, where was formed the union of the Low Countries, called the Union or Pacification of Ghent, which laid the foundation of the present States of the United Provinces. This union, which was signed on the eighth of November this year, 1576, was for the defence of the laws and liberties of the inhabitants of the Low Countries, against the encroachments, oppressions, and cruelties, that had been exercised upon them by Spanish tyranny. Notwithstanding this, they were still willing to own the king of Spain's authority, provided he would govern according to the ancient laws. This union being thus formed, the fortresses raised by the duke of Alva, to keep the Netherlands in subjection, were demolished every where. Some time after the association was sworn to by the clergy and nobility at Brussels. By this Philip II. lost almost all his authority in the Low Countries, having only the bare title of sovereign, unless he would confine himself to the rights enjoyed by his predecessors, which was very far from his thoughts.

France was not at more quiet than the Low Countries. The duke of Alençon had assembled an army against the king, in favour of the Huguenots. On the other hand, the prince of Condé, with the forces levied by prince Casimir, his brother, entered France, and joined the duke of Alençon. Thus the Huguenots, whom the court was determined to extirpate, were in a condition to sell their lives dear, having at their head the king's brother, the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, with an army of thirty thousand men. But the queen-mother had the address to break all their measures: she sent them offers of treating, and, during the negotiation, found means to sow jealousy among them, and win from them the duke

of Alençon and prince Casimir: in short, she caused them to agree to a truce, which, for all its seeming advantages, proved fatal to them, as it disunited their forces. The treaty was concluded on the ninth of May, and enrolled six months after by the parliament of Paris. The Huguenots had never obtained so advantageous a peace since the beginning of the troubles. In October the duke of Alençon came to court, where the queen his mother disengaged him entirely from the party of the Huguenots: then it was that he assumed the title of duke of Anjou, borne by the king his brother before he ascended the throne†.

But the peace was no sooner signed, than the catholic party took effectual measures to frustrate its salutary intentions. The condescension of Henry III. in granting such favourable terms to the Huguenots*, emboldened the duke of Guise to form the league, which had been projected by his uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, now dead, in defence of the catholic religion, with a design to raise himself upon the ruins of a miserable and ill-governed kingdom. The state now teemed with factions, and Henry de Guise was formed for them. He was son to the deceased duke Francis, slain at the siege of Orleans, and is said to have had all the noble qualities of his father, with the most headstrong and designing ambition: like him he captivated all hearts; and it was commonly said of the father and son, that, in comparison with them, all other princes appeared but as common men.

The league, or Holy Union as its establishers thought proper to term it, was set on foot at Paris; papers were dispersed among the citizens, containing a project of association for the defence of religion, the king, and the liberty of the subject; or rather to oppress at once king, religion, and state. The league was afterwards solemnly signed at Peronne, and through the greatest part of Picardy; and soon after the rest of the provinces acceded to it: the king of Spain declared himself its protector, and it afterwards received the sanction of the apostolic see. The king, pressed between the protestants, who demanded additional privileges, and the leaguers, who wanted to deprive him of his own, thought to strike a blow in politics by signing the league, for fear it should crush him, and declaring himself its chief, which inspired the other members with double boldness. He now found himself, much against his will, obliged, in an assembly of the states, to revoke the edict of pacification which he had concluded with the reformed, and to renew the war against them. However, we shall in the end find him not only obliged once more to give peace to that deceived and distressed part of his subjects, but even to owe his safety on the throne to their loyalty.

And now the earl of Essex, who, out of Leicester's enmity, had been recalled from Ireland, was, out of Leicester's fear, sent thither again. It seems Essex had threatened him with vengeance; and the minister, who never durst venture his credit with Elizabeth in glaring acts of injustice, pocketed all his reproaches, and, under pretence of making him amends, he was this year created earl-marshal of Ireland for life, in

the room of sir Nicholas Bagnal, and sent back to that kingdom, where every thing was, as usual, in the utmost confusion; but the earl finding, notwithstanding his late conferred dignity, that he was little better than a private officer, took it so to heart, that, about September, he fell ill of a bloody flux, which carried him off in the thirty-sixth year of his age, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by the earl of Leicester's procurement; and what gave this suspicion greater weight, was, that scarcely had the grave received the last remains of Essex, when Leicester, putting away his wife, the lady Douglas Sheffield, married the deceased earl's relict: we leave the reader to draw his own conclusion.

We shall add to the occurrences of this year, that a company of English merchants sent out Martin Forbisher, the famous seaman, with three pinnaces, to discover the north-west passage. Forbisher sailed from Harwich on the eighteenth of June, and on the ninth of August entered in a bay, under the latitude 63°, where he found inhabitants much resembling the ancient Britons, as they have been described: but being frozen up, he was obliged to return without any farther discovery, on the twenty-fourth of September. Two years after, he made the same attempt, and with the like ill success.

This year died the emperor Maximilian, a prince that had deserved well of queen Elizabeth and the English, who thereupon sent sir Philip Sidney to his son Rodolphus, king of the Romans, with compliments of condolence on the death of his father, and to congratulate him on his accession to the Imperial dignity.

But the most memorable event in this period was a session of parliament, summoned on the eighth of February this year, where debates were started, full of that spirit of freedom which was so new and so offensive to the ear of majesty at that time: accordingly it drew on the promoters the indignation of the queen and the courtiers. Some of the members were committed, but soon after released. The curious reader may find the sum of those debates accurately and concisely related by Mr. Hume, in his history of this reign: as they would too much swell this work, were they to be here inserted, we have contented ourselves with this cursory mention of them.

We come now to the year 1577, which was opened by the ambitious projects of don John of Austria, who had been made governor of the Netherlands in the preceding year, and who was a prince famous through Europe for the glorious victory he gained over the Turkish fleet at Lepanto, and for his ambition in attempting to get himself made king of Tunis. Don John was naturally of an aspiring genius, and, encouraged by the successes which had hitherto attended him in all his undertakings, had projected in his mind a scheme far beyond the reduction of the revolted provinces, and had actually entered into a league with the pope and king of Spain, to assist him in obtaining the queen of Scots for a wife, and placing him upon the throne of Britain.

† Mezerai. P. Daniel.

* By this treaty Henry disowned the late bloody massacre, in which, however, he was but too deeply concerned: he exempts from taxes, for six years, the children of all those who were killed on that fatal day: restores the memory of the late attainted admiral Coligni to its honours: and, to complete his

own humiliation, submits to pay the German troops of prince Palatine Casimir, those very troops who had forced him to conclude this peace. But not having money enough to satisfy them, he permitted them to live at discretion for three months in the provinces of Champagne and Burgundy. Volt. Gen. Hist. vol. v. p. 67.

On his taking upon him the government of the Netherlands, he chose rather to inflame than allay the quarrel between the Flemings and the Spaniards, and as he found the states resolved to confine his authority within very narrow limits, he took all occasions of mortifying them. But the prince of Orange having gotten notice of his design upon the queen of Scots, imparted the same to Elizabeth; who now seeing, from the ruin of all the provinces, a probable prospect of opposing the Spanish usurpations, she no longer scrupled to undertake the defence of their liberties, which seemed to be intimately connected with her own safety.

In the mean time the breach between don John and the states grew daily wider: the latter thought that don John wanted to strip them of their liberties, and he imagined his life to be in danger from the states. The effect of all this mutual distrust was, that don John, thinking himself no longer safe in Brussels, where he had hitherto resided, surprised the castle of Namur, to the great joy of the prince of Orange's party, who thought, as don John had now thrown off the mask, that the states might throw away the scabbard, which they accordingly did; for they not only openly challenged don John to shew any cause for so violent a proceeding, which set aside the late pacification, but sent the marquis of Hautrec and Adolphus Meetkirck to Elizabeth in the autumn of this year, to vindicate their proceedings, and to solicit from her the loan of one hundred thousand pounds for eight months. Elizabeth readily gave them credit for this, provided certain towns were bound for the repayment: and she also entered into a treaty with them, whereby "she engaged to assist them with five thousand foot and one thousand horse, to be paid by the Flemings, and to be commanded by an English general, who was to have a seat in the council of the states; that no step relating to peace or war should be taken, without previously imparting it either to the queen or him; that they should conclude no league without her consent; that if any difference happened among themselves, it should be submitted to her arbitration; and that if any prince, on any pretext, should presume to make war upon her, they should send to her aid an army equal to that which she employed in their service*.

In the mean time Elizabeth ordered Wilkes to repair to the court of Spain, where he presented a memorial to that king, on the twentieth of December, importing, "that the queen by no means intended to break the ancient alliance between England and the house of Burgundy; that with this view she had refused the principality of Holland and Zealand when offered her; had advised the prince of Orange to return to his allegiance, and had even threatened him with her displeasure, in case of refusal; but withal, if the king of Spain would wish to see this part of his subjects quietly embrace his rule, she counselled him, as a friend, to oblige don John to resign his government, and that some other prince, more popular, might be appointed in his room; that the Spanish forces might be recalled, and the Flemings re-established in the possession of their liberties:" adding, "that if, after these concessions, they should still refuse to return to their duty, she engaged to join her arms with those of the king of Spain, and compel them

to submit†." It is likely Philip was not very well pleased with these reasons, but he feigned to be so, yet still continued to furnish don John with money and troops.

The rumour of the correspondence between don John and the queen of Scots had this summer alarmed the court with a report of her having escaped from Chatworth: this produced a very earnest letter, by Elizabeth's orders, from Burleigh to the earl of Shrewsbury, who had the custody of Mary, recommending to him a greater circumspection than ever with regard to his charge, and not without expressing some suspicion that some of his lordship's family were in confederacy with Mary. But though we know not that any such escape was attempted, yet Elizabeth this year held a strict hand over the papists: many suspected of that religion were put out of the commission of peace; some were severely fined; and one Maine, a priest, was put to death, upon the statute prohibiting the importation of popish trinkets into England; while a gentleman of Cornwall, one Trugion, was condemned to lose his estate, and to be imprisoned during life, for harbouring him. These severities occasioned many reflections upon the government: and while one Jenkins, a bookseller, was trying at the Oxford assizes, a sudden pestilential vapour so fatally affected the judge, the sheriff, with some other persons of distinction, and about three hundred common people, that they all died within a fortnight after.

At this time the affairs of France were in a very melancholy situation. Henry III. could not be said to reign: the catholic league and the protestant confederacy (whereof the king of Navarre was declared general, and the prince of Condé appointed his lieutenant) made war upon each other in despite of him, in all the provinces of the kingdom. Epidemic diseases and famine were added to these scourges: and at this time of general calamity, in order to set up his own favourites against the duke of Guise, after having created Joyeuse and d'Espèrnon dukes and peers, and given them precedence over their seniors, Henry expended four millions of livres on the marriage of the duke of Joyeuse with the sister of the queen his consort, and gave him rank as the king's brother-in-law. New taxes were imposed to defray these prodigalities: this excited the indignation of the public afresh. Had the duke of Guise not made a league against the king, his conduct was sufficient to have produced a general defection. In a word, the faction of Sixteen was now formed: this was a kind of particular league for Paris only, consisting of several persons, who were distributed in the sixteen wards of that city, and who shared the administration one among another: they were staunch friends to the duke of Guise, and sworn enemies to the king, to whom nothing of that august rank remained but the name.

England mean while enjoyed peace and plenty under the wise administration of Elizabeth; but Philip of Spain burned with an eager desire to retort upon the queen the ill offices he thought she had done him, by assisting the confederates of the Low Countries. With this view he entered into a consultation with the pope (now Gregory XIII.) to invade at once both England and Ireland. Gre-

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xv. p. 784. Camden, p. 466.

† Stowe, p. 682.

gory had formed a project some time before, to gain the latter of these kingdoms for James Buon Campagno, his bastard son, whom he had made marquis of Vincola. As the greatest strength of England consisted in her shipping, it was resolved, under various pretexts, to hire several of the vessels for long voyages, to the end that while they were absent, the English ports might be seized by a superior fleet. At the same time one Thomas Stukeley, an English fugitive, was to be sent over to join the Irish rebels with a strong body of forces. This man, by making a great boast, and pretending that he was able to reduce the kingdom of Ireland for the pope's bastard, had so insinuated himself into the good graces of the ambitious old pontiff, that he invested him with the titles of marquis of Leinster, and earl of Wexford and Catherlough (the principal dignities of Ireland), and appointed him commander of eight hundred Italians, to be employed in the Irish war; with which Stukeley setting sail from Civita Vecchia, in the spring of 1578, landed at Lisbon. Here he suffered himself to be persuaded by don Sebastian, king of Portugal (to whom the chief command of the expedition against England was assigned) to engage in his service against the Moors in Africa, after which they were to proceed together to Ireland: but both Sebastian and himself being slain in the memorable battle of Alcazar, this design was frustrated.

In the Netherlands, don John of Austria being reinforced by the Spanish troops from Italy, and another body of forces from that country, under the command of Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma, obtained a signal victory, at Gemblours, over the confederates, whose affairs began to decline in consequence of religious disputes. The towns of Amsterdam, Haarlem, and Utrecht, expelled their magistrates, and put the government into the hands of the protestants. The catholics, alarmed at these events, which seemed to portend the destruction of the old religion, proposed to confer the government of the state upon the duke of Anjou, who was accordingly declared protector of the Belgic liberty. The protestants demanded, that they should be admitted to the exercise of public employments as well as the catholics; this demand was granted by the states, on condition that the catholics should enjoy the same privileges in Holland and Zealand. These two provinces eluded this article, and hence dissensions arose among the confederates. This division was increased by the inhabitants of Ghent, who expelled the Romish priests from their city, while the people of Artois and Hainault banished the protestants, in their turn. Don John, in hope of profiting by this animosity, attacked the army of the states in their camp at Rymenant, in Brabant, and was repulsed, after a very obstinate engagement, in which sir John Norreys, second son of the lord Norreys of Rycot, and colonel Stuart, at the head of two regiments of English and Scottish volunteers, signalized themselves by remarkable acts of valour. This event miscarrying, don John endeavoured to amuse them with proposals of peace, till his army should be reinforced: they agreed to the negotiation for the same reason, for they expected to be joined by prince Casimir and a considerable body of Germans, and the duke of Anjou had already advanced to the frontiers of Hainault with eight thousand au-

xiliaries. By these junctions on both sides, don John found himself at the head of fifty thousand men, including infantry and cavalry, and the army of the estates amounted to three-score thousand; but this last was rendered useless by the disputes between the inhabitants of Ghent and the provinces of Hainault and Artois; some of their troops mutinied, and joining the people of Artois, made incursions into Flanders; and the inhabitants of Ghent brought over prince Casimir to their interest, by promising to pay his soldiers, he having squandered away the money which Elizabeth had remitted to him for that purpose. Davison was sent over by the queen to make severe remonstrances on this subject; but he made such an apology as she admitted, for in the winter he visited her court, where he was graciously received, and invested with the order of the Garter. Don John dying suddenly, not without suspicion of poison, was succeeded in command by the prince of Parma, to whom the estates of Artois and Hainault submitted; and the duke of Anjou seeing this defection, dismissed his troops and retired to France. While he resided in the Low Countries, he dispatched Martel de Bacqueville to England, to renew the negotiations of his marriage with Elizabeth; afterwards the king of France sent over Rambouillet for the same purpose; and both these envoys were received in such a manner as seemed to denote her approbation of the proposal. This was thought to be the more sincere, as she had now no cause to dissemble her sentiments.

This year sir Henry Sidney was, at his own request, recalled from Ireland, where the service was full of trouble and danger, and the reward void of profit or reputation: sir William Drury was sworn lord-deputy in his stead. But we are now to attend the affairs of Scotland, the critical situation of which now demanded all Elizabeth's attention.

The earl of Morton had hitherto retained that kingdom in a close alliance with England, and had also re-established domestic tranquility: but it was not likely, that the factitious authority of a regent would be long able to maintain itself in a country unacquainted with law and order, where the natural dominion of hereditary princes was so frequently opposed and controuled.

The nobility began anew to split into factions; the people were offended at some instances of Morton's avarice; and the clergy, who complained of farther encroachments on their narrow revenues, contributed to inflame the discontent of the other orders. The regent foresaw the approaching danger; and having dropt some peevish expression, as if he was willing to resign the government, the noblemen of the opposite party, favourites of the young king, embraced such a favourable opportunity, and demanded that dismissal which he seemed so readily to offer. James was only in the twelfth year of his age; yet Morton having, as he imagined, effectually provided for his own security by a general pardon, on the twelfth of March this year, resigned his authority into the hands of the king, who now pretended to conduct, in his own name, the affairs of the nation, while the late regent withdrew from the government, and seemed to devote himself entirely to his own private concerns; but, either disgusted with this inactivity, which appeared so insipid after the bustle of public life, or thinking it time to pull off the mask, he returned again

to court, and obtained an ascendant in the council; and though he resumed not the title of regent, continued to rule with his former authority.

The opposite party, after holding some private meetings, took to arms, under pretence of rescuing the prince from captivity, and re-instating him in the free exercise of his government: queen Elizabeth interposed her good offices, and effected an agreement between the factions: Morton kept possession of the government; but his enemies were numerous and powerful, and his authority seemed every day to be approaching towards its end.

Esme Stuart, count d'Aubigny, of the house of Lenox*, cousin-german to the king's father, had been born and educated in France; and being a young nobleman of a polite and insinuating address, he was judged by the duke of Guise to be a proper instrument for drawing off James from the English alliance, and attaching him to his mother and her relations. He no sooner arrived at Sterling, where James resided, than he engaged the affections of the young monarch; and uniting his influence with James Stuart of the house of Ochiltree, who had acquired the king's confidence, he employed himself, under the appearance of plays and amusement, in infusing into the tender mind of the prince, new sentiments of politics and government. He convinced him of the injustice which had been done to Mary in her deposition, and made him entertain some thoughts, either of resigning the crown in her favour, or of giving her a share in the administration.

Elizabeth was no sooner informed of these intrigues, than she dispatched sir Robert Bowes into Scotland; accused d'Aubigny, now created duke of Lenox, of an attachment to the French; and advised James to beware of engaging in such suspicious and dangerous commotions. The king apologized for his conduct by means of his ambassador; and Lenox, regarding the queen as his enemy, was farther instigated to undermine the English interest, and particularly to ruin Morton, who was considered as the head of that party.

Morton was seized in council, accused as an accomplice in the late king's murder, thrown into prison, brought to trial, and condemned to suffer the death of a traitor. He acknowledged that Bothwell had acquainted him with the design, had pleaded Mary's assent, and had solicited his assistance; but he denied that he had ever given his approbation to that crime; and in excuse for his silence, represented the danger of disclosing it, either to Henry, who had no resolution nor constancy, or to Mary, who seemed to have a capital share in perpetrating the deed. Elizabeth dispatched sir Richard Randolph, to intercede in Morton's favour; and that ambassador, not satisfied with performing this duty of his function, persuaded the earls of Argyll, Montrose, Angus, Marr, and Glencairn, to engage in a confederacy for protecting, even by force of arms, the life of the prisoner. The more to intimidate that nobleman's enemies, Elizabeth caused a body of forces to advance towards the borders of Scotland: but this expedient, instead of producing the de-

fired effect, contributed only to precipitate his fate.

Morton died with that courage and resolution, which he ever discovered in all the various scenes of his life; and, though blameable in some parts of his private conduct, he left behind him the character of an able and accomplished statesman.

In the course of this year, 1578, Egremont Radcliffe, son to Henry, earl of Suffex, by his second wife, who had been a leading man in the rebellion in the North, and afterwards served under don John of Austria, in the Netherlands, was accused by the English fugitives in the Spanish interest, with being accessory to the death of don John, upon which, whether true or false, he was arrested and put to death. The Spaniards have affirmed, that Radcliffe, in his last moments, voluntarily confessed that he had been freed from his confinement in the Tower of London, and sent over by Walsingham with large promises if he would perpetrate this fact; but the English, who were present at his death, deny his having made any such confession, though all means were used to wrest it from him by the English rebels.

The year 1579 opened with the departure from England of prince Casimir, who returned highly pleased with the honours paid him here, and repaired to his army in the Netherlands; and with the death of that great statesman and zealous friend to the protestant cause, sir Nicholas Bacon: he was descended from an ancient family in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, but was himself born at Chislehurst, in Kent, A. D. 1509. Mr. Lloyd sums up his character in this manner: "He understood his mistress well, and the times better: he could raise factions to serve one, and could allay them to suit the other. He had the deepest reach into affairs, of any man at the council-table; the acuteest head to penetrate into difficulties, the most comprehensive judgment to discern the merits of a cause, the strongest memory to recollect all business at one view, the greatest patience to debate and consider, and the clearest reason to urge any thing that came in his way, in council or chancery. His favour was eminent with his mistress, and his alliance strong with her statesmen. His dexterity and dispatch advanced him to the court of wards, his deep experience made him lord-keeper. He was the exactest man to draw up regulations in council, and the most discreet to execute them in court. When others urged the repeal of the act whereby Elizabeth was declared illegitimate, he was for waving that design, thinking the closure of a festered wound more prudent than the opening it; and judging it higher wisdom to satisfy the world with the old law, that the crown takes away all defects, than to perplex it with new disputes. His account of England and all its affairs, was punctual; his use of learned artists, was continual; his correspondence with his fellow statesmen, exact; his apprehension of our laws and government, clear; his model of both, methodical; his faithfulness to the church, eminent; and his industrious invention for the state, indefatigable: he was, in a word, a father to his country, as he was of sir Nicholas Bacon, of Redgrave, the first baronet of England, and of sir

* He had his title from the town of Aubigny, in France; which title Charles IX. of France had formerly conferred on John Stuart, of the family of Lenox, who being constable of

the Scottish army in France, vanquished the English in one battle, and was slain by them in another; and from that time this title belonged to the youngest branch of that house.

Francis Bacon, lord viscount Verulam, and lord-chancellor of England.

It was not only the loss of this good and faithful servant, but the growing power and artful contrivance of the papists that gave the queen, at this time, more than ordinary concern. The pope himself, not discouraged by the miscarriage of Stukely, as noted before, sent more forces into Ireland, and renewed the bull of pope Pius V. and granted a bull for founding a new college at Rome for training up the English fugitives in rebellion, of whom, among other things, it was required, before they could be admitted, to take the oath, "that they would at any time, at the command of their superiors, return into their own country, and be ready to," &c.

This year also was remarkable for bringing Robert Parsons and Edmund Campain into England, who were the first two Jesuits that ever appeared in this kingdom. At the same time the nation swarmed with priests and emissaries from the pope, to preach sedition and rebellion, under colour of administering the sacraments to the scrupulous catholics, and under the disguise of gentlemen, merchants, artificers, and even in the garb of soldiers. Which being known at court, was enough to awake the attention of the queen and her council, who had not forgot the effects of bulls and excommunications, where many were bound by oath, and others thought themselves obliged by conscience, to see them executed; and this produced a proclamation, commanding all those that had any children, wards, or kinsmen beyond sea, to give in their names to the ordinary in ten days, and to call them home in four months; and forbidding all persons to entertain or harbour any Jesuit or priest sent forth from the seminaries of Rome or Rheims, on pain of being punished as rebels and seditious persons. However, this did not deter the malecontents from their pernicious designs. Seditious books were dispersed, asserting the king of Spain's right to the crown, and his and the pope's engagements to assist Elizabeth's rebellious subjects, in case they would take up arms to dethrone her. And these declarations being backed immediately by the forces of these two enemies, which landed in Ireland, under San Joseppo, an Italian commander, though without success, they being obliged by the earl of Ormond to surrender at discretion in five days after he had opened the trenches before the fort del Oro, which they had built, the queen issued out another proclamation, that they who would not keep within the bounds of their duty, must expect no favour.

The difficulties and dangers which so threatened the state greatly forwarded the treaty of marriage between Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou; for which purpose ambassadors from the court of France had all last year been passing backwards and forwards between France and England; at last the baron de Simier, the most artful man in France for the management of a love-intrigue, was sent over to put a finishing hand to this negotiation. This man gained such an ascendant over the passions of Elizabeth, that she seemed to have conceived a very warm affection for the person of the duke of Anjou, insomuch that Leicester and others affirmed she was infatuated by the arts of incantation. Simier, in revenge, did Leicester all the ill offices he could with the queen, and was the first that in-

formed her of that nobleman's private marriage with the widow of Essex. She was so incensed at this information, that she ordered the earl to be confined in the castle of Greenwich, and would actually have committed him to the Tower, had not the earl of Sussex, though his enemy, generously interposed in his behalf, and represented the injustice of punishing any subject for contracting a lawful marriage.

In the mean while the duke of Anjou, flattered by the intelligence he received from his agent, came over to England incognito, attended by two domestics only, towards the end of May this year, and paid the queen a visit at Greenwich, who expressed great satisfaction at his unexpected arrival; and, after a short conversation with her, the subject of which has not transpired, he departed.

But Elizabeth was so apprehensive of the hostile intentions of Philip, whose power was greatly augmented by his late acquisitions, that she resolved not to let the affair of the marriage cool; and this winter she ordered Burleigh (now treasurer), Sussex, Leicester, Bedford, Lincoln, Hatton, and secretary Walsingham, to settle with the French ambassador the terms of the intended alliance.

Henry III. of France sent on this occasion a very splendid embassy into England, composed of Francis de Bourbon, dauphin of Auvergne, and many considerable noblemen: and as Elizabeth had, in a manner, the power of choosing what terms she pleased, the articles were soon adjusted with the English commissioners.

It was agreed, "I. that the marriage should be solemnized within six weeks after the ratification of the articles.

"II. That the duke and his attendants should be indulged with the free exercise of their religion.

"III. That, after the marriage, he should enjoy the title of King, but the administration should remain in the hands of Elizabeth.

"IV. That their children, male or female, should succeed to the crown of England.

"V. That if there be two males, the eldest, in case of Henry's death without issue, should be king of France, the younger of England.

"VI. That if there be but one male, and he succeed to the crown of France, he should be obliged to reside in England eight months every two years.

"VII. That the laws and customs of England should be preserved inviolate.

"VIII. And that no foreigner should be advanced by the duke to any office in England."

These articles, however, were not positively concluded, but the discussion of them referred either to a parliament, or a conference between the queen and the duke of Anjou.

The public, who generally judge by appearances, began now to consider the match to be as good as concluded, and the puritans thought popery was already at their gates. The apprehension of this drove one Stubbs to publish a libel against the match, in which he abuses the French king, his brother, and the French ambassador with great virulence. This performance had so remarkable an influence upon the public, that Elizabeth ordered a proclamation to be drawn up, expressly in answer to the facts and reasonings brought by the libeller; and all the clergy in England had orders to set the queen's

queen's proceedings, in the matter of her marriage, in a true (that is, favourable) light to their congregations. Stubbs, the author, and Page, the bookseller, were prosecuted as libellers, and condemned to lose their right hands, which were accordingly chopped off by the executioner; and Stubbs afterwards endured a long imprisonment in the Tower.

This year affords little extraordinary besides what we have already related, except the execution of Matthew Harmont for blasphemy, at Norwich; the establishment of the Turkey Company, by virtue of a treaty with Amurath, sultan of the Turks, managed by sir William Harbourn; the appointing sir Thomas Bromley lord high-chancellor of England, upon the decease of sir Nicholas Bacon; and the death of sir Thomas Gresham, who built the Royal Exchange, and dedicated a large house to the purposes of learning, called after him Gresham College, where he founded lectures in divinity, the civil law, medicine, astronomy, geometry, rhetoric, and music.

In the Low Countries, the prince of Parma amused the confederates with a negotiation at Cologne, and in the mean time fomented their dissensions and mutual animosities. The prince of Orange, far from being dispirited by the defection of Hainault, Artois, and some other popish provinces, which submitted to Philip, exerted all his influence and industry in strengthening the confederacy of those provinces which still persisted in the resolution to throw off the Spanish yoke. At length he effected the famous treaty of Utrecht, between Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Utrecht, to which Ghent and Ypres afterwards acceded, and the prince was elected governor of Flanders. Mean while the prince of Parma reduced Maastricht, and then dismissed great part of his Spanish and Italian troops, according to his agreement with the states who had submitted; an act of honour and good faith which was productive of the voluntary submission of Mechlin, Lisle, and Valenciennes.

The news from Scotland was rather disagreeable than otherwise to Elizabeth. The young king was now wholly governed by two young favourites, minions of the duke of Guise, who wanted to engage the king to marry a daughter of France, and, after marriage, to declare the duke of Guise his lieutenant-general, which must have ended in the worst of consequences to Elizabeth.

The city of London increasing excessively, to the detriment of the rest of the towns of the kingdom, the queen thought it necessary to remedy this inconvenience: she published therefore, in the beginning of the year 1580, a proclamation, prohibiting any new buildings within three miles of the gates of the city, upon pain of imprisonment, and forfeiture of the materials; and ordered that no more than one family should live in a house.

But there was still a more pressing evil which it was no less necessary to remedy, I mean the practices of the papists; for the farther the enquiries of the government reached, the stronger reasons were found for being upon its guard against the pernicious order of Jesuits, which had now got footing in England. It was discovered, that, notwithstanding the late regulations, they still persisted in spreading seditious tenets, and encouraging, not only those of their own religion, but all the lewd, the needy, and the turbulent, to join in attempt-

ing a revolution. In short, the zeal and activity of the papists were such as drew upon themselves a storm of persecution; nor can the severities now exercised against them be excused by any other apology but the danger they had brought upon their country. Campian, the Jesuit, who published a treatise, called the Ten Reasons, in favour of the church of Rome, was taken and executed; but Parsons, the other Jesuit, who had come over with him, making his escape to the continent, joined the English refugees in soliciting the king of Spain to invade England.

While the church and state of England were thus threatened on the one hand from the fury of the papists, they were no less disquieted on the other by the fanatical opinions of sectaries, imported from Germany and the Low Countries. A new sect, founded by Nicholai, a Dutchman, and termed the Family of Love, prevailed at this time in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk: they rejected the Lord's Prayer, the sacraments, and the outward admission of ministers; they confined salvation to themselves, holding the rest of the world as reprobates; they were guilty of the most scandalous impurities and libertinism, and published apologies, filled with all the absurdities of fanaticism; till at length, a proclamation being published against them, they were prosecuted and suppressed.

This year, 1580, was remarkable for the return of captain Francis Drake from his voyage, which he had completed round the world. This man was born of mean parents in the county of Devon: having amassed a large fortune by some depredations made on the Spaniards in the Isthmus of Panama, and having there got a view of the Pacific Ocean, or South Sea, was so actuated by ambition and a thirst of gain, that he ventured to employ his whole substance in a new adventure through those seas, so little known at that time to the European nations.

It falls not under a general history to give all the particulars of this famous voyage; but it is proper to mention those of a public concern. He was introduced to court by Hatton, upon proposing to sail to the South Seas through the streights of Magellan, a voyage till that time unattempted by Englishmen. The fleet with which he set sail consisted of the following vessels: the Pelican, commanded by himself, of the burden of one hundred tons; the Elizabeth, vice-admiral, eighty tons, under captain John Winter; the Marygold, a bark of thirty tons, commanded by captain John Thomas; the Swan, a fly boat of fifty tons, under captain John Chester; and the Christopher, a pin-nace of fifteen tons, under captain John Noon. On board those ships, the largest of which would at this time be deemed too small for undertaking a common voyage to any of our own settlements, embarked one hundred and sixty-four men, and on the thirteenth of December, 1577, Drake sailed from Falmouth; on the twentieth of August following, having turned two of his ships adrift, but taking their crews and provisions on board, he entered the streights of Magellan, and passed them with his own ship only. While he was in the South Sea he took a prodigious booty from the Spaniards, whom he treated as enemies: he sacked and plundered the town of St. Aricia; and in one ship he took four hundred pounds weight of Baldivian gold: on land he seized the value of four hundred thousand

thousand ducats, in bars of silver; and all along the coast he found such security that he had little to do but to load his ship with gold, silver, and precious stones. At last he had intelligence that the viceroy of Peru had sent Pedro Sarmiento, with two ships, to intercept him on his return through the Straights of Magellan.

This news, with his own adventuring spirit, determined him, if possible, to find a way back to England by the north of America, which he coasted to the latitude of forty-eight degrees; but finding this impracticable, fell back to the latitude of thirty-eight degrees, where he landed in a convenient harbour, amongst an hospitable people, and, in Elizabeth's name, took possession of the country, to which he gave the name of New Albion. It was the twenty ninth of September before he set sail from thence, and the lateness of the season, joined to the danger of the navigation, determined him to sail to the Moluccos, where he arrived in the middle of November. On the fifteenth of June next year, after various adventures and dangers, he doubled the Cape of Good Hope, with but fifty-seven men on board his ship, and three casks of water. On the twenty-fifth of September (Camden says the third of November) he entered again the harbour of Plymouth, finding his countrymen in high admiration of his intrepidity, his constancy and good fortune.

His adventure, however, became matter of very serious consideration to Elizabeth. Drake had left England on pretext of a voyage to the Levant: the treaties between Elizabeth's ancestors and the house of Burgundy were still in full force, and many doubted whether they were not violated by Drake's proceedings. Mendoza, the Spanish resident, presented very warm memorials, accusing him of robbery and piracy, and reclaiming all the treasure he had taken. Elizabeth for some time forbore to declare her opinion either for or against Drake, and he therefore sought to procure friends at court, by making large presents to some of the chief men there. The voice of the public, and her own good sense, which never failed her, soon determined Elizabeth in the part she was to act; she sequestered the treasure, all but what she allowed to Drake, though what that was does not appear.

The Spanish ministry was informed that if Drake had been guilty of any thing irregular, he was ready to answer the law, and that the booty he had made was sequestered to make satisfaction: it was added, by Elizabeth's order, that his catholic majesty had forced her, by supporting her rebels in Ireland, to spend a greater treasure than even that which Drake had brought into England: that no treaty betwixt his catholic majesty and her subsisted, by which her subjects were excluded from trading to the West Indies; that she could not look upon that country to be the sole property of his catholic majesty, as he held it from no better title than the donation from the bishop of Rome, who having no right over those countries himself, could convey none to another, and whose authority, both in spiritual and temporal matters, she disowned; that the insignificant ceremonies which the Spaniards made use of, in taking possession of tracts of land in America, should never preclude her from sending thither colonies of her people, far less from looking upon the ocean as the property of any prince or person.

Though this was the true language which all protestant princes ought to have held during the infancy of the Spanish power in the West Indies, before it was established by prescription, or confirmed by treaties, yet Elizabeth would not venture to push that doctrine so far as to treat the Spaniards as they had treated the natives of America; she ordered a large sum of money to be restored to Seburra, a Spanish agent, who, instead of paying it to the proprietors, remitted it to the prince of Parma, in the Low Countries. But that the whole was not returned, appears from the complaints the Spaniards continued to make concerning Drake's piracy; and the court of England, which, in the manifesto it published when the Spanish ambassador was banished the kingdom, thought proper to give an answer to all the other charges brought by the Spaniards, excepting that against Drake.

Henry Fitz Allan, earl of Arundel, died this year, in whom the surname of a noble family ended, which had been possessed of this title for above three hundred years, from Richard Fitz Allan, who, being descended from the Albineys (ancient earls of Arundel, in Suffex), in the reign of Edward I. obtained the title of earl without any creation, on account of his being possessed of the castle and lordship of Arundel. One of his daughters married Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, by whom she had a son, named Philip, who, in right of his mother, took the title of earl of Arundel, which thus came to the Howard family.

In Ireland, Arthur, lord Grey, the deputy-governor, was so fortunate as to suppress a dangerous conspiracy raised by the O'Connors, the M'Geoghans, and the other septs, and put several of the heads to death, particularly the lord Nugent, son to the earl of Westmeath. It is said that this lord declared his innocence to the last, and that the queen was extremely offended at the lord-deputy for his precipitate cruelty; but this severity had a good effect, for it brought Turlogh Leynigh to accept conditions of peace, and the O'Briens and Cavenaghs (rebellious families in Leinster) to sue for pardon, and offer hostages for their future good behaviour.

The civil war was renewed in France in the month of February, and ended in November, by a sixth treaty of peace.

It was in the beginning of this year that Philip II. of Spain seized the throne of Portugal, vacant by the death of king Henry: don Antonio, prior of Crato, natural son to don Lewis, brother to the late king, would have disputed the crown with the king of Spain, but the forces of the two competitors being very unequal, all Antonio's endeavours were fruitless.

The great expences Elizabeth had been at, obliged her to re-assemble her parliament, on the sixteenth of January, 1581, which, after some disputes about the chusing a speaker, and filling the vacant seats, applied themselves to the national business. The puritans in the house of commons, not humbled by the checks they had received in the two former sessions, made another attempt in this, to encroach upon what the queen conceived to be her prerogative in ecclesiastical matters, and, on the twenty-first of January, Mr. Paul Wentworth making a motion for a public fast to be appointed on a certain day, it was carried by one hundred

hundred and fifteen voices against one hundred. The debate seems to have turned on the power of the house of commons in this point, which was not supported by any precedent; but as there were instances of fasts having been appointed in London by orders of the privy council, it was inferred from thence that the parliament ought in reason to be supposed to have the like power. This seems to have been the chief argument whereon the resolution was founded, which, under pretence of applying to God for his blessing on their consultations and actions, was designed as a check or encroachment upon the royal prerogative; and to make the fast entirely puritanical, it was appointed on the twenty-ninth of January, which was upon a Sunday, a day which hath in all ages and in all parts of the Christian church been constantly observed as a festival.

The queen was so highly incensed at this presumption, that, on the twenty-fourth of January, she sent a message to the house by her vice-chamberlain, Hatton, "declaring her admiration at the rashness of the house in committing so evident a contempt against her express command, very lately delivered to them, in her name, by the chancellor, as to attempt and exercise such an innovation as the appointment of a fast, without her majesty's privy and pleasure first known; but was pleased to construe it as a rash, unadvised, and inconsiderate error of the house, proceeding of zeal and not of the wilful or malicious intent of the house, or of any member thereof, but imputing it to her own lenity towards a brother of the man that now made this motion, who in the last session had been for just causes reprehended and committed by the house, but graciously pardoned, and restored again by her majesty." The house hereupon made their humble submission, and kissed the rod of power Elizabeth now shook over their heads; and when Mr. Carlton rose up to speak for the privileges of the house, his mouth was stopped from the chair, for fear of giving offence to her majesty*.

The parliament then proceeded to enact some statutes for the security of the government, chiefly against the attempts of the catholics: whoever in any way reconciled any one to the church of Rome, or was himself reconciled, was declared to be guilty of treason: to say mass was punished with one year's imprisonment, and a fine of two hundred marks; the hearing it was punishable by a year's imprisonment, and a fine of one hundred marks: a fine of twenty pounds per month was imposed on every one who continued during that time absent from the service of the church of England: to utter slanderous or seditious words against the queen, was punishable, for the first offence, with the pillory and loss of ears; the second offence was declared felony. The session ended, by a prorogation, on the eighteenth of March, the commons having first granted the queen a subsidy, as did the clergy likewise.

The power of Spain was so much aggrandized by the acquisition of Portugal, that Elizabeth found stronger reasons than ever for keeping well with the French: accordingly she, this year, dispatched Walsingham as her ambassador to France, to contract a closer connection with Henry, and to conclude a league offensive and defensive against the

formidable power and dangerous usurpations of the Spaniards.

The great success of the duke of Parma last year, had obliged the states of the United Provinces to send deputies to offer the sovereignty thereof to the duke of Anjou, which was to descend to his legitimate male heirs; but if he had several sons, they were to chuse one in whom it was to be vested. The treaty was made at Plessis le Tours; and the duke undertook the defence of those provinces the more willingly, because, having by his mediation procured a peace between his brother, Henry III. king of France, and the king of Navarre, the former was so well pleased with this service, that, forgetting his former enmity, he had promised to assist him in procuring a settlement to his mind, and particularly in his marriage with the queen of England.

The duke of Anjou had himself wrote to Elizabeth for a supply of money, in order to enable him to begin his operations in Flanders, and the queen, notwithstanding her great frugality, was at length persuaded to grant his request: she sent him a present of one hundred thousand crowns, by which, added to his own revenues, and the assistance of the queen-mother, he assembled an army, and took the field against the prince of Parma. He obliged that general to raise the siege of Cambray, and, after being formally elected governor of the Netherlands, he dispersed his troops into winter-quarters, and came over to England, in order to renew his addresses to the queen, in the month of November.

He met with such a gracious and favourable reception, that he began to entertain the most sanguine hopes of success, and fondly concluded that Elizabeth had now overcome all her scruples, and was finally resolved to chuse him for her husband. He was not a little confirmed in these hopes by a very extraordinary mark of affection which she gave him, at a magnificent entertainment she made on the anniversary day of her coronation; for, in sight of all her court, while the duke and she were entertaining each other apart, she pulled a ring from her own finger, and put it upon his. All the spectators imagined that in this ceremony she had given him a promise of marriage, and was even desirous of publishing her intention to all the world. Expresses immediately flew all over the kingdom, and all over Europe, with information that the match between Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou was actually concluded.

But it is more than probable that Elizabeth never had any intention to consummate what was agreed on by the articles of marriage already mentioned: such a treaty was, if ever, most necessary at the time it was set on foot, when she was so powerfully beset with inveterate and powerful enemies, daily plotting against her; and was certain if she rejected the offer, or seemed otherwise than in earnest, that the duke would have immediately accepted the daughter of the king of Spain, by which the number and power of her enemies would be increased: therefore Elizabeth ventured to play this bold stroke, and to make the brother and the son of a king the dupe of her politics, not doubting but time would furnish her with sufficient pretences to delay the consummation of her marriage

till a more favourable juncture should warrant her final retractation.

This juncture seemed now to offer, and she saw herself furnished very substantial reasons for acting in this manner by the openness of the papists, who made no scruple every where to boast of the duke of Anjou's protection; and some of their priests were even so impudent as publicly to own that they were empowered to absolve every man in particular from his oath of allegiance, from which Pius V. had, by his bull, absolved the whole nation in general.

Armed with these objections, the dissembling queen knew she could break off her engagement at will; but as she was desirous to cast the blame entirely on the duke, the next care was, by acts of severity, and the rigorous execution of justice against those that hoped to be protected by him, to wean his affections, and to make him discover sufficient tokens of disgust, upon which she might more easily clear herself of any blame in the eye of the world: but finding that the duke never attempted to interpose in favour of the popish delinquents, but still continued to press with unremitting ardour the consummation of his marriage, she was obliged to throw off the mask, and declare herself openly. Besides, all her chief confidants and counsellors, Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham, exerted their utmost endeavours to dissuade her from the projected alliance: they represented to her, that she was ready to divide her power, by which all England was obedient to her nod, and all Europe in terror of her frown, with a young man of an untried temper, of a foreign education, and of a different religion; she was to bear the discontents, the reproaches, nay the curses of her subjects, who, by this match, dreaded to see a total alteration in the religion, the laws, and the constitution of their country. Elizabeth was deeply affected with these various considerations, and she was observed to pass several nights without any sleep or repose: at length her prudence and ambition got the better of her temporal inclination (for I am apt to believe that Elizabeth, by dissembling so long and so deeply, had fooled her heart into a certain degree of tenderness for her young lover), and having sent for the duke of Anjou, she had a long conversation with him in private, wherein she informed him of the dislike her subjects had to a French prince, and which was unsurmountable: she next represented the little advantage he would reap from her alliance (she being in the forty-ninth year of her age, and not likely to have any children); the great events she apprehended it might produce, and the inconveniences that would arise from their different sentiments in point of religion; and concluded with declaring her final resolution was, "never to marry."

The duke was thunder-struck to find all his hopes dashed in the moment he expected to see the completion of them, and one of the finest crowns in Europe on his head: he flung from the queen's presence with the most visible marks of discontent and rage; he threw from his finger the deceitful ring with which she had so lately presented him; and he taxed the whole sex with levity, not without some particular imputations upon Elizabeth, and her country.

The earl of Sussex and the lord Burleigh, sworn enemies to Leicester, had been very assiduous in

bringing about this match, and had been completely duped by Elizabeth's dissimulation, or variableness, by which ever name it may be called. They were struck with surprize at this sudden reverse, and omitted no efforts to give her mind another turn, more favourable to their designs: they represented to her the necessity of the match, for supporting her against the power of Spain, which singly she was not able to encounter; the danger there was, lest the young king of Scotland might be brought over entirely to the interest of France, and thereby put himself at the head of all the papists in Britain; and lastly, the probability that France would resent so much ill treatment, and that the duke of Anjou might sacrifice Elizabeth's interests to the Spanish court. Elizabeth heard all this with great temper, but yielded to the stronger reasons urged by Hatton, Walsingham, and Leicester, against the match. However, to provide against all accidents, she found means to prevent the duke from going back to the Low Countries, though the states pressed his immediate return thither, to oppose the progress of the prince of Parma, and continued to treat him with extraordinary distinctions during the three months stay he made in England.

On his departure, in February following, she accompanied him as far as Canterbury, and, after taking his promise that he would return in a short time, she ordered the earl of Leicester, and some of her chief courtiers, to wait upon him to Antwerp. By this gallant treatment the queen took off the edge of that resentment which otherwise might have been expected to follow from the court of France; or rather, the present distraction of the French monarchy secured her against the effects of that indignation, which she had reason to dread from so wanton an affront put upon that royal family.

The duke made a pompous entry into Antwerp, where he was inaugurated duke of Brabant, and afterwards invested, at Ghent, as count of Flanders. He gave free leave for the exercise of the Romish religion to as many as would swear fealty to him, and abjure the king of Spain's authority. But, after spending great sums of money, with which he was supplied from England, and finding that the titles conferred on him were at best but vain and idle, while the states and the prince of Orange held all the dominion in their own hands, he entertained the mad design of surprizing Antwerp and the chief towns in the Low Countries; in which he was unsuccessful, and thereby lost all confidence with the states, and the prince of Orange, and was shortly after banished that country, and withdrew to France.

Elizabeth, seeing no likelihood of concluding an offensive league with France, thought fit to cultivate a friendship with other potentates, who might be of use to her, in case of a rupture with Spain; and as Frederic II. king of Denmark, was a prince of great wisdom and reputation, and had always shewed himself very affectionate to her, she caused him to be chosen knight of the Garter, and sent Peregrine Bertie, lord Willoughby of Eresby, to invest him with the ensigns of the order. He politely accepted this compliment, but declined the ceremony of investiture, or to take the accustomed oath, alleging that he had already taken one, when admitted by the king of France into the order of St. Michael. The ambassador was likewise charged

to remonstrate in behalf of the English merchants, against the exacting the toll or impost laid on ships that passed the Sound, and to procure that the last gelt might be remitted. This last duty owed its original to the wars between Denmark and Sweden, when the Dane began to exact, by way of loan, the thirtieth part of all kinds of merchandize, on promise of repaying the value thereof when the war was ended. No regard, however, was had to this engagement, and it was become a customary exaction. But princes seldom caring to abate any thing of their revenue, however acquired, the lord Willoughby procured no redress of these grievances: it was not adviseable to take rougher measures with a prince, whose friendship might be very serviceable to Elizabeth in forming a league with the protestant princes of the empire to oppose the ambitious designs of the king of Spain.

Though Henry III. had very little reason to be pleased with Elizabeth, yet being jealous of the increasing power of Philip, and hating the duke of Guise; he sent early in the year 1582, to inform Elizabeth, that the duke, under pretext of raising men for the service of the duke of Anjou in the Low Countries, was preparing, with the king of Spain's assistance, to embark a body of men in Normandy to be landed in England. This intelligence obliged Elizabeth to turn her thoughts seriously upon the affairs of Scotland.

There the duke of Lenox and James Stuart of Ochiltree, lately created earl of Arran, had acquired an unlimited influence over their sovereign. Lenox was not destitute of good qualities, but he was giddy and unexperienced, a professed Roman catholic, and a supposed adherent to the duke of Guise, so that he soon became odious to the nation. His colleague, Arran, was a young man, void of principle and religion, who, under the mask of friendship, encouraged Lenox to follow unpopular courses, that he might incur the hatred of the people, and so contribute to his own destruction. As for James, though he had some capacity and inclination for school-learning, he was a weak, silly, irresolute prince, and of a very despicable character, and consequently a fit subject for an ambitious and cunning favourite to work upon: in short, his two counsellors, by their arbitrary and illegal proceedings, exposed not only themselves but their master to the odium of the public. It was not the temper of the Scots to submit patiently to any kind of oppression; they no sooner felt the goad of power, than they instantly began to seek redress; and if they could not obtain it by fair and gentle means, they immediately had recourse to the most violent and desperate expedients.

Elizabeth, whom a long knowledge of that people had made perfectly acquainted with their dispositions, and who feared every thing from the duke of Guise's faction prevailing in Scotland, turned the resentment of the great men to her own advantage, and so artfully managed, that, without appearing to have any concern in the plot, king James was seized by the earls of Marr, Lindsay, and Gowry, partisans of England; the duke of Lenox, his bosom-friend, was obliged to flee into France, and the earl of Arran, his other favourite, was also taken and detained prisoner by the conspirators; by which it was thought the interests of Elizabeth's enemies were entirely destroyed.

In the mean time a new treaty was pretended to be begun by the English council, for the enlargement both of queen Mary and her son; but the articles tendered to the captive queen on this occasion, were couched in such ambiguous terms as, it must be confessed, there does not appear in them any more sincerity or intention to bring that affair to an issue, than in the preceding negotiations. However, this proposal from Elizabeth served her purpose to free herself from the perpetual solicitations in Mary's favour, and to check the continual plots hatched for her deliverance. It was not without reason that this unhappy princess had filled all the courts of Europe with complaints of the hardships she underwent: she had been confined thirteen years, under different keepers, and often treated in the most rigorous manner; she saw herself deprived of her crown and liberty, her youth had pined away in dreary confinement, her reputation had been blasted by the venomous breath of malice and defamation, her life was in the power of a jealous rival, who could brook no competition, her health was impaired by confinement and vexation, yet she was denied almost every comfort that could help to alleviate such distress, nay she was even denied the decent conveniency of having female servants to attend her*.

But James being permitted to meet an assembly of his nobles at St. Andrew's, in the following year, 1583, and by seeming to be contented under the government of his new ministry, having obtained his full liberty, Elizabeth saw all her politics on the point of being overthrown by the restoration of the earl of Arran about the royal person; who regained such an ascendant over his sovereign, that he prevailed with him to declare the noblemen who had surprized him, traitors, unless they would own themselves guilty by making submissions and taking out pardons: this they did not think it safe to do, but retired into foreign countries, all but Gowry who was pardoned, and the earl of Angus, who was confined.

In this state were matters at the Scottish court, when Wallingham, though now sickly and aged, was sent thither by Elizabeth as the most proper person to deal with James, and those in power about him; and this minister executed his commission so well, that he found means to win over Arran, and to secure his interest in his royal master, which proved of no small service to Elizabeth, as that enterprising nobleman would certainly have cut her out more work in that part of the island than she could have been well able to manage, as appeared by several letters which were, about this time, discovered, containing, amongst other treasonable matters, earnest exhortations to several of the ladies immediately about her person, to serve her in the same manner as Judith did Holofernes; and giving certain advice of Philip II's intention to assist the duke of Guise in a descent upon England, in order to revenge the losses the crown of Spain had sustained by the late expedition of sir Francis Drake.

These letters appeared to have been written by one Francis Throgmorton, a young man of a good family and pregnant parts, who, being apprehended and brought before the council, at first absolutely denied the accusation; but being shewn a list of all the ports in England that were convenient to land

* See Mary's letter to Elizabeth, in Camden, p. 489, 490.

forces at, and another list of all the gentlemen that professed the Romish religion in England, and were inclinable to countenance the proposed invasion, all which papers had been found in his scrutoire, or desk, he then made the following confession, "That going some few years since to the Spa, he conferred several times with Jeney and sir Francis Inglefield, two English fugitives, how England might be invaded; and that they had for that purpose drawn up the two lists just spoken of: that after his return, Morgan, another fugitive in France, told him, the catholic princes had formed a design to free the queen of Scots, and to employ the duke of Guise for that purpose: that nothing was wanting, but to know what succours might be depended upon from the English catholics: that in order to take their measures the better, Charles Paget, under the counterfeit name of Mope, was sent into Suffex, where the duke of Guise intended to land: that he (Throgmorton) imparted the project to the Spanish ambassador, who had been already informed of it, and shewed him the ports where it would be most proper to land: that he moreover acquainted the same ambassador with the names of the great men to whom he might freely open his mind, because, as he was a public person, he would not be so narrowly watched: finally, that he conferred with him how to raise soldiers privately in England, to have them ready when the foreign troops should arrive."

Throgmorton, after this confession, lay some months in prison, but being at length brought to his trial, he was found guilty by his jury, of holding treasonable correspondence with the queen's enemies, and received sentence of death. We learn however from Camden, that when he was brought to Tyburn, he retracted what he had confessed.

Before we take our leave of this year, we are to mention, that Elizabeth's fame was so great as to induce John, king of Sweden, to send a noble embassy to her, intreating her mediation between him and John Basilowitz, emperor of Muscovy, which she willingly undertook, and sir Jerome Bowes was sent her ambassador to Muscovy, who procured a peace for the king of Sweden upon very reasonable conditions. But the emperor of Muscovy dying soon after, and being succeeded by his son Theodore Iwanowitz, this latter granted liberty of free traffic to merchants of all nations, without distinction. Hereupon Elizabeth pressed him to adhere to the treaty between his late father and the crown of England, by which the English subjects were indulged with the exclusive right of trading to his country; but the new emperor returned for answer, that he would never suffer a small company of men to exercise a monopoly in his dominions, to the restraining of every other free trading nation; however, he promised to exact but one half of the usual customs of the English, on account of their having been the first who opened a way to trade with Russia.

This year proved fatal to divers great men, for there died, first, Thomas Radcliffe, the third earl of Suffex of this family, lord-chamberlain to the queen, on the twenty-ninth of June, and was buried at Newhall, in Essex. Also, on the sixth of July, died Edmund Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury, and was succeeded by Dr. John Whitgift: and, in

the month of August, died Henry Wriothesly, earl of Southampton, one exceedingly devoted to the Romish religion, which cost him Elizabeth's displeasure and a long imprisonment. This year was also distinguished by the fate of that brave, but unfortunate seaman, sir Humphrey Gilbert, who was cast away at sea on the ninth of September, in his return from the coast of North America, where he had taken possession, in Elizabeth's name, of the harbour of St. John's, in the island of Newfoundland.

In Ireland the famous rebel Gerald Fitz Gerald, the eleventh earl of Desmond of his family, after having a long time, in lurking places, escaped the English, was now, by a common soldier, found in a poor cottage, and slain: his head was sent into England, and set upon London bridge. Such was the end of this nobleman, who had for many years carried on a rebellion against all the forces that the several English lord-deputies could raise against him: he was descended from Maurice, the son of Gerald de Windleshore, or Windsor, an Englishman, famous amongst those who first accompanied Henry III. in the expedition into Ireland, in the year 1170.

Sir John Perot being sent over lord-deputy of Ireland, held a parliament, in which the estates of these and other rebels were forfeited; and the queen granting the earl of Ormond, (who, being the eldest son of Desmond's sister, was his next heir, and had been the principal means of reducing him) some part of his lands, sold the rest at very easy rates to adventurers, that undertook to plant and improve the country. Sales were made of entire baronies, into which the Irish counceits are divided, as the English are into hundreds, and the purchasers, under colour of their general grants, sweeping all within their districts, turned the innocent Irish as well as the guilty out of their possessions. The queen endeavoured to repress this rapaciousness, by a proclamation, of which the injured proprietors, by an instance of good fortune rare in that country, reaped the benefit; the deputy, a man of rigid justice and inflexible integrity, taking care to see it duly executed. No governor in that realm was ever more diligent, vigorous, and impartial in doing right equally to the Irish and the English, which raised him abundance of enemies among the latter, who could not bear being restrained from oppressing the former; but by this means he soon brought Munster into a state of tranquility; nor was he less successful in rendering the native Irish and Highland Scots in Ulster to obedience, forcing them to swear allegiance, and to hold their lands of her in vassalage, paying yearly a certain number of beeves and hawks, in lieu of rent, and engaging to supply her, in case of an expedition, with their several proportions of horse and foot soldiers, according to the custom of ancient tenures*.

In France, Henry III. behaved in such a manner, that he daily incurred the contempt of his subjects. In public he affected an over-strained devotion, whilst in private he plunged himself into the most criminal pleasures. Philip, taking advantage of Henry's indolence with regard to his most important affairs, strove by all sorts of ways to raise him troubles, which would hinder him from taking

* Cox's History of Ireland.

upon him the defence of the Netherlands, who shewed a strong inclination to put themselves under the dominion of France. He tried first to persuade the king of Navarre to take up arms, promising to aid and protect the Huguenots. This way failing, he applied to the duke of Guise, who accepted the succours offered by Philip, to revenge the mortification he daily received from the king's minions.

Mendoza, the Spanish minister, was so deeply involved in by the discoveries made by Throgmorton, that Elizabeth considered him as the most dangerous enemy she had in England; nor was there any thing bloody or desperate undertaken against her, which she did not lay at his door, and in particular a conspiracy which had been contrived, and was on the point of taking effect, against the queen's life, by the papists, who were now worked up to such a degree of enthusiasm against Elizabeth, that John Somerville, a gentleman of Warwickshire, undertook a journey to London, on purpose to put the queen to death with his own hand, and actually attacked with his sword some of her attendants. Being secured, he confessed his intention, and named his accomplices, who were all tried and found guilty of high-treason, at Guildhall in London. These, and other the like alarming practices of the popish faction, made Elizabeth think it was high time to order Mendoza to leave England, for which she had a very plausible reason in the conviction of Throgmorton.

Accordingly, towards the latter end of January, 1584, the ambassador was summoned to appear before the English council, who charged him very home with Throgmorton's confession, and the great hand he had in the conspiracy against England. Mendoza boldly stood upon his justification, and even accused Elizabeth of being the aggressor, by committing hostilities against his master by sea, and her ministers of labouring incessantly to sow discord between England and Spain. This behaviour of Mendoza exasperated Elizabeth so much, that he ordered him instantly to leave her dominions, which he did, and retired to France. Upon his departure the government thought proper, for the satisfaction of foreign courts, that a manifesto should be drawn up, containing Mendoza's case, and an answer to the recriminations he had brought *. At the same time sir William Wade, clerk of the council, was dispatched to the court of Spain, to inform Philip of what had passed, and of his mistress's willingness to receive another ambassador from him; but the haughty Spaniard refused Wade an audience, who thereupon returned back, without imparting the contents of his embassy to any one at that court.

New overtures were, in the summer of this year, made by Mary concerning her liberty, and were such as seemingly very well satisfied Elizabeth: poor Mary promised, if she was set at liberty, not only to depend entirely upon Elizabeth, but to deal with her son for restoring the exiled lords of the English faction; to order her ministers abroad to forbear all practices against Elizabeth's person and dignity; and farther, that Elizabeth should have the honour to publish the association of her son with herself in the government. These preliminaries served as the foundation of many confer-

ences, but Mary still declined to discover any particulars of the duke of Guise's purposed invasion before she was restored to liberty: and a fresh discovery of the intrigues of the Jesuits once more defeated these promising appearances.

One Creighton, a Scotchman, of that order, had been employed by Mary to solicit twelve thousand ducats, which had been promised her by the court of Rome. Creighton, on his return, happened to fall into the hands of a Dutch privateer, and attempted to tear his papers and throw them overboard; but the wind driving them back into the ship, they were sent with Creighton to England, and being pinned together, Walsingham discovered some part of his commission, by which it appeared that he had in charge to inform the malecontents of both kingdom, that the pope, Philip of Spain, and the Guises, had confederated to exert their utmost power to dethrone Elizabeth, and utterly to disinherit the king of Scotland from the succession to the crown of England, as an open favourer of the reformed religion: to marry the captive queen to some catholic nobleman of England, and to engage the catholics to chuse him, so married, king of England, to be confirmed by the pope; and to cause the children to be born of that marriage to be declared the rightful successors to the crown and kingdom of England.

These and other discoveries, together with the officiousness of the English papists and the malice of the Scottish puritans, rendered Mary extremely obnoxious to Elizabeth, who could not but think her life in danger so long as Mary lived, or at least lived with any tolerable degree of freedom; and she took a secret umbrage at the earl of Shrewsbury, or his countess, or both, for allowing the captive princess so large a correspondence as they did, and resolved to remove her out of their custody; therefore Mary sent her secretary, Nau, with fresh proposals to Elizabeth, in order to regain her liberty, which, however advantageous, were slighted, and served only to heighten the suspicions entertained against her; and she was taken from under the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury, and committed to the care of sir Amias Pawlet and sir Drue Drury, the first her professed enemy, and the latter a close, watchful, cunning puritan.

At the same time an association was formed by the earl of Leicester, and other courtiers; and as Elizabeth was extremely popular with all her subjects, except the most zealous catholics, men of every rank and condition willingly flocked to the subscription of it.

The associators bound themselves "to defend the queen against all her enemies; to revenge her death, or any injury offered to her majesty; and to exclude from the throne any person, whatever title they possessed, at whose instigation, or for whose behoof, any attempt should be made against the life and authority of Elizabeth." The queen of Scots was sensible, that the association was levelled against her; and, in order to free herself from all suspicion, she likewise begged leave to be one of the subscribers.

On the twenty-third of November Elizabeth summoned a new parliament; and the members discovered the most zealous attachment to her person and government. They ratified and confirmed

* Strype's Annals, vol. iii. Append. p. 43.

the association; and they subjoined a clause, empowering the queen to appoint commissioners for the trial of any pretender to the crown, who should attempt or imagine any invasion, insurrection, or assassination against the queen: upon sentence, given by these commissioners, the delinquent was deprived of all right to the succession, and was farther liable to such punishment as her majesty should think proper to inflict. And for the greater security, in case of the queen's violent death, a council of regency was named to punish the authors of that barbarous deed, to conduct the administration of public affairs, and to settle the succession of the crown.

At the same time, in order to strengthen the hands of her majesty, the parliament granted her a supply of one subsidy and two fifteenths. They likewise passed a severe law against Jesuits and popish priests, importing, "that they should leave the kingdom within forty days; that those who should tarry behind that time, or should afterwards return, should be punished as traitors; that those who harboured or assisted them, should be guilty of felony; that those who were educated in foreign seminaries, if they returned not in six months after notice given, and submitted not themselves to the queen, before a bishop or two justices, should be guilty of high-treason: and if any one, so submitting themselves, should, within ten years, approach the queen's person, or come within ten miles of the court, their submission should be void and of no effect.

This law, however rigorous in appearance, was absolutely necessary for the safety of the queen's person, which, even with all these precautions, was constantly exposed to the most imminent danger, from the secret plots or open attempts of the bigotted Romanists.

The state of affairs in Scotland this year continued to be very disagreeable to Elizabeth: she had learned that the earl of Arran, who now had an entire ascendancy over James, had brought him to consent to a marriage with a daughter of France; in order, therefore, to prevent the mischiefs which might happen from that quarter, she sent secretary Davison into Scotland, under colour of excusing her protection of certain Scottish fugitives, though the king had demanded them by virtue of the treaty of alliance concluded between the two kingdoms; but Davison's business was to complete the work which Walsingham had begun, namely, to win the earl of Arran over to the queen's interest. This minister succeeded perfectly well in his commission, and, by means that are easy to be guessed, prevailed with him to act nothing but in concert with Elizabeth.

Before his return to England, it was agreed between the two courts, that the lord Hunsdon for England, and the earl of Arran for Scotland, should meet upon the borders, and make a regulation proper to preserve a good understanding between

the two kingdoms. Under this pretence these two lords conferred together, and, before they parted, made a private treaty, whereby the earl of Arran engaged to keep the king unmarried for three years: Elizabeth pretended she designed to give him a princess of the blood royal of England, who was not yet marriageable: this was at least the pretence with which the treaty was coloured.

Whilst these things were transacting, the master of Gray, a young Scottish lord, insinuated himself so far into king James's favour, that the earl of Arran, growing jealous, found means to remove him by causing him to be sent ambassador to Elizabeth. Gray was no sooner in England, but the queen won him by caresses and bounties: from that time the ambassador feigned to be strongly attached to queen Mary's interest, and by that means drew secrets from her, which Elizabeth knew how to improve. The earl of Arran having some intelligence of the intrigue, informed the king of it, in order to ruin his rival; but as in all likelihood he could bring no proof of what he advanced, Gray being returned to Scotland, was very well received by the king, and spared no pains in his turn to ruin the favourite.

As for the unfortunate Mary, she still continued under the most rigorous confinement, and every method was used that was thought most likely to drive her to despair, or, perhaps, provoke her to take some rash measures, which would furnish her enemies with a sufficient handle for her destruction. The earl of Leicester, being baffled in his expectation by her temper and resignation, is said to have hired ruffians to murder this forlorn princess; but Drury was a man of too much honour to admit them into her presence: nevertheless, she endured the most barbarous treatment; she was now deprived of the conveniences she hitherto enjoyed; she was prohibited giving alms to the poor; she was confined to two wretched chambers, in such decay that they could not screen her from the inclemencies of the weather, so that she was seized with rheumatic disorders, by which her life was endangered; and though she appealed to queen Elizabeth for redress, the winter was far advanced before she was removed to Chartley castle.

This year died, in exile and misery, on account of his rebellion in the North in the year 1569, Charles Neville, the last earl of Westmoreland of this family; a house from whence were descended many noble personages, viz. six earls of Westmoreland, two earls of Salisbury and Warwick, an earl of Kent, a marquis of Mountacute, a duke of Bedford, baron Ferrers of Osley, the lord Latimer, the lord Abergavenny, one queen, five duchesses, an archbishop of York, and many others.

It was in this year also that the valiant and learned sir Walter Raleigh discovered that part of North America which he afterwards called Virginia, in honour of his virgin mistress, queen Elizabeth*.

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* The situation of this colony is remarkably happy and convenient, having the river Potowmack on the north-east, which separates it from Maryland; the Atlantic Ocean on the east; Carolina on the south; and the Apalachian mountains on the west, which divides it from a vast tract of land called Louisiana. Its extent is from latitude $36^{\circ} 30'$, to $39^{\circ} 30'$ north, on the west side of the bay; but on the east side it extends only from cape Charles in latitude $37^{\circ} 13'$, to latitude 38° . Its breadth, so far as it is planted, is about one hundred miles; but it hath no bounds to the westward. The air of this country

depends very much upon the winds: the north and north-west are either very sharp and piercing, or boisterous and stormy; and the south-east and south, hazy and sultry. The winter is dry and clear; snow falls in great quantities, but seldom lies above a day or two: and the frosts, though quick and sharp, seldom last as long. The spring is somewhat earlier than ours: May and June are very pleasant months; July and August, sultry hot; September is noted for prodigious showers of rain. The soil is low towards the sea-coasts; and for an hundred miles up into the country hardly a hill or a stone are to be met

The prince of Parma continued to gain ground upon the confederate provinces of the Low Countries, which sustained an irreparable loss by the death of the prince of Orange, who was treacherously shot by one Balthazar Gerard, a Burgundian. His eldest son, Philip, being in the hands of the king of Spain, and bred in the Roman catholic religion, the states conferred the government of Holland and Zealand upon his second son, Maurice, though he was but eighteen years of age; and the prince of Parma, taking notice of their consternation, invested Antwerp. In this distressed condition they offered to acknowledge the sovereignty of the French; but Henry being too much embarrassed in his own affairs to accept an offer that would engage him in farther trouble and expence, they had recourse to the queen of England, who likewise declined their offer, though she promised to assist them in maintaining the war against their oppressors.

In the mean time the duke of Anjou dying, and the king of France having no children, the duke of Guise, taking advantage of the bigotry of the people, and their aversion to the king of Navarre, then apparent heir to the crown, on account of his being a protestant, was contriving and caballing with all his power, under the name of religion, to secure the succession to himself in case of a demise. With this view he entered into a league with Philip II. of Spain, who, covering his real design under the same religious mask, kindled a flame in France which consumed that kingdom, and hindered the French from thinking of the acquisition of the Netherlands. Henry III. having the last year been chosen into the order of the Garter, queen Elizabeth sent this year the earl of Derby to France, to invest him with the robes and ensigns of the order.

In the beginning of the year 1585, Elizabeth discovered a conspiracy to take away her life, of which one Parry was the author. He was a gentleman of Wales, and a member of the house of commons, and one greatly indebted to the queen for giving him his life, after condemnation for breaking into the chamber of Hugh Hare and wounding him: he had also been her sworn servant for several years before that time; but was now so spirited up by the solicitations and traitorous arguments of cardinal Allen, Benedict Palafius Campegius, the pope's nuncio at Venice, and others, confirmed with the encouragement of Ragazonius, the pope's nuncio in France, and letters from the cardinal Cosmo, wherein the attempt was commended, and Parry was absolved in the pope's name, that he was wrought

upon, and agreed with one Edward Neville, a discontented relation to the earl of Westmoreland, to kill the queen as she rode abroad to take the air as usual.

Neville discovered this plot and bloody attempt, in hopes, as supposed, to secure an interest in the title of lord Latimer, as next male heir to the earl of Westmoreland, the news of whose death arrived about the beginning of this year: and Parry confessed it fully upon his examination before three privy counsellors, the lord Hunsdon, sir Christopher Hatton, and sir Francis Walsingham; and by letters to the queen herself, the lord-treasurer, and to the earl of Leicester, he acknowledged his crime, and interceded for pardon. A few days after he was brought to judgment in Westminster-hall, where he pleaded guilty, and declared that his confession was free and not extorted; yet denied his having been resolved at any time to kill the queen: and, after some pause, being urged to speak if he had any thing to say why judgment should not pass upon him, he, with great perturbation, as one agitated with a bad conscience, added, "I see I must die, because I was not resolved." At the gallows he boasted much of his having been a faithful keeper of the queen, because he had not killed her; and he was hanged in Palace-yard, Westminster, while both houses of parliament were sitting in the hall, which met by prorogation in March this year, and was their fourth session.

These desperate proceedings against the queen's person were productive of several very severe resolutions of the parliament, for her safety, against popish priests and Jesuits; but not all the vigour or watchfulness of the government was able to restrain the plottings of those zealots, as we shall have occasion to remark hereafter.

On the nineteenth of April this year, the province of Utrecht, and, on the fifteenth of May thereafter, the province of Guelderland, by their deputies, presented formal petitions to Elizabeth, to take them under her protection; and by the sixteenth of June, their example was followed by all the other provinces. Elizabeth's counsellors were greatly divided with regard to the conduct which she ought to observe in this delicate and critical juncture: some of them advised her to accept the proposal of the states; others persuaded her, not only to reject it, but refuse them all assistance; and each party endeavoured to support their opinion by many plausible arguments. Elizabeth foresaw the dangerous consequences attending either extreme, and she therefore resolved to steer a middle course. She was determined not to behold patiently the

met with. Here are trees of various kinds, and of an incredible magnitude, with plenty of pasture-grounds. The land in general is as good as in England, producing rice, hemp, and Indian corn; also flax, silk-cotton, silk-grass, and wild grapes: but in Virginia they are so extremely addicted to their staple commodity, tobacco, that they hardly mind any thing else, so they can bring that plant to a tolerable market. This trade is brought to such perfection, that the Virginia tobacco, especially the sweet-scented, which grows on York-river, is reckoned to be the best in the world, and generally vended in England for home consumption. The other sort, called Oranoe, turns to as good an account, being sent to Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Germany. In this province are fifty-four parishes, of which thirty or forty are supplied with ministers. In each parish is a church, and in those of large extent are chapels of ease. The ministers maintenance is settled at sixteen hundred pounds of tobacco yearly, besides perquisites. There are only two presbyterian and three quakers meetings in this colony. At Middle Plantation Row, called

Williamsburg, is a college. Though the common way of traffic here is by barter of one commodity for another, or of any for tobacco, yet they have some silver coin, both English and Spanish. In Virginia, when any person is disabled from working, either by age or sickness, he is placed in some planter's house, and supported at the public expence. Such is the hospitality of the Virginian planters, that a stranger will be entertained at any of their houses, so that inns on the road are unnecessary. It is but very lately that they have begun to build forts, their main dependence being on a well regulated militia by land, and the cruizers sent from England by sea. Though they have plenty of excellent timber and naval stores, and the whole country one grand harbour, after entering Chesapeake bay, between cape Charles and cape Henry, yet they build no ships. In Virginia are few towns; the chief are James Town and Williamsburgh above mentioned, the planters residing on their estates or farms, most of which lie contiguous to some great river, so that ships can come up almost to their doors, and take in their tobacco. System of Geogr.

total ruin of the revolted provinces, whose interest she considered as intimately connected with her own; but, sensible that the acceptance of their sovereignty would oblige her to exert her whole force in their defence, and excite the jealousy of her neighbours, and perhaps expose her to the reproach of ambition and usurpation, she prudently declined this offer.

She engaged, however, in a league with the states, on the following terms; that she should assist them with an army of five thousand foot and a thousand horse, at her own expence, during the war; that the general, and two others whom she should name, should have seats in the council of the states; that no peace or treaty should be made but by common consent; that immediately after the conclusion of the war, she should be reimbursed for her charges; and that in the mean time the towns of Flushing and the Brill, with the castle of Rammekins, should be put into her hands, by way of security.

The prince of Condé also, in behalf of the French Huguenots, was favoured with a supply of fifty thousand crowns and ten ships of war, with which he was enabled to raise the blockade of Rochelle, and to take the field with his land forces, which the duke of Guise had shut up in this port.

On the twenty-third of October the earl of Leicester was sent over to Holland at the head of the English auxiliaries. He was attended by a splendid retinue, composed of the young earl of Essex, his son-in-law, the lords Audley and North, sir William Russell, sir Thomas Shirley, sir Arthur Basset, sir Walter Waller, sir Gervase Clifton, and a select troop of five hundred gentlemen. He was met at his arrival at Flushing by his nephew, sir Philip Sidney, the governor: and every town through which he passed, discovered their joy by acclamations and triumphal arches, as if his presence and the queen's assistance had saved them from impending ruin.

The states, desirous of securing the friendship of Elizabeth, and knowing the influence which Leicester had with her, honoured him with the title of Governor and Captain-general of the United Provinces, assigned him a guard to attend his person, and treated him in some measure as their sovereign. But this step produced a contrary effect to what they intended: the queen was equally displeased at the artifice of the states and the vanity of Leicester; she reprimanded both of them very sharply by letters, and it was not without great difficulty that, after many humble submissions, they were able to regain her favour.

As Elizabeth could expect no otherwise than that Philip of Spain would look upon the aid sent to his rebellious subjects in the Low Countries, to be a breach of the alliance between the two crowns, and a declaration of war against him, she very politically determined to strike a blow, that might at once procure her respect and advantage. Accordingly she dispatched a fleet of twenty-one sail, under the command of sir Francis Drake, with two thousand three hundred land forces, under the conduct of Christopher Carlisle, to attack the Spanish settlements in America, which were considered as the chief source of Philip's power, as well as the most defenceless part of his dominions. The appearance of the English being altogether unexpected there, they, without any resistance, made themselves masters of St. Jago, one of the Cape de

Verd islands; made a descent upon St. Domingo, or Hispaniola, and took its capital; then ran down along the continent and reduced Carthagena, and burnt the towns of St. Antonio and St. Helena, in Florida; and were meditating other expeditions, had they not been separated by violent storms, which prevented the fleet from joining till they met in England. In this expedition the English lost seven hundred men, but brought home such an immense booty, as sufficiently rewarded the others for their sufferings, and with such accounts of the Spanish weakness in those quarters as greatly contributed to animate the nation to future enterprizes of the like nature. It is commonly supposed that the use of tobacco was first introduced into England by Drake's fleet.

In the course of this year also John Davis finished his third voyage in quest of a north-west passage to the East Indies. He discovered the streight which bears his name, and sailed beyond the eighty-third degree of northern latitude, but was obliged to return without success.

The very rigorous laws which the late parliament had enacted against the papists, made Philip, earl of Arundel, son of the late duke of Norfolk, who was zealously attached to that religion, resolve to retire to another country, where he could enjoy his faith in quiet. This nobleman had been twice examined before the council, and confined to his own house, on suspicion of practising against the government; and his intended departure being now betrayed by a servant, he was sent prisoner to the Tower, which was at this time the scene of a remarkable transaction.

Henry Piercy, earl of Northumberland, brother of him who had been beheaded, being accused of having some share in Throgmorton's conspiracy, and of having corresponded with lord Paget and the duke of Guise, was committed to the Tower, where, either conscious of his guilt, or foreseeing that evidence would be suborned for his destruction, he, in order to disappoint Elizabeth of his forfeiture, and to retain his fortune in the family, shot himself in the breast with a pistol.

Pope Gregory dying in April this year, was succeeded by the cardinal de Montalto, who took the name of Sixtus V. He immediately fulminated the censures of the church against the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, not only as relapsed heretics, but as persons of spurious birth: hence it was easy to see how much the court of Rome countenanced the designs of the duke of Guise, and what reasons Elizabeth had to dread that duke's becoming one day king of France, and being supported by the pope and Spain.

Such being the state of affairs in France, and Elizabeth knowing that the party of the Guises were continually stirring up the embers of sedition both in Scotland and England, she thought it highly necessary to strengthen herself by some powerful alliances. With this view she sent sir Thomas Bodley, the great patron of learning, to negociate with the king of Denmark, and other northern states; and Edward Wootton, a fine gentleman, and one who had equally a turn for business, for pleasure, and politeness, was dispatched to the court of Scotland, to assure James how sincerely she was in his interest, and to endeavour by any means to draw him into a league of mutual offence and defence, and withal to recommend to that monarch a match with
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the daughter of the king of Denmark: but Wootton, under the pretence of entertaining and diverting the young king, endeavoured to remove from his royal presence all who were suspected of being averse to Elizabeth's intentions; to sow factions in his court; and, when opportunity served, to seize his person, and carry him by force into England. But the conspiracy was discovered before it could be carried into execution, and Wootton fled hastily from Scotland, without taking leave of the court. However, James soon after was obliged to submit to Elizabeth's creatures: the Scottish fugitive lords, returning well supported from England, made themselves masters of his person by surprise, in the castle of Stirling, and obliged him to pass an act of indemnity for all offences committed against him by any persons whatever since his being declared king; and soon after to enter into a league offensive and defensive with the queen of England. The earl of Arran, James's favourite and first minister, finding his affairs for the present entirely ruined, and his life itself in jeopardy, fled over to France.

In Ireland, this year, the Burghs raised two successive insurrections, but were reduced by sir John Perot, the lord-deputy, reinforced by the earl of Clanrickard, who not only compelled them to give fresh hostages, but destroyed their allies the Hebridian Scots, three thousand of whom were cut in pieces at Arvadar; so that their countrymen were deterred from prosecuting such adventures, and Ireland for some time remained in tranquility.

The earl of Leicester, notwithstanding the pretended displeasure of Elizabeth at his having accepted the title of Governor and Captain-general of the United Provinces, which vested him with an almost universal power, proceeded in the exercise of his new authority. His first military service in the Low Countries was an attempt to raise the siege of Grave, in Brabant, which had been formed by count Mansfeldt, a general in the prince of Parma's service, in the spring of 1586, in which Leicester miscarried, the town being yielded up by its governor, Peter Van Hement, who, for this act of cowardice, was, by Leicester's orders, punished with death.

After the reduction of Grave, the prince of Parma bent all his force, which consisted of twenty thousand foot and six thousand horse, to take Venlo, which he likewise reduced, after a most gallant defence on the part of the besieged, under the command of colonel Skenke, the governor, who, with sir Robert Williams, a Welsh officer, signalled themselves greatly on this occasion. On the other hand, the lord Willoughby of Eresby, governor of Bergen op Zoom, cut off a large convoy of provisions belonging to the enemy; and sir Philip Sidney, with count Maurice, surprized the town of Axel, in Flanders. The next expedition of the prince of Parma was against Rheinberg: this place was garrisoned by twelve hundred English, under colonel Morgan. Leicester thought this a place of too much importance to be neglected, and therefore, by way of diversion, made dispositions for attacking Zutphen, a town of the greatest consequence to the enemy: this had the proposed effect; the prince of Parma immediately abandoned the siege of Rheinberg, and advanced to give the earl of Leicester battle before Zutphen, when, after a bloody dispute, the English were obliged to retreat.

In this action our country suffered irreparable loss, by the death of sir Philip Sidney, who was mortally wounded in the thigh. This gentleman, though not quite thirty-five years of age when he died, was at once the delight and ornament of the English court; and as all his influence with the queen and the earl of Leicester was wholly employed in the encouragement of genius and literature, his name has been immortalized by the writings as well of cotemporaries as of succeeding authors. Nor was his fame confined to England alone; the king of Scotland, charmed with the virtues of this young hero, celebrated his memory in a copy of Latin verses which he composed on occasion of his death.

Notwithstanding the extraordinary joy the states had discovered on the arrival of Leicester, they soon found that his abilities were by no means equal to the task with which he was entrusted; and his excessive pride and ambition soon bred an universal discontent against him, insomuch that, after an insignificant campaign, he sent his forces into winter-quarters, and coming himself to the Hague, found a very different reception from the states to what they had given him before: the members did not hesitate to charge him with abusing the public money, with the neglect of discipline, and with many other oppressive exercises of his power, inconsistent with the liberties of that country. Upon this the earl thought proper to leave the Low Countries and return to England, where he arrived in the month of December. And thus stood the state of affairs in the Low Countries this year: we are now to attend those of England, where all was in confusion.

Every day brought Elizabeth fresh intelligence of the king of Spain's schemes against her person and crown; one amongst many others was a new-pretended claim to the succession of the kingdom of England, which Camden says the Jesuits about this time forged for the Spaniard in his own right, and to that end sent into England one Chamier, a priest of their own society, to engage the popish noblemen and gentry in their party. If Elizabeth was alarmed at these intelligences, she was still more so by the discovery of a plot which was laid against her life.

The spirit of deposing and murdering princes upon papal bulls and excommunications had arrived to an incredible height in the English seminaries abroad. The brain of one John Savage had been fired to such a degree by that doctrine, that he solemnly devoted himself to murder Elizabeth; and one Ballard, a priest, being sent over from the seminary at Rheims to England, in order to propagate the king-killing principles lately set on foot, and being encouraged by Mendoza, the late Spanish ambassador in England, but now residing in France, he found means to corrupt one Anthony Babington, a young gentleman of good fortune in Derbyshire, with several more, to join Savage in the execution of his vow. In the mean time the papists, in order to carry on their plot with less suspicion, and to lull the watchful council of the English cabinet into fatal security, published several hypocritical writings, in which they professed the highest regard for Elizabeth's person and government, admonishing the people of their persuasion not to engage in any practices against the state, but to confine themselves to such weapons as are alone lawful for Christians to use, such as tears, spiritual

spiritual armour, daily prayers, fastings, and the like.

Nevertheless the watchful Walsingham had his spies on all their actions; and one Maud, a man of impenetrable dissimulation, who mingled in all their counsels, by Walsingham's orders, had so insinuated himself into the good opinion of Ballard, that this latter took him in company with him back to France, and made him privy to all his proceedings; and by him and Gilbert Gifford, a priest of the Rheinish seminary, who was intrusted with the conveyance of all the literary correspondence, Walsingham had every part of the conspiracy regularly communicated to him.

Ballard having, as he thought, settled all matters upon a sure footing, for the perpetration of his villainous purpose, returned to England, about Whitsuntide, in a military dress, and with the assumed name of captain Foscue, to assist in the final execution of it, and with him brought his new-made convert, Anthony Babington above-mentioned. This young gentleman was a zealous papist, of a violent spirit, and of parts and knowledge above his years: he had, in his travels through France, some years before, contracted an intimacy with Thomas Morgan, a fugitive rebel and a pensioner of the queen of Scots, who had introduced him to the bishop of Glasgow, Mary's ambassador at that court, upon whose recommendation young Babington gained a confidence with the captive princess, inasmuch that, during her being in the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury, he had managed her correspondence at certain times with her foreign friends. Upon her being removed to the custody of sir Amias Pawlet, the connection dropped, and Babington had therewith dropped all farther thoughts of Mary or her concerns; but the wicked workings of Ballard had quickly rekindled all Babington's zeal for her service, and he not only readily joined as one in the execution of the intended assassination, but also planned out a new scheme of an invasion, and was himself to be one of an hundred gentlemen who were to deliver the queen of Scots from her imprisonment. He then wrote to Mary, giving an account of all that had passed between Ballard and him, and insisting with that queen, that the gentlemen who were engaged in her service, should be assured of a reward suitable to their merits, with other stipulations of no great moment to be inserted here. This letter of Babington's, which was written in the usual cypher which had passed between him and Mary, was so agreeable to the latter, that she failed not to answer it in the same cypher, on the twenty-seventh of July, desiring that the conspirators would be extremely cautious, lest they should precipitate matters before the return of their English friends from abroad, before they were assured of foreign succour, and before some disturbances were raised in Ireland: at the same time she pointed out the most ready methods for her own deliverance, viz. either by overturning a cart in the gate-way of the house where she was kept, setting the stables on fire, or carrying her away as she rode abroad to take an airing in the fields between Chartley and Stafford. These letters were afterwards produced in evidence against Mary upon her trial, and made the very foundation of the judgment passed upon this princess, as we shall see hereafter.

In the mean time Walsingham made use of a new artifice, in order to discover the bottom of the plot; he added to a letter of Mary's, delivered to him by his trusty agent Maud, a postscript in the same cypher, in which he made her desire Babington to send her the names of the conspirators. This scheme succeeded according to the statesman's wish, and he quickly learned that Savage, already mentioned; Charles Tilney, a man of family, one of Elizabeth's band of pensioners; John Charnock, a Lancashireman; Edward Abingdon, whose father had been cofferer to Elizabeth; Chidcock Tichburn, a gentleman of Southampton; and one Barnwell, a person of quality in Ireland, were the six engaged by oath to assassinate the queen. At the same time the ridiculous vanity of Babington furnished Walsingham with still another means of discovery, as well as of defence: that gentleman had caused a picture to be drawn, where he himself was represented standing amidst the six assassins, and a motto added, implying that they were jointly embarked in some hazardous enterprize. A copy of this picture was carried to Walsingham by one Polly, another of his spies, who had wormed himself into Babington's confidence, and by Walsingham shewn to the queen, that she might know the assassins, and be upon her guard if any of them should attempt to approach her person.

Thus the conspirators were, unknown to themselves, within inextricable toils; and indeed it required all Walsingham's sagacity to counter-work Babington's cunning; for, perceiving that the design was likely to stick at the want of foreign force, he betook himself to the common arts of the priests and papists of those days, of tempting Walsingham to place him as a spy abroad upon Mary's friends. Walsingham received him as a gentleman, and promised him the queen's passport for going to France; but, as it were in great confidence, bid him beware of the informers and messengers, who were every where abroad, and were in the king's pay; though it should be absolutely unsafe for them to lay hold on Babington, because releasing him without trial would render him suspected by his own party. This correspondence with Walsingham was by Babington intrusted with Ballard, who was to be embarked in the same design, and go abroad with Babington, who by this time had provided all his agents.

But Walsingham thought his business would be but half done unless he could find means to involve the queen of Scots in the fate of her friends. With this view he laid a deep scheme for entrapping her, through the heedlessness of her secretaries Nau and Curle. The former was a Frenchman, the latter a Scot, both of them, the first through want of honesty, the latter through want of courage, very ill qualified for their employments. Mary continued still at the house of sir Amias Pawlet, and Walsingham wrote to that gentleman for leave for Gifford, the priest, to corrupt one of his servants; Pawlet declined this, because he thought it inconsistent with his own character, as a gentleman, to harbour a known traitor in his house, but he winked at Gifford's corrupting a fellow in the neighbourhood, who, through a hole in the wall, stopped up by a loose stone, brought all the letters from Mary, or her secretaries, to Gifford, by whom they were transmitted to Walsingham, who thus became pos-

essed of all that passed between Mary, or rather her secretaries, and her friends, either at home or abroad.

While Walsingham was thus taking every precaution necessary to detect and prevent all the designs of the conspirators, Elizabeth began to be afraid lest he should spin his thread of politics too fine, and she herself at length fall a victim to the determined revenge of her enemies; she therefore insisted that the whole affair should be laid before her council, and such measures taken as to secure the conspirators. According Ballard, as the most dangerous of all, was seized at Babington's house. This would have alarmed the conspirators the more, if both Ballard and Babington had not been at first persuaded from the cautions given them by Walsingham, that it was unknown to him, and that their arrest was only in consequence of the officiousness of spies and informers. Walsingham himself confirmed them in this notion, and thereby prevented Babington's design of immediately murdering Elizabeth, and risking all consequences: but instead of that he remained in London, and had one Scudamore placed over him as a spy by Walsingham. One evening, while they were both at supper, Scudamore received a note from Walsingham, ordering him to watch Babington more narrowly than ever; and Babington, by Scudamore's inadvertency, reading the note over his shoulder, hastily rose from table, and, leaving his cloak and sword behind him, went out of the room as if upon a sudden occasion, made the best of his way to Westminster, and, after conferring with Charnock, withdrew, with him and some others, into St. John's Wood, where they lurked ten days, but were at last discovered near Harrow on the Hill, hid in barns and dressed like countrymen, and brought prisoners to London.

During their imprisonment, they were examined upon the particulars of the conspiracy, and confessed all they knew, but, indeed, nothing that could affect the queen of Scots as being privy to the design of assassinating Elizabeth, farther than that Babington had received letters from her in cypher, which they believed to have been written by her, or by her order; nor has it been pretended, that even Babington ever saw her, much less ever see her write. On the thirteenth of September, Babington and Ballard, with five of their accomplices, were arraigned, and pleaded guilty; and next day seven others concerned in the same conspiracy were convicted upon their own confessions, or those of their associates. The first seven were executed with all the rigour of the sentence pronounced against traitors; but Elizabeth ordered that the other seven should hang till they were dead. At the place of execution they behaved in general with decency and resignation, and repented that part of the conspiracy, in which they were to murder Elizabeth.

The lesser conspirators being thus punished, measures were taken for the trial and conviction of her, for whose sake, and by whose supposed concurrence this deep and dangerous plot had been formed against the life of the queen and the peace of the kingdom: but the more determined Elizabeth was to cut off the queen of Scots, the more earnestly she applied herself to bring the son to wink at the death of his mother. It was natural to think, that

James would have resented the late traitorous attempt made upon his person, at the instigation and with the countenance of Elizabeth; but the present situation of his affairs obliged him to conceal his indignation, and his mild and peaceable temper soon induced him to forget the injury. Randolph had been sent by the court of England to succeed Wootton as ambassador in Scotland; and, by the temptation of a pension of five thousand pounds sterling per annum, offered to king James to enable him to support the regal dignity with more lustre, he so won on that weak prince, that he persuaded him to put the final hand to the league with Elizabeth, which had been set on foot last year; and James this summer sent commissioners to Berwick, where, on the fifth of July, the treaty was signed by the plenipotentiaries of both kingdoms, the heads of which were as follow:

"It was agreed, "that if Elizabeth was attacked, James should assist her with a body of fifteen thousand foot and two thousand horse; that if James was invaded, Elizabeth should aid him with six thousand foot and three thousand horse; that these auxiliaries should be maintained by the prince who demanded assistance; that if the descent should be made upon England, within sixty miles of the frontiers of Scotland, James should march to the relief of Elizabeth with the whole forces of his kingdom: and that this league should be binding and valid, so far as religion was concerned, notwithstanding any former alliances which either state might have contracted with foreign princes*."

We now approach towards the last act of the queen of Scots tragedy. Her death was by this time irrevocably determined by Elizabeth and her council. Sir Edward Wootton was dispatched with Mary's original intercepted letters to the king of France, to prevent any applications in her favour from that court; and the government having now received all the information they expected or wished, concerning Babington's conspiracy, came to a resolution that Mary should be removed by sir Amias Pawlet to Fotheringay castle in Northamptonshire.

The queen of Scots had been so strictly guarded, that she was still ignorant of the detection of Babington's conspiracy; and it was with equal surprise and concern, that she received intelligence of this event from sir Thomas Gorges, who had been ordered by Elizabeth to execute that office.

He chose the time for giving her this intimation, when she was mounted on horseback to take an airing; and she was not allowed to return to her former place of abode, but led through the country from one gentleman's house to another, until she arrived in Fotheringay-castle, which it was resolved to make the last stage of her mortal pilgrimage.

Her two secretaries, Nau and Curle, were immediately apprehended; all her papers were seized, and transmitted to the council: about sixty different keys to cyphers were discovered: there were likewise found many letters from persons abroad; and several too from English noblemen, expressing their attachment to her person and title.

This last discovery the queen thought proper to overlook; but the persons themselves, conscious of their guilt, and dreading the punishment which their crime deserved, endeavoured to atone for

their error, by changing their principles, and declaring themselves thenceforth the most inveterate enemies of the queen of Scots.

It was determined to try Mary, not by the common statutes of treason, but by the law which had been enacted the former year, with a view to this very event; and the queen, in consequence of that act, appointed a commission, composed of forty two noblemen and privy-counsellors, and five judges* of the realm, who were empowered to examine and pronounce sentence against Mary, whom she stiled daughter and heir to James V. late king of Scotland†.

But, in order to procure every possible proof of Mary's abetting the late conspiracy, Gifford having revealed, that he had delivered to the French ambassador several papers of moment concerning the queen of Scots, was banished the realm upon a false action, which no ways related to the conspiracy. He informed the French ambassador of this proceeding against him, and, at the same time, gave him a piece of paper cut after a certain manner, with directions not to deliver the queen of Scots papers to any one, but to him who should produce the counter-part: and, leaving the counter-part with Walsingham, this crafty statesman got every thing this ambassador had, relating to the affair, into his hands.

On the eleventh of October, the commissioners repairing to Fotheringay castle, sir Walter Mildmay, and Edward Barker, notary public, were sent the next day to deliver to the devoted Mary the queen's letters for her trial; which having read with a countenance more becoming her dignity than her situation, she expressed herself in the following manner: "It grieves me much that the queen, my dear sister, is misinformed of me; and that, after so many years close confinement in prison, and being grown lame in my limbs, I have lain wholly neglected, though I have offered so many reasonable conditions for my liberty: though I have given her full and faithful notice of several dangers that threatened her, yet no credit hath been given me, and I have been still slighted, though so nearly allied to her in blood. When the association was entered into, and the act of parliament made thereupon, I foresaw, that whatever danger should happen, either from foreign princes abroad, or from ill disposed people at home, or for the sake of religion, I must bear the blame, having so many mortal enemies in the court. Certainly I might take it ill, and not without just reason, that a league hath been lately made with my son, without

my knowlege; but such matters I omit. As for this letter, it seems strange to me, that the queen should command me, as a subject, to submit myself to a trial. I am an absolute queen, and will do nothing which may be prejudicial either to royal majesty, to other princes of my place and rank, or to my son. My mind is not yet so far dejected, neither will I faint or sink under this my calamity. I refer myself to what I have formerly protested to Bromley, now chancellor, and the late lord Delawar. The laws of England are to me altogether unknown: I am destitute of council; and who shall be my peers I cannot tell. My papers and notes are taken from me, and no man dares appear to be my advocate. I am clear from being guilty of any thing against the queen; I have stirred no man against her; and am not to be charged, but upon my own words or writings, which I am sure cannot be produced against me: yet I cannot deny but I have recommended myself and condition to foreign princes." When this speech being put in writing, was sent her the next morning, to see if she allowed it to be right, she owned it, and desired that the following words might be added, "Whereas the queen writes, that I am subject to the laws of England, and to be tried and judged by them, because I have lived under their protection; I answer, that I came into England to crave her assistance, and have been ever since in prison; so that I could not enjoy the protection or benefit of the laws of England; nay, I could never yet understand, from any man, what laws they were."

In fine, this and the following day were taken up with her disputing the authority of her judges; nor could she have been persuaded to plead, had she not been convinced, that an obstinate refusal would injure her innocence; and she was allowed first of all to enter her protest; when she found they were determined to proceed to judgment against her for non-appearance, this wrought upon her so much, that on the fourteenth of October she agreed to appear.

The trial had an appearance of great order and solemnity. At the upper end of the room (according to Camden) was placed a chair of state for the queen of England (had she been present), under a royal canopy: overagainst it, below, at some distance near the beam that ran across the room, stood a chair for the queen of Scots: by the walls, on both sides were placed benches, on which sat the commissioners. The particulars of this trial, together with the several articles of the charge

* They were sir Henry Bromley, knight, chancellor of England, the lord Burleigh, the marquis of Winchester, the earl of Oxford, great-chamberlain, the earl of Sherwbury, the marshal of England, the earl of Kent, the earl Derby, the earl of Worcester, the earl of Rutland, the earl of Warwick, master of the ordnance, the earls of Pembroke, Leicester, and Lincoln, the viscount Montagu, the lord Howard, high-admiral of England, Hunfdon, lord-chamberlain, Abergavenny, Zouch, Morley, Cobham, lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Stafford, Grey of Wilton, Lumley, Sturton, Sandes, Wentworth, Mordaunt, St. John of Bletso, Buckhurst, Compton, Cheney, sir Francis Knolles, treasurer of the household, sir James Crofts, comptroller, sir Christopher Hatton, vice-chamberlain, sir Francis Walsingham and William Davison, secretaries of state, sir Ralph Sadler, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, sir Walter Mildmay, chancellor of the Exchequer, sir Amias Pawlet, captain of Jersey, John Wolley, esq. secretary for the Latin tongue, sir Christopher Wray, sir Edmund Anderson, sir Roger Marwood, sir Thomas Gawdy, William Periam, judges. Camden, p. 519.

† Very great care was taken in drawing up this commission, as the reader will perceive by the following answer of Popham, the queen's attorney-general, and the other crown lawyers, to a letter sent them by lord Burleigh on this subject: the answer ran to this tenor.

"That that morning they had conference with such judges as were at present there, viz. the lord chief-baron sir Thomas Gawdy, justice Windham, justice Periam, and justice Rodes, and to Mr. serjeant Gawdy, touching the course of the proceeding in the commission.

"That they thought good, among other things, to understand their opinions, by what name the Scottish queen was to be called in the commission and record: and that therein they found them all of opinion, that to give her directly and precisely the name of "regina Scotorum," either in the beginning, or by a copulative, as was set down in his lordship's last letters, could not well be warranted by law; and therefore they held it the surest way to name her "Maria, filia & hæres Jacobi quinti, nuper regis Scotorum, communiter vocat regina Scotorum, & dataria Franciæ." Strype, vol. iii. p. 364.

against Mary, and her defence, and to be met with at large in almost all our historians, and in the Collection of State Trials; but being, on account of their great length, too tedious to be inserted in this history, we hope our readers will be content with a concise account of the most remarkable matters, as they occurred in the course of the proceedings.

The court being opened, the chancellor, turning to Mary, told her, "that she was accused of conspiring the destruction of the queen, the realm of England, and the protestant religion; and they were commissioned to examine the truth of the accusation, and to hear her answer." The chancellor having done speaking, the queen rose up, and said, "that she came into England to crave the aid which had been promised her: that she was a queen, and no subject to Elizabeth; and if she appeared before them, it was only to secure her honour and reputation." The chancellor would not own that any aid had been promised her: as to the protestation, he answered her, "it was in vain, since the law upon which the accusation was grounded, allowed of no distinction in the person of the transgressors; therefore it was not to be admitted." The court ordered, however, that the protestation should be recorded, with the chancellor's answer.

Through the whole of her trial, Mary constantly denied being any way concerned in that part of Babington's plot which tended to the taking away the life of Elizabeth: she even denied having had any correspondence with him by letters. She alleged that it was easy to counterfeit the hand-writing and cypher of another; and as to the confessions of her secretaries, she declared they were entirely false, and complained of being denied the right of seeing her accusers face to face. She did not, indeed, attempt to deny that she had tried all means, both in England and abroad, to procure her own liberty; in which she said she thought herself warranted by the laws of God and man. The lord Burleigh then put her in mind, that Morgan, her servant, had, with her knowledge, put Parry upon his design of taking queen Elizabeth's life: upon which Mary exclaimed, with some warmth, "Ah! are you my adversary!" "Yes (replied Burleigh) I am adversary to all Elizabeth's enemies:" and then, as if she had been a common criminal, asked her, whether she had any more to say? Mary, upon this, rose with great consciousness of majesty, and demanded to be heard before a full parliament, or the queen and her council. No answer was made to this; but the court was adjourned from Fotheringay, to sit in the Star-chamber, at Westminster, on the twenty-fifth of October.

On that day all the commissioners, except the earls of Shrewsbury and Warwick, attended; and though several of them (according to Thuanus) were popish lords, they found her, queen of Scots, guilty of the impeachment; and a formal sentence was pronounced against Mary, under the hands and seals of all the commissioners present.

At the same time the court issued a declaration, importing "that the said sentence in no way derogated from the title and honour of James king of Scotland, but he was in the same place, degree, and right, as if the sentence had never been pronounced." The unprejudiced and discerning reader will naturally form suitable reflections upon

this proceeding against Mary, without my troubling him with any comments of my own: I shall only observe, that Elizabeth did not think herself safe in what had been done by her orders, until she was once more assured, that her parliament, which met on the twenty-ninth of October, not only confirmed the sentence pronounced against Mary, but also presented an address to her, humbly beseeching her to consent to its publication and execution. To this petition Elizabeth returned an answer, every word of which breathed the most unparalleled dissimulation: she pretended a mighty aversion to extreme measures; desired the two houses to find out some expedient to save her from the necessity of taking them; though at the same time she took especial care to throw into her speech every circumstance that she knew would make them earnest in pressing her to proceed with the utmost severity: among other things she told them, that, not long since, "she had seen with her own eyes, and read, an oath, wherein some were bound to kill her within a month. Hereby (says she) I see your danger in my person, which I will be very careful to prevent."

This public declaration of the jeopardy their sovereign's life was in, increased the apprehensions and terrors of the parliament so much, that when the commons returned to their house, they were determined more than ever to insist upon the execution of Mary; which they accordingly did in a second address, presented to Elizabeth on the twenty-third of November. This second application revived the pretended doubts and scruples of Elizabeth: she lamented her own unhappy situation, expressed her uneasiness at their earnest importunities, professed the warmest affection for her people, and dismissed the committee who waited on her with the address, in an uncertainty what, after all this irresolution, would be the final result of her deliberation.

Her resolution, however, was not long kept secret; the sentence against the queen of Scots was, by Elizabeth's orders, openly proclaimed throughout England; and on the sixth of December, the lord Buckhurst, with Beal, clerk of the council, were sent to notify it to Mary, and exhort her to prepare for death. The captive queen received the message with great firmness of mind, thanking God that an end was soon to be put to her troublesome pilgrimage: and then, with some emotion, said, "It is no wonder if the English, who have so often put their own sovereigns to death, should treat in the same manner a princess sprung from the blood of their kings." When sir Amias Pawlett took down her canopy of state, and divested her of all the badges of royalty, she bore it with extraordinary patience: she complained, indeed, of this treatment, and of the unfair use made of the letters and papers taken from her, in a letter to queen Elizabeth, wherein, after declaring herself void of all malevolence towards her, she desired "that her corpse might be interred in France; that she might not be put to death in private, but in the sight of the world; and that her servants might enjoy the legacies left them by her will, and be suffered to depart freely and peaceably whither they pleased." This letter was wrote on the nineteenth of December, but whether it was delivered is uncertain. On the second of that month the parliament was adjourned to the fif-

teenth of February; a resolution being fixed, within that time to take off Mary's head.

While the queen of Scots was preparing herself for her approaching fate, great interest was made by all the princes of Europe, in order to prevent the execution of the sentence pronounced against her. Even Henry III. notwithstanding his known aversion to the house of Guise, was obliged to interpose in her behalf, and to appear in defence of the common rights of royalty. L'Aubespine, the French resident at London, and Bellievre, who was sent over with an extraordinary commission to the same purpose, interceded for Mary with great appearance of warmth. They employed every argument, which could either move the pity, or alarm the fears, of Elizabeth: they pleaded from justice, generosity, and humanity: they intermingled reproaches and threats. But, to all these Elizabeth continued deaf and inexorable; and having received some private intimation of Henry's real indifference about the fate of the Scottish queen, and knowing the implacable hatred to all the family of the Guise, she hoped that these loud remonstrances would be productive of no violent effects.

James of Scotland was no sooner informed of his mother's distress, than he dispatched sir William Keith, gentleman of his bed-chamber, with a letter to Elizabeth, conjuring her to spare the life of his parent, otherwise he should think himself bound, by the laws of God and man, to revenge her death; and beseeching her at any rate to respite the execution of the sentence, until he could send an ambassador with farther propositions, which she might find satisfactory. She was seized with a transport of indignation when she perused this letter, in which James presumed to threaten her with vengeance; but her passion subsiding, she granted the desired respite. At length the master of Gray and sir Robert Melvill arriving in London, proposed that their king should give the chief of his nobility as hostages, to secure Elizabeth from any future practices of his mother, who should resign the right of her succession to her son; and the resignation should be guaranteed by foreign princes. These proposals the queen rejected with disdain: and when sir Robert Melvill begged earnestly that execution might be deferred for a week, the queen answered, with great emotion, "No, not for an hour." We have already observed that Elizabeth's dissimulation failed her whenever Mary was the subject of conversation. James recalled his ambassadors in a passion, which, however, was soon cooled by the master of Gray, who was a pensioner of the queen of England.

Elizabeth proceeded now to act the last part of the tragedy relating to the unhappy queen of Scots; and in the mean time her ministry, in order to pave the way for the bloody deed, took care to alarm the nation with false surmises of new plots and projected invasions; and the French resident, L'Aubespine, was accused of being concerned in hiring two ruffians to make away with Elizabeth; but the heinousness of this charge does not appear to have been supported with any authentic evidence, and so dropped of itself. It had however all the effects that were expected from it, by raising the impatience of the public for Mary's blood; and Elizabeth thinking that as many entreaties had been used, and as much delay interposed as decency required, she was at last resolved to execute the sen-

tence against her sister-queen: but even in this last resolution she could not proceed without exhibiting a new scene of artifice and deceit; for, after much affected perturbation of mind, she sent for Davison, a man of great parts, but easy to be deceived, and who, for that very reason, had been lately made secretary, and commanded him to draw out a warrant for the execution of the queen of Scots, which she afterwards said she designed to have kept by her in case any attempt should be made for the delivery of that princess: she signed the warrant, and then desired Davison to carry it to the chancellor, in order to have the seal affixed to it.

Next day she sent Killigrew to Davison, requiring him to delay, for some time, the execution of her former orders; and when Davison came, and told her that the warrant had already passed the seals, she seemed to be somewhat surprized, and blamed him for his precipitation. Davison, not knowing what course to pursue, communicated the whole transaction to the council; and they advised him to dispatch the warrant by the hands of Beale, clerk to the council: if the queen should be offended, they promised to justify his conduct, and to take on themselves the whole blame of this measure. The secretary, not suspecting their intention, followed the advice; and the warrant was transmitted to the earls of Shrewsbury, Kent, Derby and Cumberland, commanding them to see the sentence carried into immediate execution.

Common reason will not permit us to imagine that the matter could proceed thus far without Elizabeth's knowledge, nor was there even the least proof that she ordered Davison to withhold the warrant: the presumption is very strong to the contrary; because had Elizabeth pleased, even after Beale and the four earls were set out, there was time enough for countermanding the execution. But, indeed, Elizabeth, whose scheme seems to have been to deceive the world into an opinion that the odium of the queen of Scots death was not to be laid to her account, though, if we are to credit the apology of Davison himself, after his trial, and the following abstracts from two letters, inserted in the Life of the unfortunate Queen Mary, by M^r Kenzie, it will remain past a doubt, that she was determined upon her death, and did not stick at the most unjustifiable methods to compass it.

In the first, dated at London, February 1, 1586-7, to sir Amias Pawlet and sir Drue Drury, they thus express themselves: "Her majesty doth note in you both a lack of that care and zeal for her service, which she looketh for at your hands, in that you have not, in all this time (of yourselves, without any other provocation) found out some way to shorten the life of the Scottish queen, considering the great peril she is hourly subject to, so long as the said queen shall live. She taketh it most unkindly, that men professing that love towards her as you do, should, in a kind of sort, for the lack of the discharge of your duties, cast the burden upon her, knowing, as you do, her indisposition to shedding blood." To which sir Amias Pawlet replied next day, "My answer I shall give unto you with great grief and bitterness of mind, in that I am so unhappy, as living to see this unhappy day, in which I am required by direction from my most gracious sovereign, to do an act which God and the law forbiddeth. God forbid I should make so foul a shipwreck of my conscience,

or leave so great a blot upon my poor posterity, and shed blood without law or warrant."

However, her artifices answered the main end for which they were designed, to give the young king of Scotland, who is said to have been too consenting to his mother's prosecution and death, a plausible excuse for continuing his correspondence with Elizabeth; and to furnish Elizabeth with an answer to the representations of foreign princes, expected on that occasion.

An awful, but humiliating, scene is now to be disclosed; a daughter, a wife, and a mother of kings, and herself a sovereign queen, after being shut up for eighteen years in dreary prisons by a sister-queen, is, by her orders, to be dragged to the block, and her head struck off by a common executioner.

On the evening of the sixth of February (though our historians say the seventh), 1587, the four lords, with Beale, arrived at Fotheringay; and the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, together with Mary's two keepers, intimated to her that she must die on the eighth following. The calmness and resignation with which she received this dreadful news were of a piece with all her other conduct: she confessed, indeed, she did not think she was to die so soon; but all her gestures, looks, and words, were full of chearful resignation. She desired of the earls, that she might have a conference with her almoner, confessor, and Andrew Melvill, the master of her household: but they would not allow her confessor to come near her, but recommended to her the bishop or dean of Peterborough; whom she refusing, the earl of Kent, out of his zeal to the reformed religion, insisted that she should have no other. After they were gone, she ordered supper to be hastened, that she might have the more time to dispose of her concerns. She supped temperately, as she used to do: towards the end of supper, she drank to her servants, who pledged her upon their knees, begging pardon for their neglect of duty, as she also did of them. After supper she perused her will, and wrote down the names of those to whom she bequeathed her goods and jewels. At her wonted time she went to bed; slept some hours; and then, awaking, spent the rest of the night in prayer. The fatal day being come, she dressed herself as she was wont to do upon festival days, and, calling her servants together, commanded her will to be read, and then retired into her oratory, where she staid till sir Thomas Andrews, the sheriff, acquainted her that she must now come forth. She appeared with a composed countenance and chearful look; her head was covered with a veil, hanging down to the ground; her beads hanging at her girdle, with a crucifix in her hand. In the porch she was received by the earls and other noblemen, where, speaking a short speech to Melvill, who bewailed his hard hap, that he was to carry into Scotland the woful tidings of the unhappy fate of his lady and mistress, she bade him farewell; and turning to the earls, desired that her servants might stand by her at her death. Then the earls of Kent and Shrewsbury, sir Thomas Andrews, sheriff of Northamptonshire going before her, she came to the scaffold, at the upper end of the hall, on which were placed a chair, a cushion, and a block, covered with black cloth. As soon as she was sat down, Beale read the

warrant, to which the queen listened with a careless or rather merry countenance: which done, Dr. Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, began a long speech to her, concerning her life, past, present, and to come. She interrupted him, praying him not to trouble himself, for she was resolved to die in the catholic religion. Then they appointed the dean to pray; after which, the executioner having asked her forgiveness, her women took off her upper garments, and covering her face with a handkerchief, she laid her head upon the block, which was severed from her body at two strokes. She was buried in a royal manner, in the cathedral of Peterborough, on the first of August, where she lay till her son king James's accession to the crown of England; but he ordered her remains to be removed, in 1612, into the south isle of king Henry VII's chapel, at Westminster, where she now lies under a stately monument erected to her memory.

Thus, in the forty-sixth year of her age, and the eighteenth of her captivity, died Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland by birth, and of France by marriage, whose character has been equally injured by the virulence of her enemies, and the intemperate zeal of her friends. The panegyric of the latter has ever been suspected, because unsupported, and has thereby given countenance to the defamation of the former. Upon a strict and impartial review of her life and actions, I think it may be justly said, that she was an amiable woman rather than an illustrious queen; and that she was partly the cause of her own ruin, by certain levities and errors in her conduct, which furnished her restless subjects with a pretext to oppose her authority, and drove her to seek for shelter with that person, who, of all the world, was by nature, inclination, and the situation of her own affairs, her most inveterate enemy.

If we are to believe contemporary authors, her person was so finished a pattern of beauty, that it exceeded all the luxuriancy of description; in short, Mary is, with her countrymen, to this day, but another name for Beauty itself; nor is it easy to contradict them, since they have the French writers on their side; and, notwithstanding their pretences, few if any original pictures of her, in the bloom of life, are remaining to contradict them. Brantome says of her, "that no man ever beheld her person without admiration and love, or will read her story without sorrow."

Elizabeth had hitherto acted a most egregious farce in her conduct to the queen of Scots, and she was now determined to perform the last scene with the same dexterity and address which she had displayed in the former. No sooner was she informed of Mary's death, than she affected a violent transport of grief, and openly declared the execution had been done against her intention, and without her orders. Her first care was to make her apology to James: her kinsman, Cary, son to the lord Hundon, was charged with this commission, and had orders to deliver to James a letter, written all in her own hand, to this effect: "that her mind was infinitely disquieted on account of this lamentable event, done against her meaning and intent; intreating him to believe, that if she had commanded it, she would never have denied it; and withal professing her true affection towards him, and

and her assiduous watchfulness for the preservation of him and his states*.”

While Cary was on his journey, Elizabeth, the better to support her dissimulation, caused Davison to be tried at the Star-chamber, “for contempt of the queen’s majesty, violating of his trust, and neglect of his duty;” which charge was aggravated against him with all the chicanery of the bar, by Egerton, the queen’s solicitor, and Gawdy and Pickering, crown-lawyers. Davison behaved with great modesty on his examination; he readily acknowledged his error, and suffered himself to be railed at by those very counsellors, who had promised him their countenance and protection, and had encouraged him to the fact for which he now stood arraigned. The pleadings ended, the commissioners proceeded to pass sentence on this easy dupe of his sovereign’s treachery and dissimulation; and it was decreed, that, for his hasty and inconsiderate conduct, he should be fined ten thousand pounds, and suffer imprisonment during the queen’s pleasure. In this sentence all the court concurred; only the lord Grey excused Davison so far, as to say that he thought him worthy of reward rather than punishment. He continued a long time in custody, and was obliged to pay every shilling of the fine, though it reduced him to absolute beggary: all the favour he could procure from the queen, was a temporary support, just sufficient to keep him from starving, who had served her at the hazard of his own head. We cannot refuse the reader a sight of the apology which Davison afterwards drew up for himself and sent to Walsingham, and which the reader will find in the note† transcribed from Camden, and is at liberty to make his own reflections on it.

Elizabeth’s hypocrisy was so gross, that it could impose on nobody who was not previously resolved to be deceived; but as James’s concern for his mother was heart-felt and sincere, he expressed the highest rage and indignation, and refused to admit Cary into his presence. He recalled his ambassadors from England, and seemed to breathe nothing but war and vengeance: however, the friends of Elizabeth, taking advantage of the caution and timidity of James, gave him such frightful ideas of the power of England, and the treachery of the Roman catholics, of his danger in marrying into a popish family, and of his own inability to avenge his mother’s death, that in a few months he turned

his thoughts towards peace; in which he was more easily confirmed by Cary’s producing the sentence passed upon Davison; and another instrument, signed by all the judges of England, in which they declared that the sentence against the queen of Scotland could in no wise prejudice James in his right of succession to the crown of England.

Elizabeth having thus dissipated the clouds which threatened to burst with fury upon her head from this quarter, and being informed that Philip of Spain was meditating a formidable descent upon England, for which purpose a great navy was equipping in his ports, she sent sir Francis Drake, with a fleet, to intercept the supplies of naval and military stores going to Cadiz, to plunder the Spanish coast, and to destroy the enemy’s shipping in their own ports; all which this brave and active commander effected with equal courage and success, burning and destroying above an hundred ships, most of them laden with provisions and military stores; and, after taking the town of St. Vincent, and bombarding Lisbon, he set sail for the Western Islands, in order to intercept a rich carrack, or galleon, called the St. Philip, then on her return from the East Indies, which falling into his hands, he returned to England in July, covered with glory, and master of an immense booty. But the most valuable acquisition accruing to the nation from this expedition, was the finding of certain papers on board the galleon, which served to instruct the English in the nature of the East Indian commerce, and put them on the first thoughts of establishing an East India Company.

The English, during this year, were not equally successful in their land enterprizes in the Low Countries, where two of Leicester’s favourites, Stanley and York, to whom he had, on his return to England, assigned the command of Zutphen and Deventer, two important posts, treacherously delivered the same up to the duke of Parma; and the states of the United Provinces, who thought they had already sufficient reasons to be offended with the conduct of Leicester, now sent an embassy to the English court with their complaints, and a request that the government might be taken from the earl, and given to some other more able and prudent general. Elizabeth, who was greatly chagrined at the dislike the states expressed to her favourite, sent over Thomas Sackville, lord Buckhurst, to use his best endeavours to compromise matters, but

* Spottiswood, p. 357.

† The queen, after the departure of the French and Scottish ambassadors, of her own accord commanded me to deliver her the warrant for the executing the sentence against the queen of Scots. When I had delivered it, she readily signed it with her own hand: when she had so done, she commanded it to be sealed with the great seal of England; and, in a jesting manner, said, “Go, tell this to Walsingham, who is now sick, though I fear he will die for sorrow when he hears it.” She added also her reasons for deferring it so long, namely, lest she might seem to have been violently or maliciously drawn thereto; whereas, in the mean time, she was not ignorant how necessary it was. Moreover, she blamed Pawlet and Drury, that they had not eased her of this care; and wished Walsingham would feel their pulses touching this matter.

The next day after the warrant was under the great-seal, she commanded me, by Killigrew, that it should be done; and when I had informed her that it was done already, she found fault with such great haste, telling me, that, in the judgment of some wise men, another course might be taken. I answered, that the course which was just, was always best and safest. But, fearing lest she should lay the fault on me (as she had laid the putting the duke of Norfolk to death upon the lord Burleigh), I acquainted Hatton with the whole matter, protesting that I would not plunge myself any deeper in so great a business. He

presently imparted it to the lord Burleigh, and the lord Burleigh to the rest of the council, who all consented to have the execution hastened; and every one of them vowed to bear an equal part of the blame, and sent Beale away with the warrant and letters. The third day after, when, by a dream which she told of the queen of Scots death, I perceived that she wavered in her resolution, I asked her whether she had changed her mind? She answered, “No; but another course (said she) might have been devised;” and withal she asked me, whether I had received any answer from Pawlet, whose letters when I had shewed her, wherein he flatly refused to undertake that which stood not with her honour and justice; she waxing angry, accused him, and others (who had bound themselves by the association), of perjury and breach of vows, as those that had promised great matters for their prince’s safety, but would perform nothing: “yet there are (said she), who will do it for my sake.” But I shewed her how dishonourable and unjust a thing this would be; and withal into how great danger she would bring Pawlet and Drury by it: for if she approved the fact, she would draw upon herself both danger and dishonour, not without censure of injustice; and if she disavowed it, she would undo men of great descent, and their whole posterity. And afterwards she gave me a light check, the same day that the queen of Scots was executed, because she was not put to death.

without effect; for the Dutch, thinking it no longer safe to trust Leicester, would hearken to no terms of accommodation, but gave the command of their army to count Maurice of Nassau, the late prince of Orange's second son. Elizabeth, who considered the independence of the states as immediately connected with her own safety, shewed no resentment at their excluding Leicester, but, on the contrary, to give them entire satisfaction, she commanded that nobleman to resign his government. But though her good sense so far prevailed, on the present occasion, over her attachment to Leicester, he, by his artful submission, soon regained his former influence; and the lord Buckhurst, who, on his return to England, accused him before the parliament of his conduct in Holland, lost for some time the confidence of his sovereign, and was even committed to custody, while all proceedings against Leicester were quashed by the royal authority, to the secret indignation of all honest men. The lord Willoughby was made general of the English forces in the Low Countries, who had orders to oblige the partizans of England there, to submit to the authority of prince Maurice. During these transactions, the Dutch lost Sluys, which was taken by the prince of Parma, and Gueldres submitted to him through the treachery of its governor.

In regard to domestic affairs in England, we have to observe, that the parliament meeting on the fifteenth of February, a motion was made in the house of commons, to present an address of thanks to her majesty, for having put the queen of Scots to death; but this did not pass, because it would have fixed upon Elizabeth an imputation which she sought eagerly to avoid. A petition, with a Directory or Book of Devotion, from the puritans being presented to the house, seconded by four gentlemen, the queen sent for the book, and committed the four members to the Tower, for having presumed to meddle in church-matters, in contempt of her repeated inhibition: a motion was made to address her for the release of the imprisoned members, but was over-ruled, and they continued in confinement till the parliament was dissolved. This severity did not hinder the commons from granting a subsidy, and afterwards a benevolence for the support of the war in the Netherlands: she met with the like indulgence from the lords, and the clergy assembled in convocation.

This year sir John Perot was called home from Ireland, where he left every thing in great tranquillity, to the government of Fitz Williams, his successor. Hitherto the English had found the Irish an easy conquest, on account of the unskilfulness of these latter in military exercise; eight hundred foot and three hundred horse was held an invincible army, but, after Perot's command, they were trained to arms, and taught to discharge muskets at a mark, and being instructed in the art of fortification, they held the English tighter to it, and were not so easily overcome. But we are now to see the attention of Elizabeth and her people engrossed by objects of the most important and alarming nature.

Philip II. king of Spain, upon the slender title of being descended from John of Ghent, duke of Lancaster, the fourth son of Edward III. and upon the conveyance and will of the queen of Scots, deceased, who had been persuaded to give up her right and title to England in favour of him, as the

only means to restore popery in this nation, and being also prepossessed with that maxim of the church of Rome, that a heretic is unworthy and incapable of enjoying a crown, thought he might justly claim that of England; and, supported with the bulls of pope Pius V. and Gregory XIII. absolving Elizabeth's subjects from their oath of allegiance, he had for some time been projecting the conquest of England and its dependencies.

It is true that Philip positively denied his intention to molest Elizabeth, or assist her enemies, with these great naval preparations he was carrying on throughout all his dominions; but that watchful minister Walsingham, having intelligence, from his spies in the Spanish court, that Philip had declared in council that he had dispatched an express to Rome with a letter, wrote with his own hand, to the pope, acquainting him with the true design of his preparations, and asking his blessing upon it, but that, for some reasons, he would not disclose the particulars of the matter to them till the return of the courier; the secretary lost no time to make himself master of this important secret; and, by the help of a Venetian priest, his spy at Rome, he found means to bribe a gentleman of the pope's bed-chamber, who took out of his holiness's pocket, when asleep, the keys of his cabinet, which he opened, and taking a copy of the king of Spain's letter, sent it to Walsingham; who thereupon advised the sending sir Francis Drake upon the coast of Spain in the manner already related: which, with Walsingham's farther contrivance to get the Spanish bills, which were to supply the king of Spain with money to carry on his preparations, protested at Genoa, obliged Philip to defer the execution of his grand project to another year.

In the mean while Elizabeth, who was thoroughly informed of the storm which was raising against her, took all possible care to be in a posture of defence at home, as well as to distress her enemies abroad: but still she could not help being much perplexed to see her crown at stake, and herself alone without any ally to defend it, and therefore sought as much as possible to gain time; Philip himself was in no condition as yet to precipitate matters; and each dissembled so far, that, in December this year, it was agreed that commissioners should meet to draw up preliminaries for a pacification. It was proposed at first that the commissioners should meet at Munster, but at last, after many altercations, Ostend was fixed upon for the place of holding the conferences, which were not opened, however, till the twelfth of April, 1588 (a year that will be ever memorable in the English annals); and then such artful obstacles were thrown in the way of a mutual agreement, that the time was dallied on till the thundering of the Spanish artillery on the coast of England demonstrated how fruitless all farther treating would prove.

Notwithstanding the very great damage that sir Francis Drake had done the Spanish armament last year, yet so universal and prodigious a preparation as had been making for three years could not be easily rendered wholly useless; and, by the month of May this year, Philip had equipped a fleet, which, on account of its strength, he called the Invincible Armada. He procured from the pope (Sixtus V.) a consecrated banner, with fresh bulls for excommunicating Elizabeth as an heretic, publishing

lishing a crusade against her, and absolving her subjects from their oath of allegiance.

The gold of Peru was lavished for the purposes of this expedition. This tremendous armament rendezvoused at the Groyne, and consisted of the following particulars: nineteen thousand two hundred and ninety soldiers; eight thousand three hundred and fifty sailors; two thousand and eighty galley-slaves; and two thousand six hundred and thirty pieces of ordnance: in a word, there never was any fleet equal to it in modern times, whether we consider the goodness of the troops, the appointments of the ships, the provision of ammunition, victuals, and arms, or its confidence of success.

The duke of Medina Sidonia was appointed admiral of the whole; and don Juan Martinez de Ricaldo, an experienced sea-officer, served under him; nor was there a noble family in Spain but had a son, brother, or nephew, in this expedition, in hopes of acquiring riches and revenues in England, which they looked upon as an easy conquest. And still more to insure success, Philip ordered the duke of Parma to provide transports, and an army of twenty-five thousand men, to be convoyed into this kingdom as soon as the Spanish fleet should appear on the coast of Flanders. The duke, in pursuance of these orders, caused a great number of flat-bottomed vessels to be built, for the transportation of the cavalry; provided other ships for the foot soldiers; and quartered his troops in the neighbourhood of Gravelines, Dunkirk, and Newport. To the disgrace of human nature, seven hundred English fugitives enlisted under his banner, to assist in the conquest of their own country!

In the mean while Elizabeth had many serious consultations concerning the manner of repelling this danger. Having equipped a considerable fleet, she created Charles lord Howard of Effingham, lord high-admiral of England; and he was sent with a strong squadron to the West, where he was joined by sir Francis Drake, now appointed vice-admiral. She ordered lord Henry Seymour, second son to the duke of Somerset, to cruise along the coast of Flanders, with forty English and Flemish ships, to prevent the prince of Parma from putting to sea with his forces. Twenty thousand men were cantoned along the southern coasts of England; another body of well-disciplined troops encamped at Tilbury, near the mouth of the Thames, under the conduct of the earl of Leicester, whom the queen created general in chief of all her forces; and the lord Hunsdon commanded a third army, amounting to thirty-thousand horse and foot, for the defence of her majesty's person. Arthur, lord Grey, sir Francis Knolles, sir John Norreys, sir Richard Bingham, and sir Roger Williams, men renowned for their valour and experience, were consulted about the management of the war by land: in pursuance of their advice, all the landing-places on the coast were fortified and garrisoned, from Hull to the Land's End and Milford Haven; the militia of the country was armed, and regulated under proper officers, who received instructions for interrupting the disembarkation of the enemy, wasting the country before them with

slight skirmishes and continual alarms, until the army could be assembled at the place, in order to give them battle. The queen imprisoned some suspected papists; sent new instructions to sir William Fitz Williams, lord-deputy of Ireland; and, by her friends in Scotland, instigated James against the Roman catholics and the Spanish faction. That prince was more afraid than she of the success of such an invasion, which would have deprived him of his fair succession, and exposed his native kingdom to the arms of a foreign conqueror. The lord Maxwell, returning from Spain, landed at Kirkcudbright, and began to assemble troops as if he expected the Spaniards would have made a descent in Galloway: James, being informed of these practices, marched against him with such expedition, that it was with difficulty he escaped in a bark; but being pursued, was taken and imprisoned.

As I shall, in the future part of this history (which has already insensibly grown upon me, and, much against my will, is likely to exceed the limits I at first proposed), be cautious of enlarging upon matters sufficiently known, I must therefore refer the reader to the journals of this expedition, which are in the hands of almost every one, for the minute particulars of each day's action, after the meeting of the two fleets to the final destruction of the Spaniards, and confine myself to a more succinct narrative.

The Invincible Armada, then, set sail from the port of Lisbon on the third of June, 1588; but being met at sea by a violent tempest, was forced back to the Groyne, where it lay till the twelfth of July, and then set sail for England, and, after a troublesome voyage, the whole fleet was, on the nineteenth, within sight of our western shores. It was impossible for the English ships, which, for the most part, were no more than small barks in comparison with those of the Spaniards, to stand against the force of those floating citadels, whose upper works were above three feet thick, and almost cannon-proof. Nevertheless, this well-concerted scheme failed in almost every part: the English appeared before the enemy with one hundred sail, and, notwithstanding their inferiority in bulk, numbers, and strength, stopped the progress of this formidable fleet. They took several of the Spanish ships, and dispersed the rest by means of fire-ships, on this occasion first used: a storm seconded the efforts of the English; the Spanish admiral's ship, called the *Invincible*, was very near being lost on the coast of Zealand. The duke of Parma's army, which could not put to sea without the assistance of the Spanish fleet, remained inactive. Philip's navy, unable to resist the courage of the English and adverse winds, retreated round the north part of our island; some were wrecked upon the coast of Zealand; others upon the Orkney islands and the coast of Scotland; and another was cast away upon the Irish shore, where the country-people massacred most of the soldiers and sailors who escaped the fury of the tempest; and the lord-lieutenant, Fitz Williams, caused the rest to be hanged. In short, of the whole Invincible Armada, only fifty ships returned to Spain; and of thirty thousand men who had sailed on this expedition, no more than six thousand escaped shipwreck and the sword and fire

fire of the enemy. I have in the note * inserted some curious particulars, as they were transmitted to the court of Spain, concerning its whole loss in this expedition. That of the English was almost too inconsiderable to be mentioned; only one commander (Cox), with his bark, perishing in the midst of the enemy.

The lord high-admiral Effingham having entirely cleared the English coast of the Spaniards, returned in safety back to the Downs, to join in the acclamations and thanksgiving of the whole nation for so great a deliverance. Two medals were struck by the government's order, in memory of this signal victory: one in honour of the queen, which represented fire-ships, and a fleet in a hurry and confusion, with this motto, DVX FÆMINA FACTI; another in honour of the English navy, with the device of a fleet flying under full sail, and the inscription VENIT, VIDIT, FUGIT. The Zealanders, whose very existence depended upon the success of the English arms, struck one, representing the Spanish fleet in great confusion, with this motto, IMPIVS FUGIT NEMINE SEQVENTE.

As for Elizabeth, she ordered a public thanksgiving for the deliverance to be made in all the churches throughout the kingdom; and went herself to St. Paul's, in great solemnity, to perform the sacred duty: at the same time eleven standards and colours, taken from the enemy, were hung up in the body of the church, as trophies of their defeat. The queen's next act was to bestow on the lord high-admiral Howard a yearly pension, or rather gratuity, in recompence of his great service to his country, and likewise bestowed pensions on several of the maimed and wounded officers. For the rest, their rewards consisted more in words than in deeds. To add to the general joy, sir Robert Sidney, who had been sent into Scotland,

before the arrival of the Spanish fleet, at the time the queen was afraid king James would think the troubles of her realm afforded him a proper opportunity, by joining with the Spaniards, to revenge the murder of his mother, returned to England, with a letter, under James's own hand, to Elizabeth, wherein that monarch testified his sincere attachment to the interest of England and the protestant religion, and declared that he was so far from wishing well to the cause of Philip, that he looked for no other favour from the Spaniard than what Polyphemus promised Ulysses, namely, that he should be devoured the last.

On the fourth of September, soon after the dispersion of the Armada, died Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, the queen's great but unworthy favourite. He had discovered no conduct in any of his military enterprizes, and was even suspected of cowardice; yet she entrusted him with the command of her armies during the danger of the Spanish invasion, a partiality which might have proved fatal to her, had the duke of Parma been able to land his troops in England: she had even given orders for drawing a commission, appointing him her lieutenant in the kingdoms of England and Ireland; but Burleigh and Hatton represented the danger of investing any subject with such unlimited authority, and prevented the execution of that design. No wonder, that a conduct so unlike the usual jealousy of Elizabeth, should give ground to surmise that her partiality was founded on some other passion than friendship. But the queen's affection for Leicester seemed to be terminated with his death: she caused his goods to be exposed to public sale, in order to reimburse herself for the money she had lent him, and her usual œconomy was observed to prevail over her regard to the memory of the deceased. Leicester's character may be summed up in a

* Ships and men, sunk, drowned, killed, and taken upon the coast of Ireland, in the month of September, 1588.

Counties.	Places.	Ships.	Men.		Counties.	Places.	Ships.	Men.		
Tyrconnel.	Lochfoile	1	1000	of that ship, and others thatscap- ed.	Brought up		11	3870		
	Sligo haven	3 greatships	1500				The Shannon	2	600	
	Tyrcawley	1	400				Trayle	1	24	
Connaught.	Clere Island	1	300	the men fled into other vessels.			1	500		
	Finglasse	1	400				Desmond	1	300	
	Ophaly	1	200				The Shannon	1 burnt	—	the men em- barked in another ship.
	Irishe	2	—				Total ships	17	Total men	5394
	Galway bay	1	70							
	Carried up	11	3870							

Before the loss of the aforesaid seventeen ships in Ireland, there perished, in July and August, fifteen other great ships, in the fight betwixt the English and Spanish navies in the narrow seas of England.

	Ships.	Men.	
First, gallees	4	1622	
Near Eddystone, by Plymouth, at the first conflict,	1	unknown.	
The same time was distressed and taken don Pedro de Valdez's ship	1	422	These two remain in England. Don Pedro de Valdez taken.
At the same time a great Biscayan ship	1	289	
Before Calais, spoiled the principal galleas of Naples	1	686	In this vessel of Naples don Hugo de Moncada was slain.
In the conflict was sunk a great Biscayan	1	532	
The galleon of St. Philip	1	397	these two forced into being sore beaten by the Eng. great shot. Don Diego Piemental taken in the St. Mat.
The galleon of S. Matthew	1	843	
A Biscayan wrecked before Ostend	1	unknown.	
The day after the fight there sunk two Venetians	2		
A great Biscayan forced by two of the queen's ships to perish at Newhaven	1	unknown.	
Total of these ships	15	4791	
Total lost on the Irish coast	17	5394	
Total of both these losses	32	10185	

Besides many ships not heard of, thought to be lost.

Whereof there are prisoners in England and Zealand at least one thousand; besides a great multitude of men, not accounted, that were slain in the fight, and that have died of famine, as by the examination appeareth.

This account was taken and transmitted to the king of Spain and his ministry, on the ninth of October, 1588.

few words: he was a great hypocrite, a pretender to the strictest religion, an encourager of the puritans, and a founder of hospitals.

The duke of Parma, with his fine army of thirty thousand men, had no better success in the Netherlands than the Invincible Armada had in its attempt upon England. The Hollanders, who found a ready defence in their canals and sluices, and who were fond of liberty to a degree of enthusiasm, and who were all become generals under their princes of Orange, were in a condition to have resisted a much stronger force; and the duke, after laying siege to Bergen op Zoom, was, by the bravery of the English governor, sir William Drury, and his garrison of the same nation, obliged to abandon his enterprize with disgrace.

In France, the duke of Guise was become so powerful and popular, that he instigated the Parisians to make barricadoes in the streets, and prepare for attacking the king in his palace of the Louvre. Henry was obliged to quit his capital, and make a dishonourable peace with the chiefs of the league; but before the end of this year he revenged this outrage upon the duke and his uncle, the cardinal, whom he caused to be assassinated at Blois; an act of barbarity which he considered as absolutely necessary to secure his own safety.

About this time Philip, earl of Arundel, who had been three years a prisoner in the Tower, was tried in Westminster-hall, on an accusation of holding private and treasonable correspondence with cardinal Allen and other popish priests, and of having caused mass to be said in his own apartment for the happy success of the Spanish Armada; as also with being privy to the bull of pope Sixtus V. depriving the queen of her dominions, and making them over to the Spaniard. Upon these accusations, unsupported by any legal proofs, this nobleman was by his peers found guilty; but Elizabeth spared his life. This Philip, earl of Arundel, was the fourth immediate heir from father to son, who stood condemned to die, through the jealousy of the crown rather than the justice of the laws, as if the safety of the house of Tudor and the existence of the family of Howard were held incompatible.

In the beginning of the ensuing year, 1589, Elizabeth convoked a new parliament, and she obtained from them a supply of two subsidies and four fifteenths, payable in four years. This is the first time that subsidies were doubled in one supply; and this uncommon concession was probably owing to the joy of the late success and the general sense of the queen's necessities.

Some of the commons made a motion for restraining the tyranny of the ecclesiastical commission, and rectifying the abuses of purveyance*. But Elizabeth, who considered both these as essential parts of her prerogative, of which she was extremely tenacious, strictly prohibited them from touching upon things which did not belong to their cognizance.

The defeat of the Armada had inspired the nation with a kind of enthusiastic passion for enterprizes against Spain; and nothing seemed now im-

possible to be accomplished by the heroic valour and good fortune of the English.

Don Antonio, prior of Crato, was a natural son of the royal family of Portugal, who, trusting to the irreconcilable hatred which his countrymen bore to the Castilians, had trumped up a claim to the crown, and flying first to France, and then to England, had been encouraged, both by Henry and Elizabeth, to assert his pretensions; and now a resolution was taken by the people, not the court, of England, to conquer the kingdom for don Antonio; sir Francis Drake, and sir John Norris, were the leaders in this romantic enterprize; about twenty thousand volunteers engaged in the service: and ships were hired, as well as arms provided, at the sole charge of the adventurers. The queen's frugality hindered her from contributing more than sixty thousand pounds to the expence; and she only permitted six of her ships to attend the expedition.

This fleet sailed from Plymouth on the fifth of April; and after a short passage arrived at Corunna (commonly called the Groyne), in Galicia; where, after making themselves masters of the harbour, they soon reduced the lower town, which was followed by the giving up of the higher. And from thence sailing to the coast of Portugal, they met the young earl of Essex, whom we shall soon have occasion to mention in a distinguished light during the latter part of this reign. This young nobleman had equipped some ships at his own expence, unknown to Elizabeth, and sailed upon a roving cruise. This junction gave great spirits to the English; and their first exploit was to seize upon Panicha, a town in Portugal, which, with the castle, they surrendered to don Antonio, as lawful sovereign of the country; and from thence bent their march by land to Lisbon, at the distance of sixty miles. The foot companies led by Norris, whom Drake promised to follow with the fleet, being come to St. Catherine's, which is now the western suburb of Lisbon, they found nobody there but a few disarmed Portuguese, who cried out, "God save king Antonio!"

The day following, the Spaniards, in a large body, sallied from the citadel, and cut off several of the English, with some of their best officers; but the earl of Essex behaved so gallantly on this occasion, that he inspired fresh courage into his followers, who turned upon their assailants so warmly, that they beat them back to the very gates of the city. And having now remained at Lisbon two days, and seeing no signs of a revolt in their favour among the natives, which don Antonio had made them believe would be the immediate consequence of his appearance; finding fresh supplies daily thrown into the town, their own army sickly, and provisions and ammunitions growing short; and, what was more discouraging than all, no appearance of Drake's joining them, they left the suburbs of Lisbon, and marched to Cascais, a little town at the mouth of the river Tagus, which town Drake had in the mean time taken; and from him they now learned the reason of his not having joined them, namely, that of two passages for proceeding to

* The right of purveyance was an ancient prerogative, by which the officers of the crown were empowered to take, at pleasure, provisions for the household, from all the neighbouring counties, and the use of carts and carriages; and the price of these were always fixed and stated. The payment of the money

was often distant and uncertain; and the rates were always greatly below the market price: so that purveyance, besides the slavery of it, was always considered as an intolerable grievance, and, being arbitrary and casual, was subject to great abuses. Hume's Hist. of the Tudors, vol. ii.

Lisbon, he found, upon a strict examination, both impracticable: the first by the channel of Alcacæva, not having depth enough of water for his vessels, he must have struck upon the shelves and shoals; and the port of St. Julian's, at the mouth of the harbour, was defended by all the Spanish galleys, and a battery of fifty pieces of cannon on shore.

The English land forces, on their arrival at Cascais, seized about sixty hulks belonging to the Hanse Towns, which had sailed round the Orkney islands, contrary to Elizabeth's express prohibition, with naval stores and provisions for the enemy. They next burned Vigo, a sea-port town; and, after blowing up a part of the castle of Cascais, they returned to England in the month of June. In this expedition more than one half of these gallant adventurers perished by sickness, famine, fatigue, and the sword; and England derived much more glory than advantage from this extraordinary enterprize. It is computed, that of eleven hundred gentlemen who embarked on board this fleet, no more than three hundred and fifty returned to their native country.

When these ships were on their voyage homewards, they met with the earl of Cumberland, who was outward-bound, with a fleet of seven sail, all fitted out at his own expence, except one ship of war, which he had obtained from the queen. That nobleman supplied sir Francis Drake with some provisions; an act of generosity which preserved the lives of Drake's men, but which proved fatal to his own troops in the sequel.

Cumberland sailed towards the Terceras, and took several of the enemy's ships; but the richest, valued at an hundred thousand pounds, was lost in her return, with all her cargo, near St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall. Many of these adventurers perished in a rash attempt at the Terceras: the rest were seized with a violent distemper; and it was not without extreme difficulty, that the few hands which remained were able to bring back their ships into harbour.

While the queen was thus distressing the Spaniards, Henry III. of France received a mortal wound, of which he died, by the dagger of an assassin, namely, James Clement, a Jacobine friar, when he was on the point of compelling his rebellious citizens of Paris to return to their duty. This act of regicide was openly avowed by the popish party, who extolled it as a meritorious deed, undertaken to deliver the church from an enemy, and to revenge the deaths of the Guises, those darlings of that bigotted party. The king lived two days after he received the wound, during which time he nominated Henry, king of Navarre, head of the house of Bourbon, his successor, who assumed the name of Henry IV. But he could never have maintained his advancement, had not Elizabeth supported him with both men and money; for the league refused to acknowledge him for their sovereign: and the duke of Mayenne, brother to the duke of Guise, having a more powerful army, drove him out of Paris, proclaimed the old cardinal of Bourbon successor to Henry III. by the name of Charles X. and, being assisted by the duke of Parma, obliged him to raise the blockade of that city. In this state were the affairs of France during the year 1589.

In Scotland, the Spanish party had been so successful as to raise several commotions. In the be-

ginning of this year 1589, the Scottish ministry intercepted letters, by which it appeared that the earls of Huntley, Errol, Craufurd, and Bothwell, son to a bastard of James V. maintained a correspondence with the duke of Parma, who had supplied them with a sum of money to raise disturbances in Scotland. They had dispatched colonel Sempil to solicit Philip for another invasion. Bothwell undertook to seize the king's person; but was disappointed: the other three advanced with a body of forces towards Aberdeen; but the king assembling a greater number of troops, they were obliged to surrender at discretion, and remained in custody till the new queen arrived in Scotland. The king of Denmark had a second daughter unmarried; and James, laying aside his design upon Catherine of Bourbon, sent the earl Mareschal as his ambassador to Copenhagen, to demand this princess, Anne, in marriage. Though her father was by this time dead, the treaty of marriage was concluded with the states of the kingdom, and the princess embarking about Michaelmas for Scotland, was driven by a storm into Norway. James, impatient to see his bride, sailed thither in October, attended by his chancellor, several noblemen, and a numerous retinue; the nuptials were celebrated at Upsal; they passed the winter in Denmark, set sail for Scotland in the spring, and, landing at Leith in the beginning of May, the new queen was crowned in the church of Holyrood abbey.

Towards the close of this year died the famous sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state, one of the most able and accomplished ministers that ever appeared in this or any other country, and not more distinguished by the abilities of his head, than the virtues of his heart. Though he had passed through many great employments, and had been very frugal in his expences, he yet died so poor, that his family was obliged to give him a private burial. He left only one daughter, who was first married to sir Philip Sidney, then to the earl of Essex, favourite of queen Elizabeth, and lastly to the earl of Clanrickard in Ireland.

This year also died sir Thomas Randolph, who had been employed by the queen in several embassies to Scotland; and also Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick, eldest brother to Leicester.

The affairs of England, in the year 1590, were so prosperous, that Elizabeth saw her enemies in no manner of condition to give her fresh disturbances from abroad, and the interior peace of her dominions was so well confirmed, and the hearts of her loyal subjects so well tried and attached to her interests by the late attempts of the king of Spain, that she had nothing to fear: however, she very prudently kept her marine on a respectable footing, and ready for service on the shortest notice; the fortifications of her towns and sea-ports were also properly attended to; and such was her frugality and good management, that, without loading her subjects with new taxes, she gave pensions to several persons in the court of Scotland and other parts, for secret services; and assisted both the Hollanders and the king of France with men and money, to withstand the arms and intrigues of Philip II. who aimed at universal monarchy, and who would have infallibly reduced those two nations, had not England come seasonably to their assistance, by sending troops to Normandy and Brittany, under

der the earl of Essex and sir John Norris. But Henry IV. notwithstanding all his obligations to Elizabeth, dealt very deceitfully with her; for he made use of the English auxiliaries only to prevent the progress of the Spaniards, while he himself carried his arms elsewhere, instead of employing them to drive the Spaniards out of Brittany, agreeable to the treaty made between him and Elizabeth in the spring of this year, and in consequence of which these troops were sent over: but Henry's sole intent seems to have been to temporize till he could make peace upon his own terms.

In the course of this year some disturbances happened in Ireland, partly owing to the ferocity of the natives, and partly occasioned by the oppressive conduct of Fitz Williams, lord-deputy. The earl of Tyr Oen having caused Hugh Gavilloch, the natural son of Shan O'Neil, to be strangled, was summoned to England, where he obtained the queen's pardon, upon his solemnly engaging that he would live in peace with Tirlogh Leinigh and all his neighbours, that he would not assume the title of O'Neil, impose taxes, exercise any jurisdiction, intercept any ammunition or provisions intended for the use of the English garrisons, nor admit into his territories monks, friars, or malecontents. This nobleman was very punctual in performing his engagements, and possessed many excellent qualifications, both of mind and body. Hugh Roc M' Mahon, a powerful lord in Monaghan, having exacted the tax called Bonaghty from the people according to the custom of Ireland, was apprehended by the order of the lord-deputy, tried by a jury of common soldiers, condemned, executed, and his estate divided between his own sept and the English settlers. Brian O'Rourk, the chieftain of another powerful sept in the county of Antrim, apprehending the same fate, broke out into open rebellion; but being routed by sir Richard Bingham, governor of Connaught, he fled into Scotland, and, being claimed by Elizabeth, was delivered into the hands of that princess, who caused him to be tried and executed at London.

Elizabeth this year sustained a great loss in the person of sir Christopher Hatton, who, upon the death of sir Thomas Bromley, in 1587, had been made lord-chancellor of England. He was a person of great abilities, unshaken probity, firmly attached to the constitutions of his country, and a munificent patron of learning. He is said to have died of grief and vexation at the severity of the queen, who insulted him with abusive language, and exacted with great rigour a debt which he had contracted in managing the tenths and first-fruits. Immediately before his death, Hacket, Coppinger, and Arthington, three puritanical fanatics, uttered many blasphemous and treasonable expressions against God and the queen: the first was tried, condemned, and executed; Coppinger starved himself to death in prison; but Arthington was pardoned upon his recantation. That her Irish subjects might no longer be tempted to send their children to foreign seminaries for education, the queen founded Trinity college, in Dublin, endowing it with a power of conferring degrees, and other privileges of an university.

Elizabeth and her ministry reflecting that the Indian treasure was the true source of that greatness which rendered Philip so formidable to all his neighbours, resolved to enfeeble him in that part,

and the lord Thomas Howard, second son to the late duke of Norfolk, was dispatched, in the spring of the year 1591, to the Azores, or Western Islands, with a squadron of seven ships, to intercept the plate-fleet in its return to Europe; but the king of Spain, apprized of the designs of the English court, equipped a fleet of fifty-five sail, and sent them to convoy the India ships. They came upon the English squadron so unexpectedly, that it was with great difficulty admiral Howard, who was then lying at anchor in the island of Flores, could put out to sea, more than half of his men being sick and unfit for service; and captain Grenville, in the *Revenge*, was so unfortunate to be pent up between the island and the Spanish fleet: in this desperate situation he attempted to break through the enemy, and, after maintaining a most gallant fight with the whole Spanish fleet for fifteen hours together, having received, upon a moderate computation, eight hundred cannon-shot in his ship, and withstood the fire of near ten thousand soldiers and seamen, and that with one hundred men only, he was compelled by his men to surrender himself prisoner, and, being carried on board the Spanish admiral, died a few days after of the wounds he had received during the engagement. The rest of the squadron returned safely to England, disappointed in their expectations, but pleasing themselves with the reflection, that their attempt to annoy the enemy had not been altogether ineffectual; for the Indian fleet had been so long detained in the Havannah, from the fear of the English, that they were at last obliged to put to sea in an improper season, and most of them were shipwrecked before they could reach the Spanish harbours. I shall omit to recount some other naval adventures of less importance, which happened at this time, after observing that Elizabeth lost no opportunity of encouraging every attempt by sea, which carried with it the smallest prospect either of a new discovery or of profit.

Elizabeth was extremely offended with Henry IV. for having broken his word to her, in neglecting to drive the Spaniards out of Brittany; and not a little displeased with the earl of Essex for his too easy compliance with the measures of the French king, and therefore recalled him from the command of her forces in Normandy, at the same time threatening Henry, that if he continued his prevaricating method of proceeding, she would totally withdraw her assistance from him. Henry, alarmed at this menace, sent most submissive letters to the queen, excusing himself in the best manner he was able; and, by the mediation of Essex and Mornay du Pleffis, whom he had sent his ambassador to England, obtained fresh supplies, and then laid siege to Roan: but the duke of Parma having entered France, and being joined by the duke of Mayenne, and the young duke of Guise, obliged him to abandon his enterprize.

On the twenty-eighth of December this year died pope Sixtus V. This event conduced not a little to the tranquility of Elizabeth and her kingdoms; for had this pontiff lived a little longer, it is very probable that her expence and great endeavours to maintain the protestant interest in France, and to support the house of Bourbon against the Spaniards, had proved ruinous to herself and people; king Henry IV. having a secret understanding with this pope, and, though he pretended

to be a serious protestant outwardly, was entirely at his devotion in his heart. This was the spring of those prevarications on the part of that king, from his first accession to the throne, in all the negotiations and treaties with her majesty, and of those misapplications of her generous and powerful aids, sent to him from time to time, to drive the Spaniards out of Brittany. Pope Sixtus was succeeded in the pontifical dignity by Sfondrati, an Italian, who assumed the name of Gregory XIV.

In the beginning of the year 1592, the report continued very hot, that the duke of Parma was again to march into France. This report was not without foundation; and Elizabeth took care most punctually to fulfil all her engagements for the support of Henry. The scene of war lay chiefly in Normandy and Brittany, where the prince de Dombes joined the prince of Condé, with the English troops under Norris, while Elizabeth prevailed with the prince of Anhalt to enter France with a considerable body of German auxiliaries, to assist Henry. The prince of Condé, however, having formed the siege of Craon, was defeated by the duke of Mercœur, and all Brittany was upon the point of falling into the hands of the Spaniards, when the dukes of Mayenne and Mercœur, with other heads of the league, disgusted with the Spanish insolence, and jealous of their power, formed secret resolutions of making their peace with Henry. This slackened the operations of the war on the side of the league, and the duke of Mayenne was obliged to raise the siege of Quillebœuf, with some loss. Epernal was afterwards taken by the marshal Biron, but with the loss of that brave general's life. The farther operations of the French army fall not within my design; it is sufficient to say, that by the secret intrigues of the duke of Mayenne, the leaguers split among themselves, which gave great advantages to Henry's party. But at last the cardinal legate published his master's bull, for assembling the catholics of France, and for proceeding to the election of a popish king. The violent leaguers intended at this assembly to have given their crown to the king of Spain; and the duke of Parma's true intention of marching into France, was that he might over-awe the assembly, which the Spanish party proposed should be held at Rheims, or Soissons. But the duke of Mayenne, sensible of the consequence, ordered the assembly to be held at Paris. This somewhat disconcerted the prince of Parma; and Henry drew all his troops, to Elizabeth's mortification, out of Normandy, Picardy, and Brittany, to fight him before he should advance into the heart of the country. What the consequence would have been, is hard to say; but all Philip's vast designs were at this time defeated by the death of the duke of Parma, in the forty-sixth year of his age. Elizabeth is said to have dropped some generous expressions in favour of this great man's memory; and perhaps, few princes ever excelled him in virtue, in civil, and in military accomplishments. His great merits were quickly seen after his death: no other general had authority enough to keep the Spanish troops together; and the great sums which Philip had raised, being applied towards the corrupting the deputies of France, his soldiers mutinied, and many of them disbanded themselves.

In the month of April this year, sir John Perot, the late lord-deputy of Ireland, was brought to his trial, upon a charge of high-treason during his administration there. He was a man of courage and abilities, but proud, positive, covetous, and overbearing. Hatton had been so much his enemy, that notwithstanding all Burleigh could urge in his favour, Elizabeth was resolved he should be tried before commissioners, who were the lords Hunsdon and Buckhurst, sir Robert Cecil, sir John Fortescue, sir John Wooby, and other judges. Great pains had been taken to rip up all the private behaviour of Perot in Ireland, where he had many enemies; yet nothing was judicially proved against him, but some passionate disrespectful words against Elizabeth's person, for which she resolved to humble him. The grounds of his impeachment were "for having treated the person and character of the queen contumaciously: for relieving popish priests; for holding a secret correspondence with the duke of Parma, and Elizabeth's enemies; and for fostering the civil commotions in Ireland." He made a noble defence, but acknowledged his indiscretion in speaking disrespectfully of his queen. Popham, the attorney-general, who knew that Elizabeth made it a point that he should be convicted, produced a set of scandalous, and some of them infamous, witnesses, to prove the charge, and supported it with all his venal eloquence. At last, after a long time, the jury found him guilty; and Burleigh by his tears testified his opinion of his innocence. It was thought that Elizabeth intended to have pardoned him, but he died in September following, a prisoner in the Tower.

Elizabeth this year continued to pursue her favourite scheme of humbling the Spaniard, by cutting the very nerves of his strength in the West Indies. Sir Walter Raleigh was sent with a squadron of fifteen men of war, either to attack Panama, or to intercept the plate-fleet in its return to Europe. Never man had a head better fitted for this enterprise than sir Walter Raleigh had: his schemes were great, but difficult, if not impracticable, to any capacity but his own; his learning was inferior to his knowledge; his constancy to his courage; and his virtue to his genius, which was equal to the greatest and meanest things. Having at a great expence been detained too long in port by contrary winds, he set sail three months later than he ought to have done; and having passed the Land's End, he learned, that orders had gone from Spain to stop the return of the plate-fleet to Europe that year; this news, with a violent storm which dispersed his squadron, obliged him to alter his plan. He therefore sent one part of his squadron, under sir Martin Forbisher, to cruise off the coast of Spain, and he sent another part of it, under Boroughs, a brave officer, and second son to sir John Boroughs, to the Azores. The earl of Cumberland at the same time was at sea with three of Elizabeth's ships, and had chased a galleon into Flores just at the time when Boroughs had arrived there; while the Spanish fleet, which was then at sea, went after Forbisher. Boroughs would have taken this galleon, had it not been for a dead calm, and then a storm, which gave the Spaniards an opportunity of unloading, and setting it on fire: he had, however, the good fortune to make prize of another ship, called the Mother of God, after a desperate engagement, in which most

of the Spanish crew, which consisted of six hundred men, were killed. This victory was equally for the profit and honour of the English; the money that was known to come to the queen and captors amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and the embezzlements were thought to amount to the same sum; but, though Elizabeth did all she could to recover them, no discovery was made.

This year the earl of Bothwell made a new attempt in Scotland to seize on the person of king James; but the design being timely discovered, the rebel fled into England. Elizabeth at first promised James to punish such of her subjects as should harbour him; but she having always made it a point in her politics to oblige that prince to regard her, more by keeping him in a state of uneasiness than by real tokens of love and friendship, refused to deliver the traitor up, though the king of Scotland demanded him according to treaty.

The year 1593 began with a new parliament, which met in February, when two of the members of the house of commons, Peter Wentworth, esq. and sir Henry Bromley, were committed, the first to the Tower, and the latter to the Fleet, for preparing a petition to entail the crown.

In this parliament there passed several remarkable acts, one of which obliged all persons to conform, and repair at least once a month, to the established church, under pain of imprisonment, and banishment should they refuse to submit; and suffering as felons, without benefit of the clergy, should they return without her majesty's licence. Another confined popish recusants within five miles of their respective dwellings, on forfeiture of all their goods and chattels, together with their lands during life. Another confirmed all the abbey-lands to the crown and grantees.

By the first of these acts the queen, who hated the puritans as much as the papists, thought to have driven the obstinate quite away, and to have compelled the more moderate to conform to the established church. How far her policy in this particular failed her, I shall leave my readers to judge, only observing, that the severity which at this time began to be exercised in England upon the non-conformists (some of whom were executed on the sixth of April this year), produced terrible effects in the following reigns, and gave rise to troubles and factions which remain to this day, without any prospect of their subsiding. Before this parliament broke up, which was on the tenth of April, they granted the queen an extraordinary aid of money, but at the same time it was inserted in the act, "that so large and unusual a supply, granted to a most excellent queen, who made so good a use of the public money, should not be drawn into precedent."

The papists about this time began again to shew their inclination to rebellion, both in England and Scotland. One Richard Hacket was sent by the English fugitives beyond sea, to persuade Ferdinand, earl of Derby, son to Henry newly deceased, to assume the regal title, by claim of descent from Mary, daughter to Henry VII. and to threaten him, that, unless he undertook this enterprize, and withal concealed the adviser, he should shortly die in a most wretched manner; as an encouragement, he was told that he might assuredly rely on the assistance of the king of Spain. But the earl, fearing this

was a trap laid for him, discovered the whole matter to the council, and Hacket was taken and hanged: but the threats of that villain were unhappily fulfilled upon the poor earl, who, in less than four months after, died in the most excruciating torments, supposed to be the effects of an arsenical poison. The suspicion lighted upon his gentleman of the horse, who disappeared the morrow after his lord's death. There was found in the earl's chamber an image of wax, with hairs thrust through the belly of it, of the same colour with his own; which was thought to have been placed there on purpose to take off the suspicion of his having been poisoned, and to throw it upon the effects of necromancy, which was much believed in those days.

In Scotland the Spanish governor of the Netherlands endeavoured to excite fresh troubles, by assuring the popish subjects of a powerful assistance from the king of Spain. Their project, however, was principally levelled against England; for though they resolved and promised to send a Spanish army into Scotland, it was in order to cover their enterprize against Elizabeth, whom they intended to assassinate or poison, and then to invade England with that army from Scotland, supposing that the general consternation at her death would render this invasion less difficult. And to execute this murdering design upon Elizabeth, they had cast an eye on Roderigo Lopez, a Jew physician, retained about the queen's person, and two Portuguese: Lopez agreed to the proposal for fifty thousand crowns; but the plot was discovered, the three conspirators seized, who, upon their trials, confessed the fact, and that they were engaged in it by the king of Spain's governors in the Low Countries, and were executed.

The day following one Patrick Cullen, an Irish fencing-master, sent from the Low Countries to kill the queen, underwent the same fate at the gallows: and about the same time Edward York and Richard Williams, who had been suborned by Diego de Ibarra, the colleague of count Fuentes in the government of the Low Countries, were arrested, and others were discovered, who had engaged to burn the navy. Of these secret and unnatural proceedings against a crowned head, the queen complained loudly at foreign courts; and she lived in continual dread, that at some opportunity this Spanish policy might take effect. But her uneasiness increased upon information that her enemies had prevailed too much with the king of Scotland, and that the Spanish gold had inclined him to favour popery: and she was the rather convinced of the truth of this report by that monarch's reply to her ambassador, sent on that occasion; for when he demanded, as an instance of his sincerity to the protestant faith, to repress the popish party by more severe laws than the present, James replied, with some heat, "that he was not at the queen's command, and that it did not belong to her to prescribe in what manner he should govern his kingdom:" and, by way of recrimination, complained of her breach of treaty, in giving protection to his rebellious subject Bothwell, whom he demanded afresh.

Elizabeth plainly perceived that James was much inclined to break with her, upon the first advantageous circumstance; and therefore ordered it so as to send Bothwell, at the head of a resolute body of men, into Scotland, to surprize Leith, and then published a manifesto, importing, "that persons dangerous

dangerous to the church and state, having by some artifice procured admission into the council, gave occasion, by their conduct, to believe they were forming designs against the evangelical religion; that, for some time, the Romish priests had been seen running from village to village, and celebrating mass, in the most public manner; that they endeavoured to animate the people against the English, in order to kindle a war between the two nations, which could not but prove fatal to Scotland; that, to give a check to these dangerous conspiracies, he had, with the concurrence of divers lords and gentlemen, taken arms, to drive these pernicious counsellors out of the kingdom, or to bring them to an account for their actions; that the affair was the more important, as the Spaniards were preparing to invade the kingdom; and therefore he exhorted the Scots to join with him to prevent greater mischiefs, and to induce the king to favour so just a design." All which bears such a connection with the representation made by Elizabeth's ambassador, that she must be suspected of being concerned in this undertaking.

In Ireland this year, several of the great men in Connaught broke out into rebellion, and Tirlagh Leinigh being dead, Tyr Oen assumed the title of O'Neil (which in Ireland was held in higher esteem than that of Emperor); but, upon a sudden dissembling his discontent, he submitted himself to the lord-deputy, and promised all obedience.

The supplies given by parliament, and the prizes taken from the Spaniards, enabled Elizabeth to act up to her spirit, and her notions of the balance of power which England ought to preserve on the continent. Notwithstanding all the causes of complaint which she had against the French king, she would not see his affairs ruined for want of her assistance; and it soon appeared that all her menaces to withdraw it, were only with a view to quicken him to do all he could, if he could not do all that she desired. Elizabeth kept Norris and his army during the winter in Brittany, at the great charge of three thousand two hundred pounds a week for their subsistence: but Henry's affairs in that province were so miserably ruined, that he could assign them no fortified place for their winter-quarters; nor could he send, according to his promise, the marshal d'Aumont, with four thousand men, to join them. The bad quarters which the English were forced to take up with, and the inclemency of the weather, carried off great numbers of them; but Elizabeth's ships were perpetually employed in carrying over recruits to keep the number complete. In the mean while the assembly of the states of France was held at Paris, when the Spanish party proposed that the members should, by a solemn oath, bind themselves never to acknowledge the king of Navarre as king of France, even though he should declare himself a catholic. This proposition would have been infallibly complied with, had not Elizabeth's seasonable assistance, and the auxiliaries which her credit with the princes of Germany had brought to Henry, daunted the more moderate catholics, and even the duke of Mayenne rejected it. That duke was now obliged to meet the duke of Feria, the Spanish ambassador, who was in Picardy; while count Mansfelt, the Spanish general in the Low Countries, had laid siege to Noyon, which he took. In the conferences held between the dukes of Mayenne and Feria, the latter proposed that the

Salic law should be abolished by the assembly of the states, that the crown of France might fall more easily upon the infant's head: this proposal was warmly rejected by the duke of Mayenne, who threatened to drive all the Spaniards out of France; but not daring yet absolutely to trust Henry, who was guided by Elizabeth, he was mollified; while Henry, on the other hand, shewed great inclination to be converted to popery, and conferences for that purpose were actually held.

But this did not retard the operations of the war in Brittany, where, in April, the English were joined by St. Luc, with some French troops, and beat the army of the league at Laval, but with the loss of some of their best men and officers. They then besieged la Guerche, in which were four thousand men, whom the duke of Mercœur had sent to fortify that place, and obliged them to surrender it by capitulation, leaving behind them their arms and baggage. In the mean while Elizabeth received certain intelligence that Henry had changed his religion.

Du Pleffis Mornay, who was then Henry's resident at the English court, laid before Elizabeth his master's motives for his conversion; but they were so far from giving her satisfaction, that she wrote that king a letter with her own hand, to this effect:

"Alas! what grief, what anxiety of mind, hath befallen me, since I heard this news! Was it possible, that worldly respects should make you lay aside God's fear? Could you think that he, that had hitherto upheld and kept you, would leave you at the last? It is a dangerous thing to do evil that good may come thereof: but I hope your mind may alter. In the mean time I will pray for you, and beg of God that the hands of Esau may not hinder the blessing of Jacob." She concludes, "Your sister, after the old-fashioned way; as for the new, I have nothing to do with it."

ELIZABETH."

But, however sincere and zealous Elizabeth appears to be by this letter, she never lost sight of her interests. She at first ordered Wilks to lay before Henry her firm resolution to recall her troops out of Brittany, where Henry had been so negligent of them: but being convinced by him, that his conversion was not only prudent, but necessary, and he making great offers, and greater promises, she ordered Norris to remain there till her farther pleasure should be known. She then signified to Henry, that, upon proper terms, she was willing to continue her assistance, and to enter into a league offensive and defensive against Spain, as long as either of them should be at war with that crown. One of the conditions required by Elizabeth, who sent sir Robert Sidney upon this negotiation, was, that Brest should be put into her hands, as a place of retreat for her troops, and security of her money: but Henry neither would nor durst agree to this demand; and Elizabeth, after commending the protestants to his protection, and laying before him the danger of his sea-coasts, signed the treaty with him in August, and at the same time fortified the isles of Scilly, Guernsey, and Jersey.

Some of the above transactions, especially those in Scotland, exceeded the bounds of the year 1593, but as the succeeding one, 1594, affords very few events

events of an interesting nature, I thought proper to throw the two years together, and shall only observe, that though Bothwell's undertaking in Scotland miscarried, it however produced a very good effect, by inducing James to alter his conduct, lest his vain projects should lose him the English crown. He therefore assembled the states, and prevailed to have the catholic lords, who had appeared too zealous for the Spaniards, to be banished the kingdom. They made some efforts to resist, but James marched in person to subdue them, and drove them to such extremity, that Bothwell fled to France, and the other lords were obliged to give security for departing the kingdom. This vigorous proceeding gave Elizabeth great satisfaction, as it took from the Spaniards all hopes of attacking her on the side of Scotland; and commissioners for both nations were named, about the latter end of this year, 1594, for putting an end to all disputes upon the Borders: and the queen, to give James a farther proof of her good-will, sent the earl of Suffex, in her name, to assist at the baptism of the new-born son of the king of Scotland.

The sweets of the Spanish plunder lately made in America, encouraged sir Richard Hawkins, son to the famous admiral of that name, to take out a commission under the broad-seal, for annoying the Spaniards there. He accordingly put to sea with three ships, and about two hundred men; but in a few days one of his ships was burnt, and another forced back to England: however he pursued his voyage with the ship that was left, so undauntedly that, in January this year, he entered the streights of Magellan, and from thence proceed to the South Sea, all along the coast of Chili, where he made several valuable prizes: but being attacked by two Spanish ships, under Bertrand de Castro, he fought them several days, till all his men being killed or wounded, he was obliged to surrender upon promise of life and liberty. But some doubts arising about de Castro's power to make such a promise, and the Spaniards being extremely solicitous to deter Englishmen from entering those seas, Hawkins was sent prisoner to Spain, where he was honourably discharged by the conde de Miranda, president of the council.

James Lancaster was another bold adventurer of those days; and about this time some English merchants, who had been plundered by the Spaniards, gave him the command of three privateers and a long pinnace, for cruizing upon the Spaniards. Being at sea, he had intelligence of a large Spanish East India ship that had been wrecked near Fernambuco, in Brazil, where the Spaniards were then busied in saving her cargo. Thither Lancaster, with Venner, another English commander, actually sailed; and, though they found the enemy prepared to receive them, they landed their men, and made themselves masters of the lower town and port, together with the wreck. The Spaniards, however, endeavoured to dislodge them, and for thirty days employed both force and stratagem to retake the place; but all was to no purpose, and the English made so much booty as loaded fifteen ships, with which they returned home.

The year 1595 was distinguished by many other glorious exploits of the English at sea, and in particular by sir Walter Raleigh's expedition to Guiana, the noblest that had been meditated yet by any

Englishman. This was a large rich tract of land, rather possessed than inhabited by the Spaniards, and sir Walter had, at his own expence, sent one captain Whiddon to view that coast as much as he could. Upon Whiddon's report, Raleigh was confirmed in his resolution, and having publicly imparted it, it met with so much applause that the lord high-treasurer and the lord high-admiral of England contributed to his expences in fitting out a squadron for carrying the war into the very vitals of the Spanish empire in America. On the sixth of February, 1595, he sailed from Plymouth, and about the twenty-second of March he took the little city of St. Joseph, in the island of Trinidad, and made Boreo, its Spanish governor, prisoner. Upon the strength of the information he received from Boreo, he left his ship at Trinidad, and, putting about an hundred men in long-boats, he went about four hundred miles up the river Oronoque, but met with such insurmountable difficulties in the navigation, and from the climate, that he did not reap all the advantages due to such a brave and hazardous undertaking. It is certain, however, that he made great discoveries; but, notwithstanding all the pains he took, neither the public of that or this age, could ever be brought to believe the scheme of the English making themselves masters of Guiana to be so practicable as sir Walter Raleigh imagined. In short, at last he was obliged to return to the island of Trinidad, after firing the town of Cumana, which refused to pay him contributions, and threatening to do the same to St. Mary's and Rio de la Hacha, till they paid him large sums. The particulars of sir Walter's profits in this expedition are not very clearly set down; but, from the vast estate he amassed, and the many enterprizes he was enabled to carry on upon his own bottom, we may fairly presume, that in this and all other expeditions, the riches he acquired were much greater than he chose to own. Upon his return to England he was received with vast applause, and printed a pompous account of his voyage; though he could make but few proselytes to his opinion, he was however himself so firmly convinced of the facts he advanced, that at his own expence he fitted out two ships, and sent them, under Kemys, to Guiana, to make farther discoveries, and to assist the Indians, whom Raleigh had found very friendly, in throwing off the Spanish yoke.

And now, upon the general report throughout Europe, that the Spaniards were fitting out a more formidable fleet than that of 1588, to invade England and Ireland, Elizabeth reinforced her troops in this latter kingdom, to defeat the intentions of the enemy there, where the earl of Tyr Oen (or Tyrone) had already taken up arms in favour of the Spaniards: and at the same time she ordered two squadrons to be fitted out, on the public account; one to cruise in the British seas, to guard the coasts at all events; the other, consisting of twenty-six ships, under the command of sir Francis Drake and the famous admiral sir John Hawkins, to make a diversion in the Spanish settlements in the West Indies: on board of this last fleet was a body of land forces, commanded by sir Thomas Baskerville.

Notwithstanding the vigilance of the earl of Cumberland, who commanded the Channel fleet, don Diego Brocha, with four Spanish men of war, made a descent in Mount's Bay, in Cornwall, in

the month of June this year, and burnt three small villages, the inhabitants of which, upon the first appearance of the enemy, fled up the country, and thus preserved their lives and effects. These were the only Spaniards that ever landed in England as enemies. This attempt, however alarmed Elizabeth so much, that they gained their ends by her detaining the ships designed for the West Indian expedition too long, for it was the twenty-eighth of August before they set sail from Plymouth.

Their first design was to attempt Porto Rico, where they knew a rich carrack was at that time stationed; but as they had not preserved the requisite secrecy, a pinnace, having strayed from the fleet, was taken by the Spaniards, and betrayed the intention of the English. Preparations were made in that island to receive them; and the English fleet, notwithstanding the brave assault which they made on the enemy, was repulsed with loss. Hawkins soon after died, and Drake pursued his course to Nombre di Dios, on the isthmus of Darien; where having landed his men, he attempted to pass forward to Panama, with a view of plundering that place: or, if he found such a scheme practicable, of keeping and fortifying it. But he met not with the same facility which had attended his first enterprises in the same parts: the Spaniards, taught by experience, had every where fortified the passes, and had stationed troops in the woods, which so infested the English with continual alarms and skirmishes, that they were obliged to return without being able to effectuate any thing. Drake himself, from the intemperance of the climates, from the fatigue of his journey, and the vexation of his disappointment, was seized with a distemper, of which he soon after died: sir Thomas Baskerville took command of the fleet, which was in a very weak condition; and, after having fought a battle near Cuba with a Spanish fleet, of which the event was not decisive, he returned to England. The Spaniards suffered some loss from this enterprise, and the English reaped very little profit.

Elizabeth, piqued at the behaviour of Henry IV. of France, who, by his submission to terms unbecoming a king, and tending to the ruin of the protestant interest, only to obtain the pope's absolution, shewed that he no longer considered the protestants as his friends; and by misapplying the English aids of men and money, convinced her that he regarded not her interest, recalled her troops from Brittany, and left him to manage his affairs as he pleased, without giving herself any farther concern. And, upon information that the states of the United Provinces had supplied him with a large sum of money, a considerable quantity of corn, and two regiments of soldiers, her majesty shewed her resentment at such an ill-timed proceeding, by ordering sir Thomas Bodley to demand a reimbursement of the money she had lent them, since they were able to make such large presents to the king of France, and to declare to them in her name, that, unless they forthwith discharged part of the moneys they were indebted to her, and gave her assurance of the remainder, within a certain time, she would take proper measures to do herself justice.

This unexpected demand threw the Hollanders into great perplexity, and in the end they were

glad to submit to such conditions as her majesty thought proper to accept, which was the payment of forty thousand pounds per annum, towards defraying the expence of the English forces in their service; twenty thousand pounds per annum more till a peace should be made, and one hundred thousand pounds per annum for four years after its conclusion; and, on a farther condition, that they should join the queen's fleet with a certain number of ships, in case she should be attacked by the Spaniards*.

The late unsuccessful expedition of Drake and Hawkins against the Spanish West Indies, had given Philip II. so much encouragement, who had also this year gained many great advantages in France, and taken Calais and several other important towns in that kingdom, that he now openly declared his intention of invading England anew, and was actually busied in making vast preparations for that purpose. These considerations, with the rebellion Philip had fomented in Ireland, determined Elizabeth and her council to carry the war into the very heart of Spain, as the only means left for frustrating the ambitious projects of that monarch.

A powerful fleet was equipped at Plymouth, consisting of an hundred and seventy vessels, seventeen of which were capital ships of war, the rest tenders and small vessels: twenty ships were added by the Hollanders. In this fleet there was computed to be six thousand three hundred and sixty soldiers, a thousand volunteers, and six thousand seven hundred and seventy-two seamen; besides the Dutch. The land forces were commanded by the earl of Essex; the navy by the lord Effingham, high-admiral: both these commanders had expended great sums of their own in this armament; for such was the spirit of Elizabeth's reign. The lord Thomas Howard, sir Walter Raleigh, sir Francis Vere, sir George Carew, and sir Coniers Clifford, had commands in the expedition, and were named as a council to the general and admiral.

The fleet set sail on the first of June, 1596, and, meeting with a fair wind, bent their course to Cadiz, at which place, by sealed orders delivered to all the captains, the general rendezvous was appointed. They sent before them some armed tenders, which intercepted every ship that could carry any intelligence to the enemy, and they themselves were so fortunate, when they came near Cadiz, as to take an Irish vessel, by which they learned that that port was full of merchant ships of great value, and that the Spaniards lived in perfect security, without any apprehensions of an enemy. This intelligence much encouraged the English fleet, and gave them the prospect of a fortunate issue to the enterprise.

After a fruitless attempt to land at St. Sebastian's, on the western side of the island of Cadiz, it was, upon deliberation, resolved by the council of war to attack the ships and galleys in the bay. This was a plan of sir Walter Raleigh's, and was strongly seconded by the young earl of Essex, who burnt with an eager desire to signalize his courage on this occasion, and the point being carried, it was agreed that the attack should be formed the very next day, being the twenty-second of June. Raleigh, in the *Warspite*, was to lead the attack, and to be se-

* Gamden, p. 586.

conded by sir George Carew, in the *Mary Rose*, sir Robert Southwell, in the *Lion*, sir Francis Vere, in the *Rainbow*, vice-admiral Cross, in the *Swiftsure*, sir Coniers Clifford, in the *Dreadnought*, and by Dudley, in the *Nonpareil*, on board of which went the lord Thomas Howard.

The Spaniards were no less provident in their dispositions: they ranged their galleys under the walls of the city so as to flank the English ships as they passed; some culverins were planted to secure the channel of the harbour; and the artillery of both fort Philip and of the curtain of the fortification were brought to bear upon the English fleet. Besides the ships here mentioned, the Spaniards had put guns on board all their large galleons; and the whole reached from shore to shore, being covered by fort Puntal, which lay in the entrance of the harbour. All night there was an incessant cannonading on both sides, and at break of day, the twenty-second of June, the action began.

Sir Walter, as he advanced at the head of the English van, received the cannon of fort Philip, from the curtain, and from all the seventeen galleys, to which he answered with only a flourish of his trumpets, and intrepidly kept driving forward, to encourage those that followed him, to haste into play, and to engage those he passed by, while he attacked the body of the enemy. He, during the whole action, kept close to the enemy, and stood for the most part a-head of all; and at last, after a long and desperate fight, in which his ship was almost sunk, he, by the consent of the two commanders, who promised to second him, prepared to board the Spanish admiral the *St. Philip*, of fifteen hundred tons; but his intention being discovered, the admiral ran his ship ashore, and was followed by the other capital ships, two of which, the *St. Matthew* and *St. Andrew*, were saved by the English boats, but the *St. Philip* and *St. Thomas* were burnt, either by accident, or designedly to prevent their being taken.

During the engagement at sea, the earl of Essex, with eight hundred men, landed at the Puntals, and marched directly to Cadiz. Three or four hundred paces from the city he met with five hundred Spaniards, who, when they saw him, retired into the town, and were so closely pursued, that the English had like to have entered with them. The consternation was so great that before any measures could be taken for its defence, the English had time to force the gate, and throw themselves into the town; though they found some resistance in the streets, yet in half an hour they made themselves masters of the market-place. Then the garrison and inhabitants retired into the castle and town-house, but the same, or the following day, were forced to surrender. By the capitulation they were to have their lives, on payment of seventy thousand ducats, for which four principal citizens were given in hostage. The town being thus in the power of the English, the earl of Essex turned out the inhabitants, and then ordered to be carried on board a great quantity of silver, ammunition, and other valuable things, beside what the soldiers had plundered.

On the other hand, admiral Howard sent sir Walter Raleigh to burn the merchant-ships at Port Real. The admiral was offered two millions of ducats for their ransom, but rejected the offer, say-

ing, he came to burn, and not to ransom the ships. Mean while the duke of Modena found means to unload some of these ships and fire others, to deprive the English of their riches. Besides the merchant-men, the king of Spain lost two galleons taken by the English, with above a hundred brass guns, thirteen men of war, eleven ships freighted for the Indies, and thirteen others; without reckoning the stores prepared for the intended expedition against England. The English estimated his loss at twenty millions of ducats.

Thus ended this memorable conquest, gloriously for the English, fatally for the Spaniard. No Englishman of note perished in it, excepting sir John Wingfield, who was killed in the town: in other respects the victory cost them but two hundred men. Besides the vast booty the Spaniards lost, and the ruin of their trade to the West Indies for this year, that proud and ambitious people were obliged to submit to the indignity of seeing one of their chief cities taken, and a noble fleet of men of war and merchant-ships, richly laden, destroyed in their own harbour, and that by an enemy, for whom they were, in full confidence of victory, at that very time publicly forging chains.

It is hard to account for the reasons which determined the English sea-officers to abandon this conquest, where the enemy's known loss was so very great: Essex, all on fire for glory, regarded this great success only as a step to future achievements; he insisted on keeping possession of Cadiz, and even offered to stay there and defend it in the name of the queen of England, provided he might have four hundred men and three months provisions: but neither this, nor his scheme for intercepting the carracks at the Azores, assaulting the Groyne, for taking *St. Andero* and *St. Sebastian*, were hearkened to, every one being impatient to return with their plunder to England. Soon after the return of this armament to England, which was on the eighth of August, the admiral, lord Howard of Effingham, was created earl of Nottingham; and this promotion gave great disquiet to Essex. In the preamble of the patent, it was said, "that the new dignity was conferred on him on account of his good services, in taking Cadiz, and destroying the Spanish ships;" a merit which Essex pretended to belong solely to himself (though in fact that success was principally owing to the courage and conduct of sir Walter Raleigh); and the earl offered to maintain his plea by single combat, against Nottingham, or his son, or any of his kindred.

The earl had also the additional mortification to find, on his return to court, so great a change in the ministry, by the advancement of his enemy, sir Robert Cecil, to the office of secretary of state, instead of sir Thomas Bodley, whom he had recommended at his departure; besides other slights cast upon his friends, that they convinced him that his credit was declining; and his uneasiness at it engaged him in such extravagant projects as cost him his life.

Notwithstanding the disgust which Elizabeth had conceived against the French king, and that prince's resentment of her refusing to succour Calais, their mutual interest was so inseparably connected in the war with Spain, that they agreed to open conferences for a treaty, which had been proposed before the Spaniards had reduced the towns in Picardy. The duke of Bouillon was sent over to assist Sancy

in the negotiation; and English commissioners being appointed to treat with them, the league was soon after concluded, on condition that Elizabeth should furnish four thousand men for the defence of Picardy and Normandy, that the king of France should supply her with the same number in case her kingdom should be invaded; and that neither party should make peace without the other's consent. The States General acceded to this treaty, though their admission was retarded by the jealousy of Elizabeth, who pretended that they had no right to accede as a sovereign power, but merely as associated towns, under her protection; at length the French king prevailed upon her to wave this distinction.

Before we leave this year we must just mention the deaths of some great personages, which happened in the course of it, namely, Philip, earl of Arundel, who was condemned in the year 1589, but though his sovereign spared his forfeited life, death at last claimed his due; he had spent the time of his confinement in the utmost austerities of his religion, and left behind him only one son, named Thomas: Henry Carey, lord Hunsdon; sir Francis Knolles; and sir John Pickering, lord-keeper of the great-seal (so made upon the death of the lord-chancellor Hatton); he was succeeded by sir Thomas Egerton, master of the Rolls.

Philip of Spain, exasperated by the conduct of Elizabeth, and the losses he had sustained from the arms of her people, resolved to make another effort for the conquest of England. With this view, early in the spring of the year 1597, he assembled a formidable fleet, when the queen thought him utterly disabled from executing any scheme of revenge; and this navy having taken land-forces on board, at Ferrol, steered its course for England, but was dispersed by a violent storm, which rendered it altogether unserviceable for that season. The king of Spain had begun to treat privately of a separate peace with Henry; but the negotiation was altogether interrupted by the success of Porto Carrero, governor of Dourlens, who found means to surprise Amiens, though this advantage did not recompence Philip for the defeat of his troops at Turnhaut, by prince Maurice: nevertheless, depending upon a separate peace with France, he determined to make a descent upon Ireland, where he still fomented the discontent of the natives; but his fleet was again dispersed, and disabled. Almost all the native Irish in Ulster and Connaught being encouraged by his emissaries with hopes of assistance, had risen in arms, and Thomas lord Bourrough, was sent over with the commission of lord-deputy. Tyrone endeavoured to amuse him with excuses, professions, and proposals; but, instead of suffering himself to be cajoled by that crafty rebel, he marched against him, and took the fort of Blackwater: then he returned to Dublin, where he died; and Thomas, earl of Ormond, was constituted lieutenant-general of the army. This nobleman advanced against Tyrone, but his troops being in a miserable condition, he agreed to a truce for a few months, during which he expected to receive a reinforcement from England.

Elizabeth, in return, resolved to make an attempt upon Tercera, the principal island of the Azores, and, if possible, intercept the Spanish flota, in their passage from the West Indies. With this view she caused to be fitted out a large armament,

consisting of one hundred and twenty-two ships, with six thousand land-forces (of whom one thousand were veterans) on board. The management of the whole expedition was committed to Essex, with a command of one of the divisions of the fleet; the second division was committed to the lord Thomas Howard; the third and last to sir Walter Raleigh: Charles Blount, lord Montjoy, was appointed lieutenant-general under Essex; sir Francis Vere, marshal of the camp; sir George Carew, lieutenant of the ordnance; and sir Christopher Blunt, first colonel, or what we may now call brigadier. The chief volunteers were the earls of Rutland and Southampton, two noblemen who were very dear to Essex, the lords Grey, Cromwell, and Rich, besides many other persons of distinction; and on the ninth of July the whole fleet set sail together, and two days after sealed instructions were sent on board every ship, to be opened in a certain latitude.

The true destination of this fleet was first to Ferrol and the Groyne, where it was hoped to surprize the Spanish fleet in these harbours, and then to the Azores; but contrary winds, storms, and a fatal quarrel betwixt the earl of Essex and sir Walter Raleigh, broke these measures, and the fleet returning to England about the end of October, without performing any memorable action, and Essex not being able to justify his conduct in the expedition, he was highly blamed by the nation for his ill treatment of Raleigh; but Elizabeth, who saw in him only the valiant defender of her honour and authority, and not conceiving there was any danger in a mere compliment to console him for the public reproach, made him marshal of England, a post vacant by the death of George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury; by which Essex, to his no small satisfaction, obtained precedency over his hated rival, the earl of Nottingham, lord high-admiral.

Towards the end of this year Elizabeth received certain intelligence that Henry of France and Philip of Spain, equally tired out with a bloody and expensive war between them, were desirous of peace, and that a private negotiation was actually on foot for that purpose. The queen could not, for some time, bring herself to believe a crowned head capable of so much falshood and perjury, after a treaty so recently made with herself, and solemnly sworn to upon the Evangelists by Henry, in the presence of the English ambassador; yet, fearing the worst, she called a parliament to meet on the twenty-fourth of October, this year, which she opened with a speech, acquainting them, "that she had reason to suspect that she was on the point of being abandoned by her ally, though he still pretended not to treat without her;" and concluded with giving them to understand, that she had expended in the wars of France, Flanders, Spain, and Ireland, above three times the amount of the subsidies she had received: whereupon the commons and convocation indulged her with a considerable supply; and this with so much unanimity and alacrity as shewed the nation ready to sacrifice their all in defence of their beloved queen.

In this parliament, which, after enacting several excellent laws, was dissolved in February following, the commons ventured to engage in two controversies, about forms, with the house of peers; a prelude to those encroachments, which, as they assumed

assumed more courage, they afterwards made upon the prerogatives of the crown. They complained, that the lords failed in civility to them, by receiving their messages sitting with their hats on, and that the keeper returned an answer in the same negligent posture: but the upper house proved, to their full satisfaction, that they were not intitled, by custom and the use of parliament, to any more respect. Some amendments had been made by the lords on a bill sent up by the commons, and these amendments were wrote on parchment, and returned with the bill to the commons: the lower house took umbrage at the novelty; they pretended, that these amendments ought to have been wrote on paper, and not on parchment; and they complained of this innovation to the peers. The peers replied, that they expected not such a frivolous objection from the gravity of the house; and that it was not material whether the amendments were wrote on parchment or on paper, nor whether the paper was white, black, or brown. The commons were offended at this reply, which seemed to contain a mockery of them; and they complained of it, though without obtaining any satisfaction*.

An application was made, by way of petition to the queen, from the lower house, against monopolies, an abuse which had risen to an enormous height: and they received a gracious, though a general answer, for which they returned their thankful acknowledgements. But not to give them too great encouragement in such applications, she told them in the speech which she delivered at their dissolution, "That, with regard to these patents, she hoped that her dutiful and loving subjects would not take away her prerogative, which is the chief flower in her garden, and the principal and head pearl in her crown and diadem: but that they would rather leave the matter to her disposal." The commons also took notice, this session, of some transactions in the court of high-commission, but not till they had previously received permission from her majesty for that purpose.

Elizabeth having had her hands strengthened by the bounty of her subjects at home, deputed Thomas Wilks, sir Robert Cecil, the new secretary, and sir John Herbert, master of requests, as her ambassadors to Henry, to demand of that prince upon what terms the negociation stood with Spain; to which Henry answered in very general terms, "That he wanted peace, and that the welfare of his subjects, which he preferred to all other considerations, absolutely required it; and that, as the king of Spain offered to restore all places taken by him in France, he could not reject the offer without exposing his kingdom to utter ruin." This answer convinced the ambassadors that the peace between France and Spain was as good as concluded, without Henry having taken any care of his allies; and this drew from them, especially Cecil, some very severe reproaches on the ingratitude of that king: he produced the treaty he had signed in England; he mentioned the oaths by which Henry had solemnly bound that treaty; he cajoled, he promised, he menaced; in fine, he tried every expedient to divert Henry from the thoughts of a separate peace with Spain; wherefore, to avoid such disagreeable and mortifying conferences, the French king, instead of granting any farther audiences as they demanded, appointed commissioners to treat

with the ambassadors in the beginning of the following year: but, after some time spent in warm altercations on both sides the French king, consulting only the good of his own people, concluded a peace with Philip of Spain, on the second of May, 1598.

This conduct of Henry exasperated Elizabeth beyond all sufferance, who was no sooner informed of the treaty being signed, than she wrote him a letter, in which, after several other severe expressions, she told him, "that if in temperal concerns there was any such thing as a sin against the Holy Ghost, it was doubtless ingratitude." Henry was stung with these reproaches, but excused himself upon the urgent necessity which forced him to make peace; and concluded with observing, that as he had hitherto been only a burden to the queen of England, he would, for the future, give her marks of his acknowledgement in procuring her a safe and honourable peace, and in never forsaking her interests. But these were only words, and as such were regarded by Elizabeth.

In this situation of public affairs, especially as the peace of Ireland was disturbed about the same time with a formidable insurrection under O'Neil, earl of Tyrone; and James of Scotland not only almost openly demanded to be declared the queen's presumptive heir, but seemed to be making his peace with the court of Rome, as appeared from an intercepted letter, subscribed with his own hand, and addressed to the pope; Elizabeth resolved at all events to support the Dutch, and never to accept of peace with Spain, till she could procure the states such a peace as should secure their liberty, lest she should oblige them to put themselves again under the Spanish yoke. The Hollanders, on their side, seeing themselves deserted by the king of France, were glad to preserve the queen's alliance by submitting to any terms which she pleased to require of them. The debt which they owed the queen was now fixed at eight hundred thousand pounds; of this sum they agreed to pay, during the war, thirty thousand pounds a year, and these payments were to continue till four hundred thousand pounds of the debt should be extinguished. They engaged also, during the time that England should continue the war with Spain, to pay the garrisons of the cautionary towns: they stipulated, that if Spain should invade England, or the Isle of Wight, or Jersey, or Scilly, they should assist her with a body of five thousand foot and five hundred horse; and that in case she undertook any naval armament against Spain, they should join an equal number of ships to her's. By this treaty the queen was eased of an annual charge of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds.

This treaty was ratified on the eighth of August, and shortly after Elizabeth saw herself delivered from her greatest fears by the death of Philip II. king of Spain, her most powerful enemy, who, at the age of seventy-two, and in the forty-third year of his reign, died a most dreadful death, being devoured by lice, which swarmed from innumerable ulcers in all parts of his body. This haughty prince, desirous of an accommodation with his revolted subjects in the Netherlands, but disdainng to make in his own name the concessions requisite for that purpose, he transferred to his daughter, who had married the archduke Albert,

* Sir Simon d'Ewes's Journal, p. 579, 576, 580.

the property of the Low Country provinces; but as it was not expected that that princess could have any posterity, and as the reversion, in failure of her issue, was still reserved to the crown of Spain, the states considered this deed only as the change of a name, and persisted with equal obstinacy in their resistance to the Spanish arms; the other states of Europe also made no distinction between the courts of Brussels and Madrid; and the secret opposition of France, as well as the avowed force of England, continued to operate against the progress of Albert, as it had done against that of Philip.

Elizabeth's satisfaction at this event was, however, considerably damped by the loss of Burleigh, her most zealous and faithful counsellor. This great man had long and earnestly, but in vain, begged from his mistress some moments of interval between business and the grave, but death, on the fourteenth of August, gave him that repose which Elizabeth would not afford him: lord Burleigh was now on the verge of eighty, and though many ministers have lived with less envy, none ever died with greater reputation. If the reader is desirous to know more particulars of this great man, let him consult Camden; but the nature of a general history will not admit them here.

The loss of this able minister was sensibly perceived by a scene of distractions and divisions which succeeded in Elizabeth's councils, especially in respect to the affairs of Ireland, which seemed now to be in a desperate situation, and gave rise, about this time, to a troublesome affair at court. The earl of Essex had gained a great ascendancy in Elizabeth's councils, which was not a little increased by the death of lord Burleigh, who had been a constant bar in the way of his ambition, and who being now removed, Essex lorded it at court without controul. A cabinet council being called to consider of a fit person to be sent over to quiet the rebellious Irish, it was proposed to dispatch sir William Knolles, the earl's nephew, with a commission for that purpose; but Essex, jealous of sir George Carew, who seemed to be a growing favourite with the queen, and thinking this would be a proper opportunity to remove him from court, strenuously opposed his nephew's advancement, and urged sir George's with great warmth. Upon this a very serious debate followed in the cabinet, in the presence of the lord high-admiral, secretary sir Robert Cecil, and Windebank, clerk of the seal. Essex, in the course of the argument, shewed such a contempt for Elizabeth, that she could not restrain her indignation, and his arrogant behaviour, in disdainfully turning his back upon her, made her forget herself so far, that she struck him a blow on the side of the face: Essex, in a whirlwind of passion, raised by this gross insult, lost all his reason, and, clapping his hand to his sword, swore that he would not have taken such an affront from her father Henry. The lord-admiral, upon this, threw himself between the sovereign and her subject, and matters proceeded no farther at that time, only Essex withdrew from court, with a seeming resolution never to return. Egerton, at this time lord-keeper, wrote to Essex (probably by Elizabeth's orders), advising him to ask the queen's pardon for so disrespectful and daring a behaviour to her royal person; but the earl, deeply stung with the dishonour which he had received, wrote a very spirited letter to Egerton, in which he vented several warm

reproaches against the queen: yet, notwithstanding this additional provocation, Elizabeth's partiality was so great, that she reinstated him, before the end of the year, in his former favour; and her kindness towards him appeared rather to have acquired new force from that short interruption of anger and resentment; and nothing, indeed, but his own indiscretion, could henceforth have shaken his well-established credit.

About the latter end of this summer, Walpole, an English Jesuit, and one Squire, both of them foolish ignorant fellows, consulted about killing Elizabeth; and Squire was sent over to England for that purpose, after receiving from Walpole a phial, which both of them believed contained a poison, that, if rubbed upon the pommel of Elizabeth's saddle, would kill her if she touched it. Squire, who first acted as an agent for redeeming some Spanish prisoners in England, and then as a helper about Elizabeth's stables, and lastly as a marine under the earl of Essex, not only besmeared the pommel of Elizabeth's saddle, but also a chair in which Essex used to sit, with this pretended poison, but all to no effect. In the mean while Walpole had advanced large sums of money to Squire, and was mighty uneasy about the success of his undertaking: at last, being persuaded that Squire had only made a property of him, he managed so that Squire was discovered, and arrested. Upon examination he confessed all he knew, and was then tried and hanged; but, to his last breath, he blamed the Jesuit, who, he said, had drawn him in, contrary to his own conviction; while Walpole, in print, as confidently denied the charge.

Before the close of this year, we must take notice of the return of that noble adventurer, the earl of Cumberland, from an expedition to the West Indies, in which he had taken Porto Rico, and sent away the inhabitants that he might convert it into an English settlement; but having lost a great number of men by the bloody flux, he reimbarbed his people for England, having reaped very little fruit from his expedition: in which he had plundered Lancerota, one of the Canary islands.

The fire of rebellion which Philip of Spain had kindled in Ireland, continued to rage violently even after his decease, insomuch that the English council were now sensible that nothing was left but to push matters with the utmost severity: it was therefore resolved, early in the beginning of the year 1599, to adopt the most vigorous measures against the rebels; and the queen cast her eyes on Charles Blount, lord Montjoy, as a man who, though hitherto less accustomed to arms than literature, was endowed with talents equal to that undertaking. But Essex, who had now recovered all his wonted influence with the queen, and was desirous of obtaining this government for himself, opposed the nomination of this lord, and drew a picture of the qualities required in a lord-deputy of Ireland in such colours, that it was plain he himself was the original he described; and such was the great credit and quality of Essex, that it bore down all opposition, and Elizabeth gave him the commission of lord-deputy, and thereby put him at the head of an army of twenty thousand men, all devoted to his service: nor was this all; his commission was more ample than any that had been granted to former lord-deputies, for he was empowered to continue, or end the war, as he pleased; even to pardon the earl

earl of Tyrone, and other rebels; which was an authority never granted to any of his predecessors. But it was inserted in his commission, that, laying aside all other affairs, he should apply himself wholly to pursue and ruin the earl of Tyrone, the chief of the rebels: a clause founded on his own speech in council.

The earl was not long in setting out for his new government, and arrived at Dublin on the seventeenth of April. His first step there, was, in express contradiction to Elizabeth's orders, to make the earl of Southampton his lieutenant-general; the queen being displeased with that nobleman for having married without her permission, which men of quality in those times were accustomed to ask. On the other hand, instead of advancing directly against Tyrone, he wasted his army in pursuing the rebels of Munster, whom he drove into woods and mountains; and when, at the latter end of the summer, he was prevailed upon to march into Ulster, against the arch-rebel, he managed so badly that his vanguard, of fifteen hundred men, fell into an ambuscade, and were entirely defeated. This obliged him to demand a reinforcement; but though it was granted him, he fell into the same error he had complained of in council, against others, and granted Tyrone a truce to continue from six weeks to six weeks, till May of the ensuing year; with this condition, that either party should be at liberty to break it, upon giving fourteen days notice.

The queen, on receiving a letter from Essex with the news of this inglorious truce, was so highly provoked, that she could not help suspecting the earl of ill designs, and began to give some credit to those reports which charged him with aspiring to the crown, on a pretended right of succession from Edward III. by his great-grand-mother, who numbered among her ancestors Edmund de Langley, duke of York, and Thomas of Woodstock, both sons of that monarch.

Essex, understanding how greatly the queen was incensed against him, resolved to return to England, even without leave, to counterwork the efforts of his enemies at court; and his departure is said to have been hastened by a false report of the queen's being dangerously ill, and despaired of by her physicians. The friends of Essex advised him to land in Wales with the Irish army, which was at his devotion; but he rejected this counsel, and, leaving the administration of Ireland in the hands of the lord-chancellor Loftus and sir George Carew, he set sail for England on the fourth of September, with a few followers only; and on the twenty-eighth of the same month, he threw himself at the queen's feet, at Nonsuch, ten miles from London, where the court had resided for some days. Elizabeth was informed time enough of his arrival, to prevent any surprize to betray her intentions, and, according to her usual art, received him without any emotion, and with some marks of favour; but after some upbraidings for his irregular conduct, she commanded him to his own apartment till farther orders: he was afterwards committed to the custody of the lord-keeper, from whence some of his friends proposed to rescue him, would he have giving his consent.

However, this did not hinder them from exciting the people to an insurrection in his favour, representing him as the most accomplished lord

England ever saw since the foundation of monarchy, and in inveighing against the ministry, not without malicious reflections on the queen's conduct, as if she took no care of the Irish affairs, where the rebels, upon the news of Essex's disgrace, and the receipt of supplies of ammunition, provisions, and money, from Spain and the pope, had broke the truce, and committed great outrages on the English inhabitants.

Such proceedings extremely injured the earl, and increased the queen's suspicions of him; and therefore, to satisfy the populace that his confinement was just and necessary for the public peace and safety, she ordered his conduct to be examined in the Star-chamber, where it was unanimously condemned by all the privy counsellors; but no sentence passed upon him, only he was more narrowly watched in his confinement at the lord-keeper's house.

The earl of Tyrone in the mean time, having nothing to intercept his progress, reduced the whole province of Ulster to his obedience; and, being encouraged by a bull sent from pope Clement VIII. granting him and his adherents the same indulgences as those who fought against the Turks for the recovery of the Holy Land, he hoped to be soon master of the whole kingdom, had not the seasonable appointment of the lord Montjoy to the place of lieutenant of Ireland, and his wise conduct, put a stop to his rebellious designs, and checked the insolence of his adherents.

It was now the year 1600, and the forty-second of Elizabeth's reign, when she was agreeably surprized with overtures for a peace on the part of Philip III. king of Spain, who had succeeded his father Philip II. on that throne: these overtures were backed by the intercession of Henry IV. of France, and Albert, archduke of Austria, then in the Low Countries. The queen, willing to bless her subjects with peace, lent a ready ear to this proposal, and left it to the French king to nominate both the time and the place for the meeting of plenipotentiaries, which was settled for the month of May, at Boulogne.

On the day appointed, the commissioners met to open the conferences: those on the part of England were sir Henry Neville, sir John Herbert, Robert Beale, and Thomas Edmonds. The English had instructions, first, to demand the precedency, agreeable to the decrees of the councils of Basil, Constance, and others, and in no wise to give way in this respect to the crown of Spain; nevertheless, if any dispute should arise thereupon, the queen of England agreed that the same should be determined by the casting of lots, rather than break off the treaty; and for the rest, they were to propose the renewing the ancient Burgundian league, freedom of commerce, &c. The Spaniards could not be brought to quit their pretensions to the precedency, which they insisted on in so peremptory a manner, that without it they would not enter upon treaty. Hereupon the English made a proposition to wave the question of precedency, and to transact the business by writing and messages between them; or that the treaty might be intermitted only for two months, without being entirely broke off: but all was to no purpose; the Spanish ambassadors finding they could not carry their point, broke off the negotiation entirely.

The states of the United Provinces in the mean time were so far from having thoughts of a peace, that,

that, even during the negotiations, they planned a design to reduce the sea-coast of Flanders to their subjection; and accordingly landing an army there, of fourteen thousand foot and three thousand horse, under the command of prince Maurice of Nassau, assisted by fifteen hundred English, headed by sir Francis Vere and his brother Horatio; these forces, on the second of July, gained the famous battle of Nieuport, where nine thousand of the Spaniards were slain, and the victory, by the valour of the English, fell to the Dutch; for so nobly did our countrymen acquit themselves on this occasion, that out of the fifteen hundred, eight hundred were left dead on the field, and of the remaining number, most part were deadly wounded.

During these transactions, pope Clement VIII. who had succeeded Gregory XIV. not content with taking part with Elizabeth's subjects in Ireland, resolved to try what mischief he could do her at home. Accordingly he dispatched two bulls or briefs into England; one addressed to the Romish clergy, the other to the people, in which both clergy and laity were forbid to acknowledge, after Elizabeth's death, any prince for their sovereign, who would not swear not only to tolerate the Roman catholic religion, but even to support it with all his power. This was in order to pave the way for the king of Spain's claim to the English crown, and the exclusion of James, whom the court of Rome hated as a protestant himself, and a friend to protestants.

While the popish faction were thus busy in England, they were no less industrious in carrying on their hellish plots in her sister-kingdom, Scotland. There the Ruthvens, sons of earl Gowry, beheaded in 1584, who was descended from Margaret, daughter of king Henry VII. and consequently stood next to king James in succession to the crown of England, conspired to murder that prince in their own house at Perth, where, on some pretence, they had engaged the favour of his royal presence as their guest. But the king escaped their deep-laid plot by a sort of miracle, even in the instant of its execution, by the timely assistance of sir Thomas Erskine and John Ramsey; the two Ruthvens were killed upon the spot, and such of their accomplices as were taken, suffered the punishment due to their atrocious villany. But it is now time to return to the domestic affairs of England.

The earl of Essex, who had been a prisoner six months in the house of the lord-keeper, began to repent in good earnest of his follies; and the queen at last suffered herself to be so far wrought upon by the earl's submissive letters, that she permitted him to retire to his own house, under the free custody of sir Richard Berkeley, who had orders to watch him; the same time protesting, that all that she did, or designed, against him, was for his reformation, not ruin; and there is no doubt but that he might have found means to be restored to her royal presence and favour; but his friends and domestics raised such cabals among the people by asserting his innocence, and insinuating that his life was attempted on false suggestions, that her majesty, who always endeavoured to remove the prejudices of the people against her, was obliged to bring the earl to an open trial before her privy council, to whom she added two earls, four barons, and four judges; not to condemn him to any infamous punishment, as guilty of treason or trea-

chery, but only to convince him of having failed in his allegiance, and slighted her orders and instructions, through excess of vanity; in order to shew the prejudiced people, that she in this case had acted with moderation, and not rigour; and that the earl of Essex deserved a severer punishment than a few months confinement in a nobleman's house.

The accusations laid against him in this court were, "I. A contempt of the queen's orders in making the earl of Southampton general of the horse. II. His making knights, contrary to the express words of his patent. III. A neglect to pursue the rebel of Tyrone, though that was the principal end of his commission. IV. A secret conference with that rebel. V. The grant of a truce, very prejudicial to the queen's affairs. VI. The abandoning his government without vouchsafing to ask the queen's permission." Some inferences were likewise drawn from his disrespectful expressions in his apology, and from certain dangerous principles contained in a book dedicated to him, concerning the deposing of king Richard II.

Essex, when his turn came to plead in his own behalf, renounced, with great submission and humility, all pretensions to an apology, and declared his resolution, "never, on this or any other occasion, to have any contest with his sovereign; he said, that, having severed himself from the world, and abjured all sentiments of ambition, he had no scruple to confess every failing or error into which his youth, folly, or manifold infirmities might have betrayed him; that his inward sorrows for his offences against her majesty, was so profound, that it exceeded all his outward crosses and afflictions; nor did he retain any scruple of submitting to a public confession of whatever she had been pleased to impute to him; that in his acknowledgements he retained only one reserve, which he would never relinquish but with his life, the assertion of a loyal and unpolluted heart, of an unfeigned affection, of an earnest desire ever to perform to her majesty the best service which his poor abilities would permit; and that if his sentiment was recognized by the council, he willingly acquiesced in any condemnation or sentence which they could pronounce against him." This submission was uttered with so much eloquence, and in so pathetic a manner, that it drew tears from many of the spectators. All the privy counsellors, in giving their judgment, made no scruple of doing the earl justice with regard to the loyalty of his intentions; even Cecil, whom he believed his capital enemy, treated him with regard and humanity: and the sentence given by the lord-keeper (to which the council assented) was in these words, "If this cause (said he) had been heard in the Star-chamber, my sentence must have been for as great a fine as ever was set upon any man's head in that court, together with perpetual confinement in that prison which belongeth to a man of his quality, the Tower: but since we are now in another place, and in course of favour, my sentence is, that the earl of Essex is not to execute the office of a counsellor, nor that of earl marshal of England, nor of master of the ordnance; and to return to his own house, there to continue a prisoner till it shall please her majesty to release this, and all the rest of his sentence."

The earl received his chastisement with so much humility, that the queen, persuaded that his repentance was sincere, in order to convince him that she had not entirely withdrawn her countenance from

from him, ordered his sentence should not be recorded, and was even pleased to remove Berkeley from him and leave him at his full liberty; but she advised him to be cautious of giving farther offence, and forbid him the court. Hereupon he immediately prepared to set out for the country, and, before his departure, sent a most abject message to the queen, by the lord Henry Howard, filled with all that fullsome flattery to which Elizabeth's ears were so accustomed, and with which they were never to be fated. On this occasion she expressed a most visible satisfaction, both in looks and words; however, she thought fit to return the earl this answer, "that she was not to be amused with empty words; but as he had so long abused her patience she would take some time to try his sincerity;" thereby plainly insinuating, that, with a little perseverance, he might appease her entirely; and in some measure directing him how to frame his conduct: but the impetuous temper of Essex hindered him from improving the advantage his sovereign's manifest partiality in his favour seemed to give him; on the contrary, he was so imprudent as to follow the interested and fatal counsels of his domestics and dependents, which ended in his final ruin.

In the course of this year Elizabeth treated with the kings of France and Denmark about the regulation of traffic; and some disputes subsisting between the English and Danes, touching the fishery on the coast of Norway, commissioners being appointed on both sides, met at Bremen, but they could not agree, and the matters were left undetermined. But though the trade of England thus received some check in the North, it was carried on with great glory and success in the most southern and eastern parts of the globe: and Elizabeth, for the increase of trade, the glory of England, and the improvement of navigation, was pleased to erect the East India Company, towards the close of this year, and endowed them with great privileges, as will appear by a perusal of their charter of institution, dated December 31, 1600, for the heads of which I refer the reader to the article Commerce, at the end of this reign.

The year 1601 began with the machinations of that restless spirit, Essex. It has been already intimated that the queen, by her behaviour on his submissive letters, had given him great reason to expect a revival of the royal favour, and he was now grown so confident, that he became a suitor to her for a renewal of the farm on sweet-wines, in which the chief part of his fortune consisted; and Elizabeth, whom age and infirmities had now rendered very touchy, immediately imagined that all his pretended humility was only to smooth his way to this grant, she therefore gave him a denial, attended with some slighting reflections; and Essex, who was always in extremes, flew from that of resignation to that of resentment; and he was so imprudent as to follow the interested counsels of several needy persons, who lived upon his bounty and in his house, and who, on the refusal of his petition by the queen, inspired him with a design to restore himself to favour by force, and to destroy all his enemies about the royal person. That unhappy nobleman came but too readily into such designs; and now kept open house for all anti-courtiers and malecontents: the chief of these were the earl of Southampton, sir Christopher Blount, sir Giles Merrick, captain

Henry Lea, and Henry Cuff. They fomented his anger, and instigated him to violent measures. By this time the ministry began to mistrust that Essex entertained very dangerous designs; convinced the queen of the justness of their suspicions; and found means to have spies placed about him, who informed the court of all the earl's transactions.

Those who speak most favourably of the earl of Essex's project, say it was to seize the queen's person, and to drive his enemies from court, as had been practised in Scotland with regard to king James: but he seems to have had greater designs, since he sent Henry Lea secretly into Scotland, to solicit that king's assistance; probably to place him on the throne before the queen's death: thus much is certain, that, by his letters, he put James upon the only course that could ruin him with Elizabeth.

He acquainted him, "that whatever appearances the English court affected, there was a fixed design to introduce the infanta of Spain to the succession; that for this purpose all places of power, all posts of importance, were in the hands of those who were enemies to the Stuart family; that the lord high-admiral had the command of the army and navy: that Buckhurst had the power of the purse; Cobham was warden of the Cinque Ports; Burleigh lord-lieutenant of the North; Raleigh was governor of the islands of Guernsey and Jersey; and Carew president of Munster; all of them the most proper places in Elizabeth's dominions for favouring the landing of the infanta. He added, that the queen was so impaired in her understanding that she was incapable to act of herself, and was entirely guided by her ministers; that he was therefore necessarily obliged to proceed openly to defeat this conspiracy, and to send ambassadors immediately to England, to demand a public declaration of his title to the succession, and the removal of his enemies, creatures and pensioners of Spain, from the court and council: at the same time he furnished the Scottish king with proofs to be used by the ambassadors, to shew the truth of the plot: and he concluded, that it would be necessary to support his ambassadors effectually."

But this was not the only dependence of the ill-advised Essex, for he had now formed a select council of malecontents, consisting of Southampton, sir Charles Danvers, sir Fernando Gorges, sir John Davis, and John Littleton of Frankel. These were men who, by their quality or accomplishments, were well fitted to second Essex in his views. The rest of his friends, according to a list which he produced at Drury-house, the usual place of his council's rendezvous, consisted of one hundred and twenty of the first noblemen and gentlemen in England. Among other criminal projects debated in this assembly, one was, in what manner to take up arms; whether they should seize the palace, and force the queen to give up the enemies of Essex; or to seize the Tower of London, and bring the city to their devotion; or, finally, whether they should pursue all those measures at once? At last it was determined to drop the design of surprizing the court, and to make trial of his interest in the city. He was the more encouraged to this by being informed that sir Francis Smith, one of the sheriffs, was ready, with one thousand men of the trained bands, to espouse his quarrel.

While these treasonable consultations were carrying on, the government, who had private information of all that passed, ordered the guards to be doubled, and the lord-mayor received a message from Elizabeth, commanding him to take care of the peace of the city; at the same time sir Robert Sackville, son to Buckhurst, the lord-treasurer, was sent to Essex-house, under pretence of a visit, but in reality with a view of observing how matters stood there. Soon after Essex received a summons to attend the council, which met at the treasurer's house: by this circumstance, with the late unexpected visit from Sackville, he was sufficiently convinced that matters were now come to extremities; he therefore excused himself to the council, on pretence of an indisposition, and he immediately dispatched messages to his more intimate confederates, requesting their advice and assistance in the present critical situation of his affairs.

The conspirators having assembled at the earl's house, on the seventh of February, after many confused counsels, the wild project of raising the city was resolved on by the majority, and Essex determined next day, being Sunday, to appear in the church of St. Paul, while the people were at sermon, and, with two hundred gentlemen at his back, to demand the assistance and protection of the city of London against his enemies. The earls of Southampton and Rutland, the lords Parker and Monteagle, with three hundred of their friends and dependents, next morning approved of this resolution, which probably was betrayed by sir Fernando Gorges to Raleigh, who had a meeting together on the water. All the night between the seventh and eighth of February was passed at Essex-house in great consternation and confusion, and Elizabeth was punctually informed of every thing; for, early on Sunday morning, she sent the lord-keeper, the earl of Worcester, sir William Knolles, and the lord chief-justice Popham, to demand of Essex the meaning of his conduct. It was with difficulty they got admittance into the court-yard of the house, which was filled with a confused multitude of Essex's desperate dependents, who surrounded their idol. In this state he gave audience to the queen's messengers, who, on the part of the queen, offered him all reasonable satisfaction, if he was unjustly aggrieved. Essex, in answer, repeated all his complaints, not forgetting that his life had been sought by his enemies, who endeavoured to murder him in his bed, and that letters had been counterfeited under his hand and seal; and that all he did was only in self-defence. While they were thus arguing, they were interrupted by a disrespectful clamour of the multitude, who, after grossly reviling them, even threatened them with death; and Essex turning from them into another room, the apartment in which they were was immediately locked, and a guard set upon their persons.

Such an act of violence upon the queen's messengers was drawing the sword of rebellion and throwing away the scabbard: Essex was now strangely disconcerted; he was at once lost to all resolution, and to all conduct; and putting himself at the head of about two hundred ill-armed followers, rushed into the streets, crying out "For the queen! for the queen! my life is in danger!" and perceiving that the people only crowded to see him pass, without joining in his attempt, he cried,

"Arm, my friends, or you can do me no good." But all was in vain; and even the sheriff, of whose aid he conceived such expectations, no sooner saw him advancing towards his house, in Fenchurch-street, but he withdrew himself by a back-door to the lord-mayor: which disappointment convinced the earl that his affairs were desperate. During the time he continued at the sheriff's house, in a state of uncertainty how to act, word was brought him, that an herald and Thomas, lord Burleigh, had proclaimed him a traitor in one of the wards of the city, and that the earl of Cumberland had done the same in another. He then quitted the sheriff's house, and proclaimed in the streets, as he strolled with his little army, "that England was going to be delivered to the infanta of Spain;" and conjured the inhabitants to take arms for the prevention of so great a misfortune. But seeing no body preparing to assist him, and hearing withal that the lord-admiral was marching against him with a strong party, he resolved to return to his own house, had he not been intercepted by sir John Leveson, and his company of soldiers, who had secured the post at Ludgate. Here the earl gave orders to Gorges to go and release the three counselors from their confinement in Drury-house, and retired back to St. Paul's: however, finding no way to retreat in safety through the streets, which, by the care of the bishop of London, were by this time chained and guarded by soldiers, he ordered Blount to begin the attack, and to force a passage, and seconded him with great resolution, sword in hand; in which skirmish Blount was taken prisoner, and the earl was repulsed and shot through the hat, which obliged him to take boat at Queenhithe, and retire to his own house near Temple Bar, where Devereux-court and Essex-street now stand.

He was now reduced to despair, and the lord-admiral, who surrounded his house with a large body of the guards, summoning him to surrender, he appeared determined, by the advice of the lord Sandys, to defend himself to the last extremity, and rather perish like a brave man, sword in hand, than by the stroke of a base-born executioner. But, after some parly, and after demanding in vain first hostages, then conditions from those without, he surrendered at discretion, requesting only civil treatment and a fair and impartial hearing. He and Southampton were immediately conveyed over the water to the archbishop of Canterbury's palace, at Lambeth, from whence they were next day sent to the Tower, and his friends were confined in other prisons.

The queen, who, during all this commotion, had behaved with admirable tranquility and presence of mind, soon gave orders for the trial of the most considerable of the criminals. The earls of Essex and Southampton were arraigned on the nineteenth of February, before a jury of twenty-five peers, the lord-treasurer Buckhurst acting as lord high-steward. The guilt of the prisoners was too apparent to admit of any doubt; and, besides the insurrection known to every body, the treasonable conferences at Drury-house were proved by undoubted evidence: sir Fernando Gorges was produced in court; the confessions of the earl of Rutland, of the lords Cromwell, Sandys, and Monteagle, of Danvers, Blount, and Davis, were only read to the peers, according to the practice of that age: Essex's best friends were scandalized at his assurance in

insisting so positively on his innocence, and the goodness of his intentions, and still more at his vindictive disposition in accusing, without appearance of reason, secretary Cecil as a partizan of the infant's title. The secretary, who had expected this charge, stepped into the court, and challenged Essex to produce his authority, which, on examination, was found extremely weak and frivolous. When sentence was pronounced, Essex spoke like a man who laid his account to die; but he added, he should be sorry if he was represented to the queen as a person that despised her clemency, though he would not be believed to make any cringing submissions to attain it. Southampton's behaviour was more mild and submissive; he intreated the good offices of the peers in so modest and becoming a manner, as excited compassion in every one.

Essex, after condemnation, was visited by that superstitious devotion which always possessed his mind in all his disgraces. He was terrified almost into despair by the ghostly remonstrances of his own chaplain, Ashton, a fanatic preacher: he was reconciled to Cecil and the rest of his adversaries, and made a full confession of his conspiracy; he even gave the particulars of all his friendships and correspondences, in writing under his own hand: and upon his discoveries sir Henry Neville, Elizabeth's resident in France, was sent for over, and committed; as the lord Montjoy, whom he likewise accused, would have been, had not the greatness of his services in Ireland, and perhaps the fear of rendering him desperate, prevailed with Elizabeth to sacrifice her resentment to the public good.

It was natural for Elizabeth to have some remorse about taking off the head of a nobleman like Essex, who had done her signal services, who had been so lately the pride of her court, and the ornament of her kingdom; but, after all the ridiculous and romantic stories of her passion for him, it does not appear that she had ever considered Essex in any other light than as being a man of great birth and greater merit: but as he had now forfeited all he could claim from his former services, the sense of her own dignity, and the danger in which she thought herself, should he live, at last got the better of all considerations, and she sent, by the lord Darcy, a warrant, that he should die on the twenty-fifth of February, according to his own request, in the Tower court-yard, attended by Ashton a dissenting minister, and two divines of the church of England. Several noblemen, by Elizabeth's order, were present on the scaffold at the execution, with some of the aldermen of London, and chief gentlemen about court; among others Raleigh, the avowed enemy and rival of Essex, appeared; but this was thought so indecent, that he was prevailed upon to withdraw to some distance, whence he saw the only head in Europe better than his own, struck off. The behaviour of Essex in his last moments was full of penitence and contrition; but he had the misfortune to have a bungling executioner. He died before he was full thirty-six years of age.

Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, was a nobleman possessed of excellent and amiable qualities; brave, liberal, and humane; a patron of learning, in which he himself held a considerable rank: he was a warm friend, and an open enemy. His foibles were vanity, ambition, and an impetuosity of temper, to which he fell a sacrifice. His accomplices, Meyrick, and Cuffe, were executed, on the

fifteenth of March, at Tyburn: sir Charles Danvers, and sir Christopher Blount were beheaded; Littleton, Orel, and sir Edward Baintoun were tried and condemned; but the first dying in prison, the others were pardoned. The earl of Southampton was detained in the Tower till the accession of king James, by whom he was set at liberty, and restored in blood by act of parliament.

The king of Scotland, when he heard of the earl's being apprehended, had dispatched the earl of Marr, and the abbot of Kinlochs, as his ambassadors to the court of England; and, by the notes with which they were furnished, we may conclude that he was interested in some project which did not take effect: but the earl being executed before their arrival, they pretended that their errand was to congratulate her majesty upon her happy success in quelling the late audacious attempt. Elizabeth affected to take the compliment in good part, and was even prevailed upon to add two thousand pounds a year to their master's pension. During their residence in England they managed his affairs so dexterously, that the majority of the council was won over to his interest, and among the rest secretary Cecil, who from this period corresponded with James by means of the lord Henry Howard. About this time Ostend was invested by the archduke Albert, and defended with incredible valour by sir Francis Vere, at the head of the English garrison. Henry IV. of France repairing to Calais, Elizabeth sent sir Thomas Edmonds, with a compliment to that prince; who returned it by the hands of the marshals de Biron, de Lavardin, and the duke d'Aumont. These noblemen were received at the court of England with great magnificence; and, though no part of their negotiation transpired, are said to have conferred with her majesty upon a scheme which Henry had formed against the house of Austria.

Upon Elizabeth's return from a progress which she had made during the summer, she convoked a parliament, which met on the twenty-seventh of October; and Egerton, lord-keeper of the great-seal, having given them to understand, that the wars in Flanders and Ireland had drained her majesty's Exchequer, notwithstanding every frugal method had been adopted, the commons indulged her with a more considerable supply than had ever been granted since her accession. In consideration of this supply, she issued a proclamation for repealing certain monopolies of salt, oil, starch, and other commodities, which were a grievous burden upon the people: the commons thereupon deputed eighty of their body, to present their humble thanks for this instance of her parental regard, which was delivered by Crook, the recorder of London, who had been chosen speaker, in a fulsome speech, which, in its flattery, approached near to blasphemy. The commons then passed an act for the relief of the poor; and, having made some other laws of public utility, were dissolved in the month of December.

In the mean time the queen was not without her troubles in Ireland. The Spaniards continuing their aid to the Irish rebels, sent them fresh succours under don Juan d'Aquila, who landed at Kinsale, with a manifesto, setting forth, "that queen Elizabeth had been deposed by the pope; that her subjects were, by the same power, absolved from their oath of allegiance; and that he was come to deliver them from the jaws of the devil." The

Spaniards

Spaniards took the town; but, after a short siege by the lord-deputy, and having the mortification of seeing the rebel earl of Tyrone utterly routed in attempting to raise the siege, the Spanish general was glad to surrender, on condition that he might re-embark with the remainder of his men for Spain, which he did with all expedition, the capitulation being signed, and the place given up to the English, on the second of January, 1602. From this time the earl of Tyrone's affairs daily declined, which was chiefly owing to the lord-deputy's close pursuit of him, without giving him the least opportunity to recruit or breathe.

The remaining events of this reign are neither very numerous nor important. The queen, finding that the Spaniards had involved her in so much trouble, by fomenting and assisting the Irish rebellion, resolved to give them employment at home; and, in the spring of the year 1602, she fitted out a squadron of nine ships, under sir Richard Levesson, admiral, and sir William Monson, vice-admiral, whom she sent on an expedition to the coast of Spain. The admiral, with part of the squadron, met the galleons, loaded with treasure, but was not strong enough to attack them; the vice-admiral also fell in with some very rich ships, but they escaped for a like reason: and these two brave officers, that their expedition might not be entirely fruitless, hereupon resolved to attack the harbour of Coimbra, in Portugal, where they received intelligence that a very rich carrack had taken shelter. The harbour was defended by a castle; there were eleven galleys stationed in it, and the militia of the country, to the number, as was believed, of twenty thousand men, appeared in arms on shore: yet, notwithstanding these obstacles, and others derived from the winds and tides, the English squadron broke into the harbour, dismounted the guns of the castle, sunk, burned, or put to flight the galleys, and obliged the carrack to surrender. They brought her home to England, and she was valued at a million of ducats: a sensible loss to the Spaniards, and a supply still more considerable to Elizabeth.

In the beginning of this year, an ambassador extraordinary arriving from France, in order to regulate the navigation, which had been interrupted on both sides by depredations, the queen appointed commissioners to treat upon the subject, and all difficulties were compromised. The English minister at Paris had, in the name of his mistress, made a proposal to Henry of a league offensive and defensive, in order to drive the Spaniards entirely out of the Low Countries; but the finances of the French king were so disordered, and his kingdom so filled with malecontents, that he could not engage in an enterprize of such importance. The arch-duke Albert had made some advances towards a peace with Elizabeth, but she rejected them, lest the states of the United Provinces should be tempted to throw themselves into the arms of France: that they might be encouraged to maintain the war, she suspended their annual payment for two years, and allowed them to raise seven thousand men in England.

About this time a rancorous quarrel broke out between the Jesuits and the popish secular clergy in England, the original of which was as follows: one Blackwell, a man wholly at the devotion of the Jesuits, had by them been set over the seculars as their superior, who oppressed them in the most

cruel manner; and when they appealed for redress to the pope, caused them to be represented as schismatics and heretics. Bitter pamphlets were published on both sides: whether this contention was serious, or a scheme to lull the government into security, while some great blow was preparing, is hard to say; it is however certain that the bishop of London politicly fomented this division, which at length rose to such an height, that the queen and her council finding them dangerous to the commonwealth, both parties were, by public proclamation, commanded to depart the kingdom forthwith. It was at this juncture that Henry IV. of France ordered the marshal de Biron to be beheaded, for having conspired, with other noblemen, to dismember the French monarchy. The marshal de Bouillon, who was likewise concerned in the conspiracy, retired to Germany, where he solicited Elizabeth's intercession with his master; and she, by her ambassador, hinted that this might be a Spanish stratagem, to infect him with suspicions of his best subjects. But that prince told the English ambassador, his mistress had a better opinion of Bouillon than he deserved, inasmuch as he had actually engaged in the conspiracy of Essex, against her own person and dignity.

Towards the close of this year the affairs of Ireland, in consequence of Tyrone's defeat, and the expulsion of the Spaniards, hastened to a settlement, and by the vigilance and activity of Montjoy, the lord-lieutenant, that arch-rebel and his friends were driven to the utmost extremity; and many of them, after skulking like wild beasts in woods and morasses, submitted to mercy, and received such conditions as the lord-deputy was pleased to impose on them, which were so mild and generous, that Tyrone himself, seeing all hopes, either of succeeding or escaping, vanish, applied in the most abject strain both to Elizabeth and the deputy for pardon. The queen was for a long time obstinately bent not to shew him the least favour; but being continually teized by her council, who represented the immense expence she was at in keeping troops in Ireland to follow the rebels, and this clemency would be an infallible means of making every thing quiet, she was at last prevailed upon to sign his pardon, and send it to the lord Montjoy, with power to grant it upon certain conditions, mentioned in his instructions: but this she did with so much reluctance, that it was deemed by many to be the occasion of that illness whereof she died. The terms to which the lord-deputy was restrained, were such as the council apprehended Tyrone would not accept; but his necessities were so extreme, that, on the thirteenth of March, 1603, he came to Mellefont, where he presented himself upon his knees before the lord-deputy, who received him with great pomp, surrounded by his principal officers, and seated in a chair of state. Tyrone then addressed himself in a submissive speech to the lord-deputy, who thinking that he stood too much upon his justification, ordered him to be silent, and brought him with him under confinement to Dublin. O'Rourk, another active chief in the late insurrections, surrendered about a month after; and thus this dreadful rebellion, which had raged in Ireland for eight years together, and had cost the queen near four hundred thousand pounds a year, was entirely suppressed, and the whole kingdom reduced to a state of subjection

jection and tranquility. As for Tyrone, the lord-deputy kept him under a strict guard in the castle of Dublin, with an intention of presenting him to Elizabeth; but in this he was disappointed by the death of that glorious princess, whose eyes we are now to close.

She had, in general, been blessed with a very good state of health, and notwithstanding her age (near seventy) was continually hunting, or on horseback, without minding the wind, weather, or other inconveniences, though she always expressed a great fondness for life. It was about the middle of November, 1602, that she began to feel herself decay, though she affected not to let it appear, and would have her inauguration-day (the seventeenth of November) kept as usual, with feasting and great pomp. A slight cold confined her for a few days in the following months, but otherwise she seemed to be in good health.

On the thirty-first of January, 1603, she removed, in a very stormy day, from Westminster to Richmond. Here she began to grow worse, and was observed to be continually in tears, and labouring with some extraordinary affliction. She had used to be particularly careful of her health, but now she would take nothing, and obstinately refused all the remedies prescribed by her physicians. When the archbishop of Canterbury, Cecil, and others of her council, begged on their knees, that she would take what was necessary for her sustenance and relief, she desired them, in an angry tone, to let her die in quiet, as she had resolved.

All about her agreed that a deep melancholy, too strong to be either asswaged or diverted, was the cause of her illness; but they differed much in their opinions about the occasion of that melancholy: some ascribed it to the assiduity which she had remarked in certain of her counsellors, whom she had loaded with favours, in making their court to the king of Scotland, her presumptive heir, and some bitter expressions were heard to burst from her lips, as if she had thought herself helpless, abandoned, and betrayed by all: many imputed it to her grief for having put the earl of Essex to death. There is no doubt but she had felt a sensible regret for the loss of that great man; but it is not so easy to account how her grief came to break out so violently at this time: and though this may be reasonably thought owing to the weakness of her body disabling her mind to act with its former vigour, yet it is remarkable that it broke out on a sudden, after the death of the countess of Nottingham (which happened about Christmas last year), and

her signing the pardon of Tyrone. These were coinciding events, and, without having recourse to the anecdote related by Osborne*, it may very well be supposed, that when Elizabeth found the suggestions of Essex's enemies, as if he had engaged in a traitorous combination with Tyrone, which was the chief reason of her putting the former to death, for what might else have been rather termed a riot than a rebellion, to be mere slanders; and that those very men had, after an infinite profusion of the blood and treasures of her subjects, obliged her to grant that rebel pardon, it could not but inflame her resentment at being deceived, and enhance her grief for the loss of a man so highly esteemed as she did Essex†.

Be that as it might, her anxiety of mind at last had so long preyed upon her frail body, that her end was visibly approaching, and the council had many serious deliberations concerning the succession. Though all the counsellors in general were firmly attached to James, yet they knew not what the secret intrigues of the popish and puritan factions might produce, and therefore reasonably thought, that Elizabeth's own declaration in favour of James would give vast strength to his title; but, lest she had been too weak to express herself, the lord-admiral declared, that before she left Westminster, she had, as it were foreseeing her own death, in private said to him, "My throne hath always been filled by a succession of princes, and ought only to go to my next heir." It was then thought proper, that the lord-admiral, the lord-keeper, and secretary Cecil should, in the name of the council, intreat her to signify her last will on that head. They found her almost speechless, but she had strength enough to repeat the meaning of her former orders to the lord-admiral, "that she had filled a royal throne, and desired to have a royal successor." Cecil thought that this declaration was not explicit enough, and urged her to a farther explanation: "I desire (said she) that a king should succeed me, and who should that king be, but my nearest kinsman, the king of Scotland?" And when these noblemen, on the day before her death, when her speech had failed, put her in mind of what she had told them, and desiring her, in presence of other lords of the council, to shew some sign of confirming what she had said to them, she accordingly put her hand to her head, in token of her approbation.

Although there was no great danger of any opposition being made to the Scottish succession, nevertheless the council thought expedient to take

* This fact, which has long been rejected by historians as romantic, but which late discoveries seem to have confirmed, was as follows.

The earl of Essex, after his return from the fortunate expedition against Cadiz, observing the increase of the queen's fond attachment to him, took occasion to regret, that the necessity of her service required him often to be absent from her person, and exposed him to all those ill offices which his enemies, more assiduous in their attendance, could practise against him; she was moved with his tender jealousy, and, making him the present of a ring, desired him to keep that pledge of her affection; assured him, that in whatever disgrace he should fall, whatever prejudices she might be induced to entertain against him, yet if he sent her that ring, she would, immediately upon sight of it recollect her former tenderness, would afford him again a hearing, and would lend a favourable ear to his apology. Essex, notwithstanding all his misfortunes, reserved this precious gift to the last extremity; but, after his trial and condemnation, he resolved to try the experiment, and he committed the ring to the countess of Nottingham, whom he desired

to deliver it to the queen. The countess was prevailed on by her husband, who was Essex's capital enemy, not to execute the commission; and Elizabeth, who still expected that her favourite would make the last appeal to her tenderness, and who ascribed the neglect of it to his obstinacy, was, after much delay, and after many internal combats, pushed by resentment and policy to sign the warrant for his execution. The countess of Nottingham falling into sickness, and finding herself approaching towards her end, was seized with remorse for her conduct, and having obtained a visit from the queen, she craved her pardon, and revealed to her the fatal secret: the queen, astonished with this incident, burst into a furious passion; she shook the dying countess in her bed, and crying to her "that God might forgive her, but she never could," broke from her, and thenceforth resigned herself over to the deepest and most incurable melancholy.

See the proofs of this remarkable fact collected in Birch's *Negotiations*, p. 206. and *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 481, 505, 506, &c.

† Carte, vol. iii. p. 696, 697.

every precaution for securing the peace and safety of the kingdom: great numbers of idle and suspected persons, who swarmed about the metropolis were seized, and sent to Holland for the Dutch service; the fleet, which lay ready equipped, was ordered to guard the mouth of the Thames; the sea-ports were all shut; and the lady Arabella Stuart was put into custody. It was resolved likewise to summon all the peers to town, and, if any commotion happened on the queen's death, to make the earl of Northumberland general of the forces. The queen in the mean time was in a deplorable condition, sitting dressed and pensive ten days, on cushions, without an hour's rest all the time, till, on the twenty-first of March, she was put into bed by force, and, though she then seemed to be better, she lay on her side without speaking to or regarding any body, only she caused some meditations to be read to her, particularly those of M. du Pleffis. The archbishop of Canterbury attending her on this occasion, she heard his exhortations, and joined him in prayer, with great humility and devotion. On the twenty-third of that month she was speechless all the day; and having in the night got a continued sleep of five hours, waked only to die in the calmest manner and almost insensibly, about two o'clock the next morning, in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign. Her corpse, without being opened or embalmed, was removed, on the twenty-eighth of March, from Richmond to Whitehall; but, on the pretence of her having given orders that it should not be cut up, or seen, after her decease, no body was suffered to see it, which occasioned some rumours among the people that hated her ministers, as if her death had been caused by violence. It was interred on Thursday the twenty-eighth of April, in the chapel of Henry VII. in Westminster abbey, with great magnificence, king James having given orders that no expence should be spared in her funeral.

The best character that can be drawn of this princess is to be learned from the story of her life; and to add a multiplicity of general reflections upon her political conduct, after having already explained it in the preceding pages, would be tiresome and uninstrucive to the reader: let it suffice then to observe, that there are few great personages in history who have been more exposed to the calumnies of enemies, and more bedaubed by the adulation of friends than queen Elizabeth; and yet, there is scarce any whose reputation has been more certainly determined by posterity. Her vigour, her constancy, her magnanimity, her penetration, vigilance, and address, are allowed to merit the highest praises, and appear not to have been surpassed by any person who ever filled a throne; at the same time that we acknowledge she was often too rigorous, too imperious towards her dependents, and too little regardful of the constitution, or concerned for the liberties and privileges of her subjects: her prerogative, like the rod of Aaron, swallowed up whatever came in competition with it; and she thought that her people were entitled to no more liberty than their ancestors enjoyed. She was remarkably happy in the choice of her statesmen and generals, whom she directed by her good sense, and animated by her high spirit. Her abilities for government were never questioned by any one; her application to public business was extraordinary;

but her prudence was in many cases the effect of low cunning, and of the diffidence or jealousy of her nature; and her measures were often such as morality could not approve, however politics might represent them as necessary.

Elizabeth is described by those who knew her, to have been as to her person handsome, well-made, strongly limbed, rather tall than middle-sized, her forehead high and round, her eyes brown and lively, her complexion fair, her hair of a lightish yellow, her fingers long and taper, her voice clear and shrill: she had a fine set of teeth, and her outward form was much set off by an air that was very agreeable. She was fond of being thought learned: she spoke with great fluency the Greek, Latin, Italian, and French languages, understood the Spanish, and translated several of the ancient writers with judgment and fidelity. Whether she died a virgin was a problem much handled in those days; but, upon the whole, there appears to be very good grounds for the vulgar report, that she had about her person some imperfections, that rendered her very unfit for marriage. She was a great encourager of learning and learned men, as we shall have occasion to shew in its place. She was the great bulwark of the protestant religion. Her predominant passions were jealousy and avarice, the former of which hurried her, in some cases, into acts of tyrannic cruelty. Her vanity appeared in her love of flattery, which she greedily swallowed even when it was fulsome and absurd; and in the variety and richness of her apparel, which she continued to wear long after her declining years seemed to require more gravity and decency.

Her cruelty and jealousy were too conspicuous in the fate of the duke of Norfolk, and Mary, queen of Scots. Of avarice and parsimony she exhibited numberless proofs, in extorting presents from noblemen, on pretence of visiting them at their own houses; in allowing her ambassadors in foreign countries to live at their own expence, until some of them were ruined; and in carrying on the war against Spain at the charge of private adventurers. When she died, besides a vast quantity of plate and jewels, she left three thousand robes, none of which she had the liberality to distribute amongst her servants. She raised an hundred thousand crowns yearly, by granting licences to Roman catholics and non-conformists, exempting them from the penalty inflicted by the law upon those who did not regularly attend divine worship. She exacted every New-year's day above sixty thousand crowns, in gifts from her dependents. She entertained spies in all the houses of the nobility; encouraged informers; introduced the use of torture; enacted a great number of penal laws; and, by the terror of her suspicion, which was generally fatal to the object, drove many gentlemen into exile, that she might prosecute them to confiscation, and enjoy their estates. Her choleric disposition prompted her often to revile foreign ambassadors in the grossest terms; to insult her ministers and subjects in the most abusive language; and even to chastize her female attendants with her own hand. On such occasions she used to utter oaths and imprecations in the most vulgar style: and the ladies of her court did not scruple to follow her example. Her great art consisted in cajoling her parliament and people with flattering caresses; the sincerity of which they could not doubt, when they found themselves rich and

and happy under her administration. But, as Mr. Hume very justly observes, in his history of this great princess, the true method of estimating her merit, is to consider her merely as a rational being, placed in authority, and entrusted with the government of mankind; and then, however difficult we may find it to reconcile our fancy to her in other respects, her qualities as a sovereign, though with some considerable exceptions, are the object of undisputed applause and approbation.

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES.

In her third year, on the fifteenth of June, the spire of St. Paul's cathedral in London, the timber part of which was two hundred and sixty feet high, and the roof seven hundred and twenty feet long and one hundred and thirty broad, were burnt by lightening, as it was then thought; but a plumber confessed, on his death-bed, that it was set on fire by his carelessness, in leaving a pan of coals in the steeple when he went to dinner.

In her seventh year, on the twenty-first of December, began a frost, so extreme, that on New-year's day people passed over the Thames on foot; yet this great frost began to thaw on the third of January at night, and by the fifth there was no ice to be seen at all.

In her thirteenth year a prodigious earthquake happened in the east parts of Herefordshire; and on the seventeenth of February, at six o'clock in the evening, Marcle-hill, in the neighbourhood of Hereford city, was moved from the place where it stood, and continued in motion from Saturday till Monday following, when it rested. It carried along the trees, hedges, and sheep, that grew and fed upon its surface, overturned Kynaston chapel, which stood in its way, left an opening where it stood, forty feet in depth and eight ells in length, and formed a large hill twelve fathoms high, in the place where it rested.

In her sixteenth year was a great dearth, so that wheat sold for five and six shillings a bushel, and other things in proportion: and in her seventeenth year the Thames ebbed and flowed twice in an hour.

In her twenty-sixth year, being 1588, the like prodigy happened in Dorsetshire, as in the year 1571 had happened in Herefordshire; a field of three acres, in Blackmore, with the trees and fences, moved from its place, and passed over another field, travelling in the highway to Hearn, where it rested.

In her thirty-sixth year was a great plague in London and its suburbs, which swept off seventeen thousand eight hundred and ninety souls.

Of the State of Religion, Learning, Laws, Arts and Sciences, Commerce, Public Revenues, &c. in ENGLAND, from the Accession of HENRY VIII. to the Death of Queen ELIZABETH. Including a Period of Ninety-four Years, viz. from A. D. 1509 to A. D. 1603.

OF RELIGION, and of the CHURCH.

WE have upon many occasions, in the course of this history, shewn what dreadful blows the kings and parliaments of England had given to the papal power in this country, and how greatly the doctrines of Wickliff, and of other reformers, even before a general reformation was thought of, had disposed the minds of the people to what followed. The kings of England, however, by the tameness of those whose titles were disputed, and who were therefore obliged to keep well with the see of Rome, were stripped of many of their prerogatives over churchmen by the papal encroachments; but still a door was open for resuming them, and for reinforcing all the acts of parliament on that head: but even at the time of Henry VIII's accession he had some superiorities over the clergy, which no other prince in Europe besides himself enjoyed: Amongst others, in the case of a vacancy of a bishopric, the crown seized all the temporalities, and recommend to the see of Rome the person who was to succeed; upon the necessary instruments for this succession being expedited at Rome, the bishop elect was obliged, before the king, or his commissioners, to renounce every clause in those instruments that was inconsistent with the prerogative of the crown or the laws of the land, and to take an oath of fidelity and allegiance to the sovereign.

Had not Henry VIII. immediately after his accession, been intoxicated with the flattery of the popes and clergy, he might have made an excellent use of this part of his prerogative, by filling the sees of England with men of sense and virtue, who might in time have restored to the crown its prerogatives, and to the church its purity. But Henry was so far from this, that, during the first eighteen years of his reign, he acted in spiritual matters as an humble dependent on the Roman pontiff. He drew his pen in defence of the church of Rome, and sent deputies to the Lateran council, which had been convoked in opposition to that of Pisa: the pope, delighted with this instance of the English monarch's attachment to his cause, rewarded him with the pompous title of Defender of the Faith.

This, and other compliments, induced Henry to order all Luther's books to be called in; and a commission for that purpose was issued by Wolsey, by virtue of his legatine power, in the year 1521. In the same commission forty-two articles were excerpted from Luther's doctrine, and condemned: and in the year 1523 Henry granted a privilege for printing bishop Fisher's book against Luther; and he every day gave fresh proofs of his great zeal for the see of Rome. The pope imputed all this to the good offices of Wolsey, whose character the reader

has

has already seen in the civil part of this history. No honour which the court of Rome could devise were thought too great for that ambitious cardinal, who cunningly made a property of each court, and indeed of all the courts of Europe. With his master he pleaded his vast influence with the pope; and the pope was lavish of honours upon him for his influence with his master; and the king of France with the Imperial court by turns courted and paid him for his influence with both. But the truth is, that Wolsey had great things in view, even from the commencement of his administration, for encreasing the power of the crown at the expence of the church's possessions. This scheme could not be effected but under the pretext of the vast dissolution of morals which had crept in among the clergy, of which Wolsey made most dreadful representations at the court of Rome: this drew from the pope a bull, empowering Wolsey to visit all monasteries, and all the clergy of England, and to dispense with all laws of the church for one whole year after the date of the bull. This bull in effect cancelled all the other powers of the clergy in England, and raised Wolsey to be pope in his own country.

Being then seated, as he thought, firmly in his power, he began to shew an extraordinary zeal against the doctrines of Luther, or the Reformation. In the year 1519, six men and one woman were burned at Coventry, for teaching their children the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Apostles Creed, in the vulgar tongue. Severities of the same nature were practised in several parts of the kingdom where the Reformation began to gain ground: this, however, was the only practice in which the cardinal and the clergy could agree. He assumed a power of calling convocations, and laying them under contribution; and when they complained of these encroachments, he threatened them with a general visitation. He was supported in these arbitrary proceedings by the king, who reaped the fruits of his exaction, and began to hold the persons of the clergy in contempt, on account of their ignorance and profligacy. Nevertheless, he still retained his attachment to the old religion: when Luther, at the desire of his patron, the elector of Saxony, wrote a letter to the king of England, excusing the acrimony and abuse with which he had treated him in his writings, Henry, in his answer, retorted the other's virulence in sarcasms upon his doctrine; and refused to forgive him upon any other terms than those of retracting his errors, renouncing his wife, and retiring from the world to pass the remainder of his days in penance and mortification. It appears, by a letter from cardinal Wolsey to the bishop of Winchester, that the first had formed a plan for the reformation of the clergy; and pope Adrian was so well disposed in this particular, that the German princes were encouraged to present him with the grievances of the church, digested into one hundred articles, containing the luxury, prophaneness, avarice, superstition, and pride of the ecclesiastics; but the good effects of the pope's moderation were prevented by the cabals and intrigues of his clergy; and in England Henry still continued to prosecute the Lutherans.

After Wolsey had been disappointed in his repeated attempts to be elected pope, he found it his best course to keep fair with pope Clement VII.

to whom he had been very instrumental in his election; and he obtained from the pope the prolongation of his legatine power during life. This gave him some notion of proceeding by his own authority, supported by that of the king, to dissolve some monasteries. At first, he pretended to pursue the plausible method of applying the revenues to the endowment of his colleges, one at Ipswich and the other at Oxford, which he had himself erected; but, upon recollection and consulting with his friends, he thought it would be dangerous for him to proceed to this by his own authority, and therefore applied to the pope, who granted him bulls for the dissolution of forty lesser monasteries, provided the king and other founders gave their consent, for an endowment of his two colleges. The cardinal made a noble use of this bounty, nor indeed is he indefensible in the measure, but by the precedent which it set. His scheme was to erect a college at Ipswich, as a kind of seminary where youth was to be fitted for his college in Oxford, which he designed to be a great and noble foundation: his plan was to have it built in the most magnificent manner, and furnished with all the most costly rarities of art and learning that Europe could afford, and its clear rent was to consist of two thousand pounds a year, besides a revenue for the entertainment of strangers, the relief of the poor, and other extraordinary charges of the university. After the patent for this establishment was obtained from Henry, Wolsey sent to Oxford, under his hand and seal a draught of the statutes by which it was to be governed; and, according to them it was to consist of the following members:

"The dean, subdean, sixty superior canons, and forty petty-canons; all to reside at their studies; thirteen chaplains, twelve singing-men, for the chapel-service. Public professors of the college and university; of canon-law, civil-law, physic, liberal arts, critical learning, private lecturers and tutors, to read philosophy, logic, sophistry, critical learning. Four censors, to enquire into the students manners and studies. Three bursers. Four rent-gatherers. Twenty inferior officers, and college servants. In all, one hundred and eighty-six."

The college itself was to have been built upon the site of St. Frideswell's priory, which was one of the houses dissolved to endow it. But on Wolsey's fall, all his grand design was dropped, and the foundation itself, with all its revenues, were forfeited to the king: who in part, however, pursued the cardinal's scheme, and the foundation is now called Christ-church College, and is provided with a dean, eight canons, three public professors of divinity, Hebrew, and Greek, sixty students, eight chaplains, eight singing-men, an organist, a school-master, an usher, forty boys, and twenty-four almsmen.

The reader will find in the civil parts of this history, such full accounts of the progress of Henry's divorce, and of those steps which induced and enabled him to shake off his obedience to the papal power, that I shall resume no part of those matters here, but content myself with opening to the reader the co-operative means which Providence furnished to second the great work of reformation. The displeasure which Wolsey saw he had incurred from queen Anne Boleyn, for his proceedings in the affair of Henry's divorce, made him very jealous of the Lutheran party, who he knew would omit no opportunity

opportunity of contributing to his ruin, and he ordered Sampson, dean of the king's chapel, to have a strict eye over all Lutheran books brought into the court, lest Henry, by reading them, should get a relish of their doctrine. A book happened to be published at this time by Tindal, an eminent reformer of those days, entitled, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, and was privately lent by the queen to Mrs. Guynsford, one of her maids of honour, who lent it to a young gentleman who courted her, one Mr. Zouch, in whose hands Sampson seized the book, and delivered it to the cardinal. This discovery alarmed the queen and all concerned; it being a matter which touched their lives; and the queen, to prevent any bad impressions upon Henry, threw herself at his feet, and with tears and entreaties obtained from him an order that the book should be restored to her: after this she threw herself again at his feet, intreating him to read it, which Henry consenting to, he is said from that time to have taken the resolution of disclaiming many doctrines, as well as throwing off the supremacy of the Romish church. Till then he had entertained a notion, that the doctrines of the Lutherans tended to rebellion as well as heresy; but this book, which is written in a more dutiful strain towards the civil power, than any published by the papists of that reign, convinced him of his mistake.

Upon the fall of Wolsey we have, in the civil history, seen the demands of Henry upon his clergy, and in what manner they subscribed the articles in which they owned his supremacy. Cranmer being appointed archbishop of Canterbury, the king deliberated with him about the suppression of the monasteries; and it was resolved that this should be preceded by a visitation, which, in all probability, would reconcile the people to the scheme, by bringing to light the vices and impostures practised in religious houses. Cromwell was created vicar-general, with such powers as suspended all episcopal jurisdiction; and the power he delegated to his deputies enabling them to confirm or annul the election of prelates, to suspend or deprive them, to convene synods, try ecclesiastical causes, pass censures, or grant pensions to such monks as might be willing to quit a monastic life; their instructions were extremely minute, touching their enquiry into the doctrines, morals, and behaviour of abbots and abbesses, nuns and friars; and they followed them with the utmost rigour, disclosing such scenes of vice, obscenity, and imposture, as exposed them to the detestation of all those who retained the least regard for decency and good order. After three hundred and seventy-six abbeyes had been suppressed, when a motion was made in convocation for translating the Bible into the English language, Gardiner and the popish bishops opposed it with all their power, till Henry himself ordered that the translation should be begun; and it was afterwards printed at Paris. In the mean time an English book, called *The King's Primer*, was published, containing the doctrines of Christianity, set forth in a plain familiar manner, and exposing the superstitions of the Romish clergy.

A convocation being held in the year 1536, to confirm the sentence against the king's marriage, the lower house presented the upper with fifty-nine opinions meriting reformation, extracted from the writings of Cranmer and the protestant party. After a long debate, they established a set of articles,

called the Six Articles, concerning religion, some of which we have already mentioned under the reign of Henry, and the rest may be found at large in bishop Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, but are too long to be inserted here. These articles were published, with a preface, by Henry himself.

The pope having summoned Henry to his council at Mantua, the king protested against the legality and proceedings of this assembly, and was seconded by the convocation of Canterbury. Hitherto he had acted under the sanction of this authority; but now Cromwell, as his vicar-general, independent of all restriction, published a set of instructions to the clergy, enforcing the late articles, and recommending order and discipline among the people. These were followed by a visitation and dissolution of the lesser monasteries (i. e. such as had estates not exceeding two hundred pounds per annum.) Bishop Burnet observes, that the full report of the visitation of those houses (previous to their suppression) is lost; yet he saw an extract of a part of it, concerning one hundred and forty-four houses, which contained abominations in it equal to any that were in Sodom. In some they found tools for coining; and, briefly, in almost all of them the greatest lewdness and wickedness. The lord Herbert says, that the yearly amount of all these lesser monasteries was thirty-two thousand pounds; but the king sold them at easy rates to enable them to keep up the hospitality which the monks had done, when they were possessed of them, adding thereto a penalty of six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence per month on the farmers and possessors of the monasteries and lands belonging to them, on failure of keeping up hospitality and husbandry therein: "but (adds his lordship) the penalty being not ordinarily required, due hospitality was for the most part neglected; for the forfeitures, being great, were, at the supplication of the parliament (21 Jac. I. cap. xxviii.) wholly abolished at length, by the indulgence of that king." Somewhat surely ought to have been done in time for preventing the poor from becoming so heavy a weight on the landed and trading interests, as it was easy to foresee they would become, on the suppression of those monasteries, whose kitchens were ever open to the poor of the neighbourhood. Had the purchasers of those church-lands, in every parish, been obliged by their tenures to support the poor thereof, or at least to contribute thereto in a much greater and fixed proportion than others, it would have been extremely reasonable, as they purchased them at very low prices: this would have been more conducive to the benefit of a free and trading people, than the lord Herbert's scheme, of annexing them all to the crown for ever, for enabling our kings to keep a good army and navy, without being obliged to have recourse to the people's purses from time to time: a dangerous scheme for a free people.

It is said that there were ten thousand monks and nuns dismissed by the said suppression of lesser monasteries, to seek their living where they could: to the men, if in orders, was given a priest's habit, and forty shillings in money; but to the nuns, only a gown, such as secular women wore. Some however, says lord Herbert, for surrendering their houses, got a small yearly pension. Now if the said ten thousand persons could not, whilst in their monasteries, spend less annually than seven pounds each

on a medium, then the said estates were at least seventy thousand pounds per annum; which sum, by the increased value of lands, and other improvements in our days, equal to three hundred and fifty thousand pounds (at the rate of five to one) would be probably less than their yearly value at this day.

In the year 1538 was begun, and in 1539 was completed, the dissolution of all the remaining abbeyes, called the greater ones, and soon after those of Ireland.

Lord Herbert computes the total yearly value of them all (both greater and lesser ones) to be one hundred and sixty one thousand pounds; but this is far from being an exact account of their annual value, for the abbots and priors, foreseeing the impending dissolution, had raised the fines for leases very high, which brought the rents very low in consequence, that they might thereby have where-withal to support themselves when they should be expelled. Indeed the heads of these convents had, in part at least, long before fallen into that practice, that they might not be bound to entertain too great a number in their houses, whereby they must have enriched themselves.

The nameless author of a small folio printed anno 1689, with the title of *The happy future State of England* (said by many to be the earl of Anglesey), thinks there were in all about fifty thousand persons maintained in all the convents of England and Wales. Now if they were then maintained at seven pounds each person, their annual expence would be three hundred and fifty thousand pounds, which probably was about the then yearly value of their lands; and living being at that time five times cheaper than in our times, the total yearly value of their lands in our money would be one million seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds. And if, on an average, those lands be worth twenty years purchase (as being since greatly improved), then the now total value or purchase of all the said abbey-lands may be about thirty-five millions sterling. That anonymous author farther observes, that as Camden, in his *Britannia* (anno 1607), makes all the parishes of England amount to nine thousand two hundred and eighty-four; thereto may be added twenty-six bishoprics, twenty-six deaneries, sixty archdeaconries, and five hundred and forty-four prebends; these, joined to several rural deaneries, may make about one thousand more (though here our author seems to have forgot that the deans and archdeacons, as well as the prebendaries, have, almost without exception, at least one parish living, in some of which he may officiate (though but few) without entertaining a curate.) And (continues he) there being then (i. e. at the dissolution of the monasteries) in Oxford and Cambridge about sixty thousand students, who, in expectation of church-preferments, either as regulars or seculars, abstained from marriage, there were then in all about one hundred and twenty thousand persons restrained by their function from increasing and multiplying. As at present, double (he should, at least, surely have said treble) that number is in France; which consideration alone gives a considerable advantage to protestant countries in point of commerce as well as popularity. And reckoning that every marriage one with another produces four children (viz. two of each sex) those would more than double that number in the same age. This, we doubt, is not strictly true.

According to Camden's *Britannia*, the number of monasteries suppressed in England and Wales, first and last, was six hundred and forty-three, besides ninety colleges, two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels, and one hundred and ten hospitals. It is now too late to lament the demolition of all the monasteries, two or three of which in every county (as being many of them spacious and stately edifices), would excellently well have served for county-hospitals and work-houses: much more should the overthrow of the colleges be lamented, since even the two illustrious universities of Oxford and Cambridge were included in the dissolution-act, and it was some time after, that the king was, with much difficulty, induced to continue them in their former condition. Yet so inconsistent was he, almost at the same time, as to found new and magnificent colleges in the said universities. And what shall we likewise say of the destroying of such as were real hospitals for the sick poor, the most innocent and useful of any kind of charity whatever? There was no one person in Henry's dominions who durst openly dissent from his system, except Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; and we have already observed, in the civil history, that this prelate was screened from destruction by the personal affection of the king.

After the fall of Cromwell, the archbishop was obliged to proceed with great caution, and resolved to befriend the protestants, by gradually sapping the foundations of the Romish religion; he even made a motion in the house of lords for moderating the Six Articles, which had been the foundation of a most cruel persecution; and, though unsupported by the other prelates, he argued with such strength of reason, that the house agreed to the act of mitigation. He actually finished the draught of a code, intituled "*Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum*," which he presented to the king at Hampton-court; and letters patent were drawn up for authorizing this digest: nay Henry, about this time, seemed bent upon a farther reformation. In a letter to the archbishop, he forbade the practice of creeping to the cross, and of several other superstitious ceremonies of popery. But his intention was partly frustrated by Gardiner, who, in a letter to him from the Imperial court, where he resided, gave him to understand, that if any farther innovations should be made in the religion of England, the emperor would never consent to a pacification. This was the true reason for dropping the scheme of the digest, in which Cranmer had made such considerable progress. Nevertheless, Cranmer, in obedience to Henry's commands, translated the Liturgy and some processions into the English language.

Henry himself was, indeed, very intent upon the great work of reformation he proposed in religion; and the sum of it having been drawn up in *The necessary Erudition of a Christian Man*, this book was published by authority, and recommended to all persons as a rule for directing their belief and practice. It contained a rational account of the Christian covenant, with an exposition of the Apostles Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, the Ten Commandments, and the sacraments; and though these last, and the doctrines relating to them, were asserted therein agreeable to what had been determined in the statute of the Six Articles, yet the worship of saints, pilgrimages, and other superstitions,

The first Translation of the Bible, presented to Henry VIII.



To his Grace
Duke of
This Plate is most



William Cavendish
Devonshire,
humbly Inscribed.

superstitions, which had for some ages debased religion, were condemned: the king's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters was explained so as to prevent any just offence being taken at his title of Head; the pope's pretensions were refuted; the Holy Catholic Church was defined to be an aggregate body, "comprehending all assemblies of men over the whole earth, that receive the faith of Christ, who ought to hold in unity of love and brotherly agreement together, by which they become members of the catholic church:" and the unreasonableness of placing its unity in a submission to the bishop of Rome, is fully shewed. Sinners were taught to depend wholly upon the merits of Christ; unlearned people were exhorted to pray in their mother-tongue; and a foundation laid for a farther reformation, by declaring "every national church to be a complete body within itself, with power to reform heresies, correct abuses, and do every thing else necessary for keeping itself pure, and governing its members."

To complete his designs for the instruction of the people, Cranmer had prevailed upon Henry to cause the Bible to be translated into English, and published: it accordingly appeared in English in the year 1541, under the following title: "The Bible in English, of the largest and greatest Volume, used and appointed by our sovereign Prince, King Henry VIII. supreme Head of the Church and Realm of England, to be frequented and used in every Church within this his said Realm, according to the Tenor of his former Injunctions given in that behalf: overseen and perused, at the Command of the King's Highness, by the reverend Fathers in God, Cuthbert, bishop of Durham, and Nicholas, bishop of Rochester. Printed by Richard Grafton, cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum, 1541." The printing this Bible was looked upon as a great point gained for the Reformation; but still the fires of Smithfield blazed with the bodies of protestants as well as papists. Cranmer, imperceptibly, was gaining ground on many of the grossest absurdities of the church of Rome: he had wrote a preface to the lately published translation of the Bible, which had been translated by Tindal, and revised by Coverdale: and even Bonner was obliged to fix up six copies of the same in his cathedral of St. Paul's. In this convocation he proposed, with Henry's leave, that candles, silk habits, and other ornaments of images might be taken away; and he desired that each morning and evening a chapter of the New Testament should be read in every church.

Towards the latter end of his reign Henry became more and more arbitrary, both in spirituals and temporals. The archbishops of Canterbury and York, Bonner, bishop of London, and several other prelates, were fain to make conveyances in his favour of many manors belonging to their respective dioceses, upon very slight considerations; and these deeds were confirmed by parliament, which had already vested in him all the colleges, free chapels, and other remaining religious endowments. In the last year of his reign the French king sent over Annibault, his admiral, with a proposal for abolishing the mass in both kingdoms; and Henry relished the scheme so well, that he ordered Cranmer to draw up the form of a communion to be substituted in the room of it; but his death prevented it from being put in execution.

When Edward succeeded to the throne, the archbishop exerted all his influence to complete the Reformation. The king had been instructed by tutors who were attached to the protestant doctrines; and the protector openly favoured that religion. Cranmer was assisted by Barlow, bishop of St. David's, Ridley, afterwards bishop of London, and several other able preachers, who, by their zeal and elocution, contributed to the success of his endeavours. Gardiner perceiving, by the complexion of the ministry and the inclinations of the people, that he should be of very little service to the cause of popery by openly opposing the tenets of the Reformation, endeavoured to check the progress of them by representing to the protector, that all innovations during a minority would produce confusion and disturbance in the state, and proposing that matters of religion should continue in the state they were left at the death of Henry, until the reigning king should take the management of affairs into his own hands. Very little regard was paid to his insinuations. A book written against the corruptions of popery, and published by Harman, archbishop and elector of Cologne, was now translated into the English language, and printed at London by the direction of Cranmer. This performance made a strong impression on the minds of the people; which were farther enlightened by Marcat's Declaration of the Mass, and a Paraphrase of Erasmus on the New Testament, which were carefully translated, and published for the general use of the nation. Glasier, in a sermon at St. Paul's church, affirmed that the institution of Lent was no more than a politic law; and others preached against the other parts of the popish worship: but these were vehemently opposed by the inferior clergy, who derived their subsistence from the fees they received by the sacrament and other sacramentals, and chiefly by singing masses for the departed souls of the poor, for which they charged two pence a mass. These therefore were enemies to the Reformation, which would have deprived them of bread; and they were supported by Gardiner, Bonner, and Tonstal, who declared against all alteration in religion; but the chief of the party was the princess Mary, who now openly espoused the regulations of her father, and in particular the act of the Six Articles.

It may not be amiss in this place to give a short account of the English bishops at this juncture, extracted from the best authorities, as it will serve to shew the reader what difficulties Cranmer had to struggle with in promoting the Reformation.

Holgate, archbishop of York, Holbeach, bishop of Worcester, Goodrick, bishop of Ely, and Ridley bishop elect of Rochester, seconded Cranmer's designs: Latimer, who had quitted his bishopric in the late reign, lived in retirement with Cranmer at Lambeth, without being reinstated in his see: Heath, who had succeeded Latimer, was of any religion that could secure his own preferment: Thirlby, made bishop of Westminster by Henry, was an excellent courtier and a fine gentleman, but a strict papist: Skip, bishop of Hereford, was a time-server, though he had been raised by Anne Boleyn for his zeal for the Reformation: Day, bishop of Chichester, seems to have been a man of conscience, but inclined more to popery than the Reformation: King, bishop of Oxford, was always of the same religion with the prince upon the throne:

throne: *Chambre*, bishop of Peterborough, was a court bishop, and we know little of his principles: *Tonstal*, bishop of Durham, was a prelate of virtue and moderation, and well-affected to the royal supremacy, but was a papist in the belief of transubstantiation and other points: *Goodrick*, bishop of Ely, was, as we have already seen, a friend to *Cranmer*, but was too good a courtier to be so useful as he might have been to the Reformation: *Sampson*, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, had espoused the royal reformation against the pope, but was a papist and time-serving prelate: *Salcot*, otherwise called *Capon*, bishop of Salisbury, was a worthless and mercenary man, and a papist: *Knight*, bishop of Bath and Wells, was looked upon to be a good statesman, but in matters of religion he seems to have been indifferent: *Vesey*, bishop of Exeter, minded little of religious matters, but supported great pomp and figure in life, and, upon a valuable consideration, resigned his bishopric in this reign; but inclining to popery, resumed it in the next: *Bush*, bishop of Bristol, was a man of learning and merit, therefore we may suppose him to have favoured the Reformation: *Aldrich*, bishop of Carlisle, was a man of learning, but a time-server, and in his heart a papist: *Bird*, bishop of Chester, though married, was a papist, as appeared by the encouragement he met with under queen *Mary*. *Barlow*, bishop of St. David's, had been advanced by the recommendation of queen *Anne Boleyn* to *Wolsey*, and continued his zeal for reformation; he likewise was married: *Kitchen*, bishop of Llandaff, was a mean mercenary prelate, and if he had any religion, it was popish: and the same may be said of *Bulkeley*, bishop of Bangor, and of *Durphew*, bishop of St. Asaph.

On the fifth of November, 1547, the convocation met, and *Taylor*, dean of Lincoln, was chosen prolocutor. *Cranmer* opened the assembly with a speech, in which he pressed the members to a farther reformation, that the remains of popery might be entirely laid aside. The lower house presented four petitions to the upper house, praying that the ecclesiastical laws might be reviewed and published, pursuant to a statute enacted in the late reign; that the clergy of the lower house might be admitted to sit in parliament with the commons, according to the ancient usage; that the corrections made by the bishops and others, in the offices of divine service, by order of this convocation, might be laid before the house; and that the rigour of the statute for the payment of the first-fruits might be mitigated. The attendance of the lower clergy in parliament had been two hundred years in disuse, and therefore no regard was paid to this petition. It was resolved, however, that some bishops and divines should be appointed to labour for the reformation of the church-service. In this convocation a motion was made for annulling all canons, laws, and usages, against the marriage of priests; and likewise all vows of celibacy; and a resolution taken to administer the communion in both kinds. This was immediately confirmed by act of parliament.

At the same time the privy-council published a proclamation, indemnifying all those who had omitted carrying candles on Candlemas-day, taking ashes on Ash-Wednesday, creeping to the cross, carrying palms, and other ceremonies of superstition. They likewise directed a mandate to the

archbishop of Canterbury, for a general suppression of images; and this order was rigorously put into execution, though not without a dangerous opposition. *Cranmer's* next care was to form a committee for reforming the offices of the church: it was composed of eminent preachers and doctors in divinity, who proceeded with great accuracy and circumspection. A form being drawn up for the communion in both kinds, was published by the king's proclamation, and the book distributed to all the parishes of England.

The new Liturgy being established, and the act of Uniformity passed, another visitation was set on foot: the instructions given to the visitors imported, that in all parish-churches, the service should be read in a plain audible voice, as the people did not understand it while the priests retained the tone they used in reading Latin prayers: that some of the old rites should be abolished, such as priests kissing the altar, the practice of crossing, lifting the book from one place to another, breathing on the bread and shewing it before the distribution, praying by beads, and substituting a certain number of Ave Marias for one Pater noster: that the priest should exhort the people to remember the box of the poor; and that curates should catechise at least once in six weeks: that the communion should not be sold in trentals; and that there should be but one communion in one church, except on Easter-day and Christmas, when people came to the sacrament in greater numbers: and that no market should be held, or bargains made, in churches or churchyards, especially in time of divine service, or sermon. *Cranmer* at the same time held a provincial visitation, in which the articles were drawn according to the king's injunction. The council sent orders to London, to forbid special masses in St. Paul's church, and to take care that there should be only one communion at the great altar. *Gardiner* also, to whom the new Common Prayer and the other offices, composed by the committee, were extremely disagreeable, exerted all his eloquence and influence in exciting the people to reject such innovations; he was several times summoned before the council, and reprimanded, for the liberties he had taken in defending popery: at length he flatly told the protector duke of Somerset, that, as a bishop, he could not be answerable to his own conscience for omitting to preach upon the mass and eucharist, which he had conceived to be the principal points of the Christian religion. He was therefore committed to the Tower, and all his papers were secured.

In the year 1551, *Cranmer* and the other prelates of the Reformation, at the remonstrances of *Peter Martyr* and *Calvin*, the famous reformer of Geneva, were prevailed upon to suffer a revival and correction of the Book of Common Prayer. This was accordingly done, and some alterations were made in things which *Cranmer* had rather tolerated for the sake of bringing over the papists, than for any opinion he had of their efficacy. The use of oil and the sign of the cross were omitted in confirmation; as was extreme unction in the visitation of the sick; and the prayers for the dead, in the communion and burial services. Many other alterations also took place, to the discredit of transubstantiation; and some considerable variations were made in the forms of delivering the consecrated elements. *Cranmer* then, by order of the king and council, proceeded to draw up articles of religion, for greater

greater uniformity of doctrine and practice: this was a favourite measure with Cranmer, and we have elsewhere mentioned the progress which he made in it. They were afterwards published, and differ only in some particulars from those authorized by Elizabeth in 1562.

In the last parliament of Edward, an act was passed for dividing the diocese of Durham into two bishoprics, one of which was denominated the see of Newcastle. The council afterwards appointed visitors, to make an enquiry about the plate, jewels, and other furniture, in all cathedrals and churches, and compare what they should find with the inventories made in former visitations, that they might know how far, and in what manner, it had been embezzled.

Upon the accession of queen Mary, all the deprived popish bishops were restored, and consequently the protestants, who had filled their sees, were set aside; and a letter was issued to the bishops, attended by a proclamation, forbidding all exercises of preaching and expounding the Scriptures, without the queen's licence: and one of Mary's first measures, after the parliament met, was to repeal Edward's laws in favour of the Reformation, and to restore religion to the state Henry VIII. had left it in. Another act was made against affronting priests, and another repealing all acts allowing marriage in the clergy. Upon the suppression of Wyatt's rebellion, the queen directed instructions to bishops for visiting their clergy. Those instructions inveighed strongly against the religion established by king Edward, and then proceeded to require, "that the bishops, and others having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall, with all possible expedition, put the canons and ecclesiastical laws in execution, which were formerly used in the reign of king Henry VIII. provided they are not contrary to the laws and statutes of the realm: that no bishop, or ecclesiastical officer, shall in any instrument of process insert the clause, "*regia auctoritate fultus*:" that the oath of primacy or succession, that is, the oath of supremacy, should not be imposed on the clergy at ordination or admission to benefices; with many others in favour of popery, too numerous to be here inserted.

After this, commissions were issued for depriving the bishops who had been favourable to the Reformation; and according to bishop Burnet, no fewer than twelve thousand clergymen, throughout England, were turned out of their benefices, on account of their being married. Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, were committed, by the queen's order, to the mayor and bailiffs of Oxford, where they were obliged to dispute with four popish divines in public, and treated with the most insolent partiality. Those who were imprisoned in and about London, drew up repeated addresses and petitions to the queen and parliament; and these being altogether neglected, their friends and partizans were inflamed into some indecencies against the government, which were productive of a severe persecution.

In the beginning of this reign a great number of English protestants retired to the continent, and settled in several places. Those residing at Franckfort were greatly influenced by John Knox, the Scottish reformer, who exclaimed against the English Liturgy, and was a violent assertor of purity in the church-government. These principles produced a schism among the English refugees:

those who had retired to Zurich disclaimed all such innovations: Knox and Wittingham consulted Calvin, who disapproved the English service. Nevertheless, they agreed to compromise the difference, and to compile a new liturgy from those of England and Geneva. Dr. Cox, however, with some other refugees, arriving at Franckfort, acquired a majority in the assembly, and fixed the imputation of treason upon Knox and his party. They supported the charge from parts of his own writings, levelled not only at queen Mary, but against the emperor, so that he was obliged to take refuge in Geneva; and Cox modelled the church at Franckfort according to the English constitution.

In the mean while the persecution, as we have seen in the civil part of the history, proceeded very warmly in England; and a resolution was taken, if possible, to bring into the universities a test for purging them of all protestants, and to prevent their admission for the future: this was done by way of oath, which being very remarkable, I shall here transcribe:

"You shall swear by the holy contents of this book, that you shall not keep, hold, maintain, and defend, at any time, during your life, any opinion erroneous or error of Wickliff, Hus, Luther, or any other condemned of heresy; and that you shall keep, hold, maintain, and defend, generally and especially, all such articles and points as the catholic church of Rome believeth, holdeth, or maintaineth, at this time; and that ye shall allow and accept, maintain and defend, for their power, all traditions, institutions, rites, ceremonies, and laudable customs of the said church of Rome as she taketh them, alloweth them, and approveth them; and that you shall generally and especially hold as the said catholic church holdeth, in all those articles wherein lately hath been controversy, dissention, and error, as concerning faith and works, grace and free-will, of sin [in a good work, of the sacrifice of the New Testament, of the priesthood of the new law, of communion under both kinds, of baptism and Christian liberty, of monastic vows, of fastings and choice of meats, of the single life of priests, of the church, of the canonical books, of the form of holding of matters not expressed in Scripture, of the inerrability of general councils in faith and manners, of the power of the church to make laws, of the church's sacraments, and efficacy of the power of excommunication conferred upon the church, of punishing heretics, of the sacrifice of the mass, of purgatory, of worshipping saints and praying to them, of worshipping the images of saints, of pilgrimages, of evangelical precepts and councils; and likewise of all other articles wherein controversy or dissention hath been in the church before this day."

It doth not appear that this oath was pressed more than one year; for, towards the end of the year 1557, the queen was so much exasperated upon being informed, that, notwithstanding all the severe methods that had been used, the number of English heretics was rather increased than diminished, that she issued out commissions that fell very little short of the inquisition. Among other sufferers, was John Rough, a Scotchman, who had signaled his zeal for the Reformation, both in his own country and in England, where he held a benefice in Yorkshire; the government therefore finding that he had enjoyed a local protection, ordered him to be tried before Bonner, who condemned him to

the stake, and he was burned in Smithfield, together with a woman of the same communion. These, and the many raging inhumanities of this time, were principally promoted, as we have already seen, by cardinal Pole, who went to a ridiculous degree of zeal.

About this time, Weston, dean of Westminster, was prevailed on, or intimidated, to surrender the foundation of that house, which was again converted into an abbey, and the government of it bestowed upon Dr. Fecknam, dean of St. Paul's, who had under him fourteen monks. The queen likewise restored and rebuilt the convent of Observants, at Greenwich, in gratitude for their having distinguished themselves in opposition to her father's divorce from her mother: she likewise restored the nunnery of Sion, near Brentford, in Middlesex; and furnished the ancient monastery of Sheen, near Richmond, in Surry, with a convent of Carthusians. The fraternity of Knights Hospitallers of Jerusalem was refounded, and sir Thomas Tresham was made lord-prior; but he dying, that dignity was conferred upon sir Richard Shelley, whose preferment was confirmed by the pope, and he was the last grand-master of that order in England. Mary likewise re-endowed the hospital in the Savoy; and made an attempt to resettle the monastery of Glastonbury. Towards the end of this reign Pole gave out articles of enquiry for the visitation of his diocese of Canterbury, which regarded both clergy and laity, and were well calculated to promote the detestable persecution that then raged. The other chief ecclesiastical events of this reign are mentioned in the civil history.

Upon the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, all the ecclesiastical measures which had been taken in the last reign were reversed. Soon after the queen's coming to the crown, she, by proclamation, ordered the English Liturgy, as it was used in her own chapel, together with the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Epistles and Gospels, to be read in all churches and chapels throughout her dominions, in the vulgar tongue; her first parliament restored the first-fruits and tenths to the crown; the supreme government of the state ecclesiastical, and the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of Sacraments in the English Tongue, were also restored: and thus, by degrees the protestant religion was again established. The bishops that refused the oath of supremacy were all removed, and protestant bishops placed in their room. It was enacted, that all persons should go to divine service on Sundays and holidays; and a fine of one shilling was imposed upon every absentee, the same to be given to the poor. The queen, in virtue of her restored supremacy, prepared a set of injunctions, which contains so good an account of the declared sense of the church of England in matters of religion at this time, that I cannot refuse the reader a perusal of them.

"It was no where declared, either in the Scriptures, or by the primitive church, that priests might not have wives; upon which many, in king Edward's time, had married: yet great offence was given by the indecent marriages some of them made. To prevent the like scandal for the future, it was ordered, that no priest or deacon should marry without allowance from the bishop, two justices of the peace, and the consent of the wo-

man's parents or friends. All the clergy were to use habits according to the degrees in their universities; the queen declaring that this was not done for any holiness in them, but for order and decency. No man might use any charm, or consult with such as did. All were to resort to their own parish-churches, except on extraordinary occasions. Inn-keepers were to sell nothing in the time of divine service. None were to keep images, or other monuments of superstition in their houses. None might preach but such as were licenced by their ordinary. In all places they were to examine the causes why any, in the late reign, had been imprisoned, punished, or put to death, upon the pretence of religion; and all registers were to be searched for it. In every parish the ordinary was to name three or four discreet persons, who were to see that all the parishioners did duly resort on Sundays and holidays to church; and those who did not, and upon admonition did not amend, were to be denounced to the ordinary. On Wednesdays and Fridays the Common Prayer and Litany were to be used in all churches. All slanderous words, as Priest, Heretic, Schismatic, and Sacramentarian, were to be forborne, under severe penalties. No books might be printed without a licence from the queen, the archbishop, the bishop of London, the chancellor of either of the universities, or the bishop or archdeacon where it was printed. All were to kneel at their prayers, and to shew a reverence when the name of Jesus was pronounced." Then follows an explanation of the oath of supremacy, in which the queen declared, "that she did not pretend to any authority for administering divine service in the church; and that all she challenged, was that which at all times had belonged to the temporal crown of England: that she had the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons, under God, so that no foreign power had any rule over them; and if those who had formerly appeared to have any scruples about it, took it in that sense, she was well pleased to accept of it, and did acquit them of all penalties in the act." The next was about altars and communion-tables: she ordered, that for the future, for the preventing of riots, no altar should be taken down without the consent of the curates and church-wardens; that a communion-table should be made for every church; and that, on sacrament-days, it should be set in some convenient place in the chancel, and at other times it should be placed where the altar had stood. The sacrament-bread was ordered to be round and plain, without any figure on it, but somewhat broader and thicker than the cakes formerly prepared for the mass. Then the form of bidding-prayer was prescribed, with some variation from that of king Edward's time; for whereas to the thanksgiving for God's blessing to the church in the saints departed this life, a prayer was added, "that they with us, and we with them, may have a glorious resurrection;" now the words *they with us*, as seeming to import a prayer for the dead, were left out.

The queen next gave orders for a royal visitation of the clergy all over England. The commissioners were chiefly laymen, to whom she committed her whole supremacy. The English refugees now returned to their own country; the greater part of them with strong prejudices against the church-service; and several foreign princes interceded

terceded with the queen in behalf of those dissenters, that they might be indulged with the liberty of a separate worship. This, however, she would never grant, though they enjoyed a toleration by her connivance. Dr. Parker was prevailed upon to accept the archbishopric of Canterbury; and the papists affected afterwards to ridicule the irregularity of his ordination, which they branded with the name of Nag's-head Consecration, because, after he had been consecrated at Lambeth chapel, the officers of the court of Canterbury were entertained at a tavern of that name in Cheapside: it appears, however, from incontestible evidence, that he was duly consecrated; and thus authorized, he proceeded to the consecration of other prelates, who were elected into vacant sees. Jewell, bishop of Salisbury, published a list of the absurdities in the church of Rome, and declared from the pulpit, that if any papist would make good a single proposition of those he had stigmatized, either from the Scripture, from the ancient fathers, or councils, he would give up the contest, and subscribe himself a profelyte. He afterwards distinguished himself by his *Apology for the Church of England*; and acquired great reputation for learning all over Europe.

In proportion as England, by the wisdom of its queen, enjoyed the blessings of peace and plenty, with the esteem and veneration of all its neighbours, religious heats increased within it. The prodigious influx into England of foreign sectaries,

driven hither by persecution, had infused into many of the common people an inclination for the plainer modes of worship practised abroad; and several English noblemen, allured by the sweets of sacrilege, were so forward in encouraging such doctrines, that in a few years a formidable party was formed in England against the church.

This party, which was known by the name of the Puritans, as affecting strict evangelical purity in the doctrine, habit, and ceremonies of holy worship, was chiefly under the guidance of Thomas Cartwright, of the university of Cambridge, under whom, and the auspices of Theodore Beza, a foreigner, they greatly gained ground, and grew so troublesome to the queen and kingdom, by their writings and preachings, and publicly refusing to attend the divine service of the established church, or conform to any of its rites, that Elizabeth, to suppress them, was obliged, in the year 1569, to publish a proclamation enjoining uniformity of worship and ecclesiastical habits, and that all the books of the dissenters should be delivered into the hands of the bishops, or the queen's council, under pain of imprisonment to those who concealed them. Cartwright, however, still continued to publish pamphlets in defence of his tenets*. He was seconded by one Edward Deringe, who gave lectures in St. Paul's cathedral, and a presbytery was formed at the village of Wandsworth, on the model of the Geneva institution. Some dignitaries

* I have, in this note, given the reader the heads of his opinions, by which he will perceive the total sum of the objections of the dissenters to the church at this period.

"I. The names and functions of archbishops and archdeacons ought to be suppressed,

"II. The names of the lawful ministers of the church, such as bishops and deacons, when abstracted from the office described in the Holy Scriptures, are likewise to be rejected, and the whole brought back to the apostolical institution: and thus the bishops function ought to be limited to praying and preaching, and the deacons to take care of the poor.

"III. The government of the church ought not to be intrusted with bishops, chancellors, or archdeacons officials, but in the hands of the ministers and elders of the same church.

"IV. That the ministry ought not to live at large, but that every one ought to be tied to a particular congregation.

"V. That nobody ought to solicit for the function of a minister, nor stand candidate as it were for that employment.

"VI. That ministers ought not to be ordained by the sole authority of the bishop; much less are they to receive orders in a study, or such private place: but this office ought to be confirmed by a public choice of the congregation."

Besides these heterodoxies and misrepresentations of the government of the church, there were several unsound propositions maintained by Cartwright and his party; and of these the chancellor had an account sent him this year: these were ranged under the following articles.

"I. In reforming the church, it is necessary to proceed upon the first model, and to bring every thing up to an apostolical institution.

"II. None ought to be admitted into the ministry, unless qualified for teaching; and those who have no claim for this function, ought to forfeit their character, and be discharged.

"III. Preaching, praying, and administering the sacraments, ought to be performed by the same person: from hence it follows, that those who are ministers of the word, that is, those who cannot preach, ought neither to pray publicly for the congregation, nor administer the sacraments.

"IV. Popish priests have no authority to be ministers of the Gospel by virtue of their own ordination.

"V. Nothing but canonical Scripture ought to be publicly read in the church.

"VI. The church liturgy ought to be so formed for the public service, that no allowance should be left for private prayer or reading; but that all the audience should attend to the minister, whether preaching or praying.

"VII. That the office of burying the dead belongs no more to the minister, than to the rest of the parish.

"VIII. That all portions of Scripture, all names and distinctions of God Almighty, are to be treated with the same reverence and regard: and therefore it is against reason to enjoin the people to stand at the reading of the Gospel, or to bow, and pull off their hats, at the name of Jesus.

"IX. That sitting at the holy communion is as lawful and defensible a posture, as standing or kneeling; and, over and above, it is more convenient, because it gives a better image of a supper.

"X. That the sacrament ought not to be delivered in private places, nor by the ministers themselves, and much less by women and private persons, as baptism is sometimes administered to infants, and the Lord's supper to those in danger of death.

"XI. That to make use of the sign of the cross in the baptism of infants is a superstitious practice, and the customary reasons for the use of this ceremony, makes it still more intolerable.

"XII. It is very reasonable that the father should present the child to the church for baptism, and make a profession of what faith he intends to instruct him in; and that this ought to be done without representing, form, or answering, "I will," "I will not," "I believe," and so forth, in the name of the infant: neither is it to be suffered that the child's name should be given by a woman in the church; or that an ignorant one should engage for the education of the infant. By an ignorant one, is meant one not qualified to receive the Lord's supper.

"XIII. That in giving the names at baptism, all resemblance of paganism should be avoided; and besides, the names of officers should be declined upon such occasions, as that of Christ, Angel, Baptist, &c.

"XIV. That to forbid matrimony at certain times of the year is quite a popish fancy; but to take money for a licence within the times prohibited, is still more intolerable.

"XV. To give any persons liberty to marry without acquainting the congregation, who are the proper judges of the impediment (in case there should be any) is unlawful.

"XVI. The keeping Lent, together with Friday and Saturday, either upon motives of superstition, or otherwise, is unlawful; neither is it a sufficient defence to settle the keeping those fasts upon reasons of state.

"XVII. Keeping the holidays is unlawful, and so are fairs, upon the Lord's day.

"XVIII. These words, "Receive the Holy Ghost," at the ordination of ministers, is a ridiculous and wicked expression.

"XIX. Kings and bishops ought not to be anointed." Collier, vol. ii. p. 525, 526.

of the church took up the pen, and answered some pamphlets: a proclamation was issued for executing the laws against nonconformists, and some of the principal dissenters were suspended, deprived, and imprisoned. The severities exercised against them were chiefly attributed to archbishop Parker, who suspected them of practices against his person. He had always been a bitter enemy to their opinions, and now, perceiving they were countenanced by persons of high rank, he complained that the church had no friend at court but the queen herself. She ordered the lord high-treasurer Burleigh to make a severe speech in the council against nonconformity: she declared against the religious exercises of the dissenters, and seemed at this juncture inclined to a persecution; for ten Dutchmen and one woman were condemned to the stake for heresy, though the sentence was afterwards mitigated into banishment; yet two persons of the same nation were actually burned in Smithfield.

Hitherto the papists in England had lived free from persecution, nay they were even indulged with the liberty of solemnizing their own rites within their private houses, though against the laws then in being; but when that hot haughty prelate, pope Pius V. in the year 1569, fulminated his bull against Elizabeth, by which he deprived her of her crown, and absolved her subjects from their obedience and allegiance to her, the government, well knowing what vast swarms of missionaries were then in England, thought it necessary to redouble its circumspection upon the popish party. Many gentlemen of the inns of court were brought before the archbishop of Canterbury, and not giving a satisfactory account of their principles, were sent to prison. The gentlemen in the commission of peace all over England were obliged to sign an instrument, professing their conformity to, and belief in, the established religion; and in the next parliament, which sat in the year 1571, the law was enacted against those who brought into, or offered to publish in England, any bulls or mandates from the pope, &c. already mentioned in the civil history of this reign†: yet, for six whole years together, after this law was made, it was not executed upon any papist, till Cuthbert Mayne, a priest, and an obstinate maintainer of the pope's authority over that of the queen, was executed at Launceston, in Cornwall; and a country gentleman who had harboured him, had his goods confiscated, and himself adjudged to perpetual imprisonment.

Archbishop Parker dying in 1575, was succeeded in the see of Canterbury by Grindal, of York, a prelate of great moderation towards the puritans. In his first convocation, some articles for the regulation of the clergy were agreed upon; and in the summer after he made a metropolitical visitation. The articles of his injunctions manifest a becoming concern for the doctrines and worship of the church; but appearing too zealous for the puritans, the members of the Star-chamber, by virtue of their ecclesiastical commission, confined him to his house, and suspended him for six months from his jurisdiction. At length, however, he was restored to his functions, which he exercised until, finding himself pressed with age and infirmities, he resigned his archbishopric in 1583, and retired to Croydon, where he soon after died.

He was succeeded by Dr. John Whitgift, bishop of Worcester, a divine who had already distinguished himself by his learning and regard for the church of England. The beginning of his administration was pestered with the sect of Brownists, so called from their founder, Robert Brown, an English gentleman of Rutlandshire, who refused to join the congregation in any public office of worship, and out-did all the other puritans in railing against the church. Brown having written some pamphlets that were obnoxious to the ministers of the state and Gospel, Elias Thacker and John Copping, who had dispersed some of them, were prosecuted by the government, and executed for their crime. As to Brown himself, he was a poor unsteady wrong-headed man; he was saved from the gallows by being kinsman to the lord Burleigh; he next conformed, and then relapsed, and conforming again, had a benefice given him: at last he died in jail, into which he had been thrown for the breach of the peace: his sect, however, continued very numerous. But Whitgift was a prelate of great resolution, and pressed conformity as vigorously as the queen could wish him: finding the dissenters, among other things, had confined the queen's supremacy to a temporal jurisdiction, he took occasion to represent them to Elizabeth as agreeing with the papists on that head. Elizabeth could not brook the least opposition of this kind, and finding Whitgift to be a prelate according to her own mind, she remitted all ecclesiastical businesses to him, that she might be free from the importunities of the great patrons of the dissenters.

The first thing, therefore, that Whitgift did, was to press the clergy of his own diocese to subscribe to the following articles, which had been declared lawful by the civilians and judges of England.

"I. That the bishop, but no other inferior judge, may punish any person, ecclesiastical or lay, by a pecuniary mulct, for an ecclesiastical crime or offence, especially if he sees the party more afraid of such a penalty than the church censures.

"II. By the ecclesiastical law, the ordinary may set a pecuniary punishment upon such as absent themselves from divine service without reasonable excuse, especially when his absence proceeds from contempt.

"III. Some canonists affirm, that a bishop may make an ordinance, that an excommunicated person shall pay ten thousand pounds for every month he stands excommunicated out of contempt."

The pressing those articles raised such a storm of calumny against the archbishop as must have crushed him, had he not been powerfully supported by Elizabeth. After various tentatives to reclaim the dissenters, Whitgift at last gave the heads of them a meeting at Lambeth, in presence of the earl of Leicester and other ministers, who, though puritanically inclined, could not help deciding in his favour. Nevertheless, in the next parliament, a strong party in the house of commons joined in a petition to the upper house in favour of the nonconformists; but they were baffled by the vigilance of the archbishop, who prevailed upon the queen to quash all objections from the house of commons, and inflict farther severities on the dissenters; they were subjected to the oath "ex officio," as often as it should be administered, on pain of imprison-

† See p. 382, of this volume.

ment. Cartwright was sent to the Fleet for refusing it; Udal, one of their preachers, was condemned to death; and Penry was executed for having written some satirical libels.

The other ecclesiastical occurrences of this reign are very inconsiderable; I shall therefore only observe, that the dissenters, who, like all other sects, increased under persecution, now swarmed all over England; and at last they disputed the legality of the ecclesiastical commission under which they had suffered so great severities, and the matter was solemnly argued at the bar, in an action brought by one Caudrey, a deprived minister: many learned arguments were produced on each side the question;

but the judges came to a resolution, that if the act of supremacy had never been made, the king or queen of England, for the time being, might establish such an ecclesiastical commission as was then in force, by the ancient prerogative and law of England. Some time after this, one John Greenwood, a priest, and Henry Barrow, a gentleman, were, to the shame of Christianity, executed for not thinking like the queen and her council; but Cartwright, relenting in his opposition, had some indulgence shewn him: and, in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, the farther execution of the more sanguinary laws against dissenters were, for reasons of state, judged proper to be remitted.

OF LEARNING and LEARNED MEN in the XVIth CENTURY.

LEARNING, on its revival, was held in great estimation by the English princes and nobles; and as it was not yet prostituted by being too common, even the great deemed it an object of ambition to attain a character for literature: the four successive sovereigns, Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, may be, on one account or other, admitted into the class of authors. Queen Catherine Parr translated a book; lady Jane Grey, considering her age, her sex, and her station, may be regarded as a prodigy of literature; sir Thomas Smith was raised from being professor at Cambridge, first to be ambassador to France, and afterwards secretary of state. The dispatches of those times, and among others those of Burleigh himself, are frequently interlarded with quotations from the Greek and Latin classics: even the ladies of the court valued themselves on knowledge; lady Burleigh, lady Bacon, and their two sisters, were mistresses of the ancient as well as the modern languages, and valued themselves more on their erudition than on their rank and quality. But to be more particular:

Cardinal Wolsey may be said to have been the father of revived learning in England, in this century. He had before him the same which Leo X. the finest gentleman of his age, had acquired by restoring more than an Augustan age. In Italy, Bembo, Vida, Sannazarius, and more great poets and writers than ever appeared in any one nation at any one time, all found encouragement and protection, either from the bounty or through the example of his holiness. Painting, sculpture, and architecture, now started at once to that height from which they have been ever since declining. Wolsey had a soul exquisitely susceptible of the glory arising from a patronage, that gives surer immortality than power or titles can communicate. The learning of the English in general, at this time, was equally useless and heavy, and their taste none. Wolsey saw this, and had the virtue to attempt to improve the one, and introduce the other. He had himself as much learning as was sufficient for a gentleman, and more than was useful for a statesman. Mr. Guthrie, in his History of England, has favoured us with a letter of this great man, addressed to the masters of a school he founded at Ipswich, which does great honour to his style, his taste, and his judgment: it contains the method of teaching and education that was to be observed in that school; and it is no small reproach to Eng-

lish literature, that this piece, the most perfect of its kind that we know of, must have been utterly lost here, had it not been preserved in a foreign grammar, which, by great accident, fell into the hands of a late laborious antiquary.

I am pleased that I can here introduce the reader to some acquaintance with this curious piece, as it fully confirms the character of the cardinal's taste and learning. It is drawn up as a scholar, and at the same time as a gentleman would express himself, were it not perhaps in too princely a style: it is prefaced by a letter to his two schoolmasters, where he pays great compliments to their functions, and exhorts them strongly to the faithful discharge of their duty. He then lays down the method of education to be observed in his school, and orders the boys to be divided into eight classes: he orders those in the first class to be instructed in the eight parts of speech, and to be taught to pronounce the Latin in a full, open, elegant manner. The second class is to practise the speaking of Latin: every boy is to have a note-book, and being well grounded in his rudiments, he is to be exercised in translating some quick, witty, pertinent saying from English into Latin: they are in this class to read no author but their rudiments; though the masters are at liberty to teach them, if they pleased, Lily's *Carmen Monitorium*, or Cato's *Distichs*: "Nimirum (says the cardinal) *formandi oris gratia*." To the third class his eminency recommended the reading of *Æsop*, for the improvement of their ordinary style, because of that author's pure, neat, polite, and pleasant language: along with this study he recommends the learning of Lily upon Nouns, but without enjoining it. The fourth class is to read Virgil, that prince of poets, as the cardinal calls him; and he orders the masters to make the boys read the majesty of his verse aloud, in full sonorous tone. There is something so genteely expressed by the cardinal, when he comes to speak of the fifth class, that I cannot help transcribing and translating it: "*Imprimis hoc unum admonendum censuerimus, ut neque plagis severioribus, neque vultuosis minis, aut ulla tyrannidis specie tenera pubes afficiatur. Hac enim injuriâ ingenii alacritas, aut exingui, aut magnâ ex parte obtundi solet.*"—"In the first place, I think it proper to put you upon your guard, that tender youth is not to be treated with severe whippings, or blustering threatenings, nor with the least appearance of tyranny; for by such usage a forward

genius is commonly either quite crushed, or at least in a great measure blunted." After this preface, he recommends to the fifth class Cicero's Select Epistles, as being, in his opinion, the best book for obtaining the richness and copiousness of style. The sixth class are appointed to read books of history, such as Sallust, or Cæsar's Commentaries; and, by the bye, he recommends it to the masters to teach the students in this class, the knowledge of defective, anomalous, and heteroclite verbs, out of Lilly. The seventh class are enjoined to read the Epistles of Horace, with Ovid's Metamorphoses and Fasti; they are likewise to be taught composition of verses and epistles; to reduce verse to prose, and prose to verse; and to have always in the morning some specimen of their composition ready: and the cardinal concludes his directions to this class in the following amiable manner: "*Interdum laxandus est animus, intermiscendus lusus at liberalis tamen et literis dignus. In ipsis studiis sic voluptas est intermiscenda, ut puer ludum potius discendi quam laborem existimet. Cavendum erit ne immodicâ contentione ingenia discipulorum obruantur, aut lectione prælongâ defatigentur. Utrâque enim juxta offenditur.*"—In the mean time the mind is to be relaxed, and labour to be mixed with diversions, but such diversions as may become a gentleman, and a man of letters. Pleasure is even to be mingled with study itself, that the boy may think learning rather an amusement than a toil. Particular care is to be taken not to hurt the genius of a boy by over-stretching it, nor to fatigue him by too long lessons: both extremities are hurtful." I cannot withstand the temptation of translating the whole of the section relating to the eighth and last class: "Lastly (says his eminence), when the youths, by such exercises, have attained to some knowledge of the language, let them then proceed to the higher rules of grammar, such as the figures, as they are laid down by Donatus Valla, upon elegance, and several ancient writers who treat upon the Latin tongue. In reading those works, we particularly recommend it to you, to endeavour to make yourselves masters of every passage requiring immediate explanation: as, for instance, suppose you were to give the plan of one of Terence's comedies, you are to preface it with a short account of the author's life, his genius, and his manner of writing; you are next to explain the pleasure and profit that attends the reading of comedies; you are then, in a clear but succinct manner, to explain the signification and etymology of the word, to give a summary of the fable, and also an exact description of the nature of the verse; you are afterwards to construe it in its natural order; lastly, you are carefully to mark out to your pupils every striking elegance of style, every antiquated expression, every thing that is new, every grecicised turn, every thing that is obscure, every etymology, derivation, or composition, that may arise, whatever is harsh or confused in the arrangement of the sentence: you are to mark every orthography, every figure, every graceful ornament of style, every rhetorical flourish, whatsoever is proverbial, all passages that ought to be imitated, and all that ought not. Besides, you are to take care in school, that your pupils speak as correctly as possible; you are to applaud the excellent, and you are to mend the incorrect; sometimes you ought in the English language to throw

out a short ground-work for an essay; but let it be somewhat that is excellent: if you please, you are to lay before them certain short rules, by which they may more conveniently handle the subject assigned them.

"When in the school, the students are tinged with such ground-works of learning, they will soon give eminent proofs of what great importance it is to have their tender years formed by the best masters. In the mean while, do you persevere in adorning the country to which you owe so much, with the most liberal studies."

To his zeal for the improvement of youth, the cardinal added all the qualities of a fine gentleman and a polite courtier. Erasmus, one of the best judges of wit and good-manners that ever wrote, in several of his epistles takes particular notice of his politeness and affability: he says, that his manners betrayed nothing of his birth; and that the public was not in greater admiration of his exalted fortune, than of his generous disposition. But it was not for Wolsey to confine his love for learning and the Muses to his own example and munificence, without planting those seminaries, which, in succeeding ages, were productive of many of the noblest fruits of learning. He searched for men of genius and letters, as the lord of a soil does for a rich mine: he employed no ministers but such as were scholars; and under his administration, the dignities of the law, the church, and of the state, were filled with men who had nothing but merit to recommend them. Dr. Clark and Dr. Knight were through him made bishops; Dr. Taylor was made master of the Rolls; Dr. Pace, one of the principal secretaries of state; Dr. Gardiner, who had a very fine turn for letters, was employed in several embassies; not to mention Cromwell and others, who by his means rose to the highest offices in the state, with a vast number of other promotions, equally just and generous.

Wolsey's house, like Cicero's *Tulculanum*, was a retreat to all men of letters, without distinction; they were welcome to his purse, to his library, and to his table. The study of the liberal arts, says the great author I have already quoted, when decayed and degenerated, was by him revived and renewed. Learning, whilst struggling with the patrons of ancient ignorance, was encouraged by his countenance, protected by his authority, embellished by his splendor, and cherished by his munificence. Whenever he heard of a learned foreigner, he settled on him a handsome salary, suitable to his merit, and invited him to England. He employed agents through all countries for making up a library which might vie with that of Ptolemy Philadelphus himself; and revived the study of the three learned languages, the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Latin, without which, to use his own expression, learning itself was but lame.

No mechanic ever worked with more labour in his profession, than the cardinal did with assiduity to adorn England with the luminaries of learning: he brought Matthias Calphurnius, one of the best Greek scholars of his time, from Greece, to teach that language at Oxford; and I am apt to believe it is owing to his labours that England can shew more great men than any other nation can in that language: though Erasmus differed from him greatly, both in political and religious matters, yet he allowed him a large appointment, and offered to provide

provide for him, if he would come to England, either in the church or state: he was the patron of Ludovicus Vives, another learned foreigner, perhaps the best critic of his time, who lived some time in England at the cardinal's invitation: he appointed Lavinius, a pupil and relation of Erasmus, to be his private secretary, and gave him an education worthy his merit. I should tire the reader were I to enumerate all the other instances of Wolsey's regard for the polite arts; I shall therefore close this account of the cardinal with observing, that he did a thousand generous acts for the benefit of learning, for which his memory deserves all the immortality the pen can bestow.

There were many other persons of note in the literary walk during this reign; but it would too much swell our work to enumerate all their names and writings: we must not, however, pass unnoticed Dr. John Collet, dean of St. Paul's, and founder of the school there; nor William Lilly, born at Odiham, in Hampshire, who was first master of St. Paul's school, and composed a grammar of the Latin tongue, which goes by his name, and is still in use in several of our schools; John Leland, that famous searcher of antiquities, flourished also in Henry's time.

The short reign of his successor, Edward VI. furnished very few persons of note, either as swordsmen or scholars. Edward Hall, a barrister at law, wrote a chronicle of the union of the two houses of York and Lancaster, which was well received; and Thomas Sternhold, born at Southampton, turned into English metre the Psalms of David, as we now hear them sung in most of our churches.

During the reign of Mary, bloody and tumultuous as it was, we find several learned men, the chief of whom were John Rogers, a clergyman of Lancashire, who translated the Bible into English, with notes; and Henry, lord Stafford, son to Edward, duke of Buckingham, who, amongst other works he wrote, translated a book out of Latin into English, entitled, "*Utriusque potestatis differentia*," which book, as some think, was first composed by Edward Fox, bishop of Hereford: John Hopkins also translated several of the Psalms into English metre, which, with those of Sternhold, still continue to be sung in the church.

Revived and improved literature made one of the principal glories of Elizabeth's reign; England under her saw an Augustan age! Elizabeth

herself translated several books, and was familiarly acquainted with the Greek as well as Latin tongue. It is pretended that she made an extempore reply in Greek to the university of Cambridge, who had addressed her in that language: it is certain that she answered in Latin without preparation, and in a very spirited manner, to the Polish ambassador, who had been wanting in respect to her; when she had finished, she turned about to her courtiers, and said, "God's death! my lords (for she was much addicted to swearing), I have been forced this day to scour up my old Latin that hath lain long rusting." Elizabeth, after she was queen, did not entirely drop the ambition of appearing as an author: and, next to her desire of admiration for beauty, this seems to have been the chief object of her vanity: she translated Boethius Of the Consolation of Philosophy, in order, as she pretended, to allay her grief for Henry IV's change of religion. As far as we can judge from Elizabeth's compositions, we may pronounce, that, notwithstanding her application and excellent parts, her taste in literature was very indifferent; she was inferior to her successor in this particular, who was himself far from being a just model of eloquence.

Unhappily for literature, at least for the learned of this age, the queen's vanity lay more in shining by her own learning, than in encouraging men of genius by her liberality: this province she left to Leicester, &c.

During this reign England produced a number of excellent poets, such as Spencer, Sidney, Donne, Johnson, Shakespeare, Beaumont, and Fletcher: Fairfax translated Tasso with great ease and elegance, and Harrington translated Ariosto with tolerable accuracy; Bacon acquired immortal renown by his philosophical writings; Camden excelled as an antiquary and historian. In this reign we owe to the patronage of the illustrious great who composed the English court, the strength of Jewell's reasoning, the inimitable style of Hooker, with the extent and variety of Raleigh's learning; it was under Elizabeth that Hobbes formed his first notions; and, towards the latter end of her reign, Cromwell drew his first breath, as if (says a modern author) it had been the will of Heaven, that she should not leave the world without bequeathing to it a spirit equal to her own.

L A W S.

H E N R Y VIII.

THIS king's first parliament sat on the twenty-first of January, 1510, at Westminster. Its laudable design seems to have been chiefly pointed towards relieving the people from the dreadful yoke under which they groaned, through the infamous revival of the penal statutes by Empson and Dudley. Among other statutes, it was now enacted, "that untrue inquisitions found in the reign of king Henry VII. by the procurement of Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, entitling the king to tenures in capite, may be traversed by the parties, though they have had liveryes: and that their livery should be no conclusion." By another act, all assurances made by Emp-

son and Dudley of lands to the use of others, were made void, and their joint feoffees stood seised of the whole. The penal laws against clothworkers were likewise repealed, or mitigated. But the most important act of this parliament, was that determining that all actions for the king, upon any penal statute, should be taken within three years after the offence was committed; and actions for any other person, within one year: this act wisely foreclosed the field of litigation, by ripping up or reviving past offences, since no benefit for a forfeiture could accrue three years after the offence charged or committed.

There likewise passed in this parliament a repeal of that statute made in Henry VII's time giving authority to justices of assize and justices of the peace,

peace, in their sessions, to hear and determine all offences and contempts committed against any statutes in force, saving treason, murder, and felony. A law was likewise made for obliging coroners to do their duty without having the thirteen shillings and four pence advanced to them as a fee; since the meaning of the law was, that the fee should accrue from the estate of the murderer, but not in cases of death by accident or misadventure.

On the fourth of February, 1512, the parliament sat again, when the following acts were passed: That every person carrying beyond seas money, plate, or jewels, should forfeit double the value. This had been a favourite measure in the English government, though it was often broke through for conveniency; but as the English were now upon the eve of a war with France, it was absolutely necessary to enforce it. By another act it was ordained, "That all sorts of men, under the age of forty years, excepting judges and clergymen, should make use of bows and arrows, and practise shooting." This act was occasioned by the experience of the decay of military discipline in England. The use and conveniency of fire-arms bade fair to enervate the bodies of the English, who, by the practice of archery and strength of their arms in drawing the bow, had rendered themselves the terror of Europe; it was therefore provided by the parliament, that those exercises should be revived, not only to improve the natural strength of Englishmen, but because the long-bow and arrow was still a more formidable weapon than any of the small fire-arms that were yet carried to the field. In consequence of this principle, that bodily exercise in the people is absolutely necessary for the defence of the state, another act was made in this parliament, in confirmation of a statute passed in the nineteenth of the late reign, against shooting with cross-bows, and retracting all licences which allowed such exercise.

Two other acts which passed in this parliament, relate entirely to the expedition which was now on foot against France: the first was a kind of extension of the law made in Henry VII's time, and which we have already taken notice of, for empowering all those who followed the king to the wars, to alienate their lands; for it was now provided, that who is or shall be in the king's wars beyond the sea, or on the sea, shall have a protection of "*Profecturus, or Moraturus cum clausula volumus*;" and he may alien his lands holden in capite, without licence: and if he die in that service, his heirs, within age and ward, his executors, feoffees, or assigns, shall have the wardship and marriage towards the performance of his will.

The other act related to false musters, and to penalties upon captains using the same, or defrauding the soldiers of their pay: desertion was made felony without benefit of clergy, and was cognizable by the justices of the peace of that county where the offender was apprehended.

By another act it was provided, "That no person within the city of London, or within seven miles of the same, should practise physic or surgery without being first examined by the bishop of London, or the dean of St. Paul's, who were to be assisted by expert physicians and surgeons. The same provisions were to extend throughout all the other counties in the kingdom, but with this difference, that the number of assistants to be

called in by the bishop there, was left undetermined; and the practitioners approved of at London were not to undergo any second examination: but all this was with a saving clause to the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge of all their rights and privileges.

In the winter of the following year, 1513, an act passed for taking away benefit of clergy from all who committed murder or felony in any consecrated place, or upon the king's highway, or in their houses.

In 1514, the parliament passed an act relating to surgeons, by which they were exempted from serving all constabships and wardships, bearing of arms, and sitting on all juries and inquests, by reason of the continual service and attendance they give day and night, and at all times, to their patients. This privilege is still enjoyed by all persons of that profession.

The parliament of the year 1515, passed many salutary acts; among others, a sumptuary law was enacted against the excessive expence of apparel; and the dress of every degree among the laity was regulated. Another act confirmed and made perpetual the statute of the third of this reign, concerning the maintenance of archery and shooting in long-bows. I am inclined to believe, with lord Herbert, that this precaution chiefly tended to exercise the common people, whom the conveniency of calivers, or hand-guns, then in use, was apt to render idle and effeminate. Another act was made for regulating the wages of artificers and farmers servants; and another for encouragement of husbandry. Another act was made, for regulating the manner of manufacturing woollen cloth, and a severe penalty imposed upon any person that should export Norfolk wool out of the kingdom. Those acts concerning the woollen trade were at this time absolutely necessary, because of the disreputation which the faults in that trade had brought upon English cloths in foreign countries.

But the most remarkable act of this parliament was for remedying an abuse become frequent, from the great hurry the members of the house of commons were generally in for returning into the country before the close of the sessions: it was therefore provided, that such members who shall, without leave from the house, absent themselves from their duty, shall forfeit all their wages to which they are entitled from their constituents. From this act it appears, that the practice of paying wages, viz. four shillings to a knight of the shire, and two shillings at least to a burgess, a day, besides travelling expences, was still continued, and punctually observed. But it is remarkable we know of no coercive power upon the face of this act, which the house of commons before this time had over its own members; and the act itself establishes no other penalty against those who should absent themselves even without leave from the house, besides the loss of their wages. This, however, is no argument that the house might not exercise a compulsory power, by ordering such members into custody; though it is a very strong reason for thinking, that the payment of their wages was then by law so much a debt from the constituents, that, let the behaviour of the representative, after chosen, be what it would, it might be levied by him.

The parliament of 1523 took the state of the coinage into consideration. It was found that the

the increase of trade demanded a greater circulation of money, than the current specie of that time could effect; it was therefore enacted, "That coiners who make money in any mint in England, should coin of every hundred pounds of gold, twenty pounds into half angels, or pieces of forty pence; and of every hundred pounds worth of bullion, plate, or silver, a certain portion into groats, two-pences, pence, and farthings: the farthings to have a different make from the half-penny; that they who bring less than one hundred pounds in bullion, or plate, to the mint, shall have the tenth part thereof in half-pence or farthings; and yet this shall not extend to the mint-masters of York, Durham, or Canterbury." By another statute it was enacted, "That all in the king's service in war, might alienate their lands for the performance of their wills; and if any of them died in the king's service in war, his feoffees or executors should have wardship of his heirs and lands." This gave a new blow to what still remained of the feudal institution, as it left the barons and great tenants at farther liberty to indulge their full enjoyment, at the expence of their estates, of all the luxuries now introduced by the extension of commerce and the increase of coin. Thus many of those great possessions, which, ever since the Conquest, or soon after, had gone from father to son in the same descent, came now into the hands of commoners, and thereby the system of property was almost daily and hourly altered.

The parliament which sat in the year 1530, passed several acts relating to the clergy, which we have mentioned in their proper places; besides which, several acts passed of a civil nature; in particular one act, by which all servants embezzling goods to the value of forty shillings and upwards, within their masters houses, were adjudged to be guilty of felony; and the goods, after conviction, were ordered to be returned to the rightful owners. Another act was made for prohibiting the exportation of brass; probably with a view to encourage the making of great guns. Several regulations about foreign tradesmen likewise passed in this parliament, and they were subjected to the same taxes and duties with natural-born subjects.

In 1532, the twenty-fourth of this king, it was enacted by the parliament, that none should have the benefit of his recourse to his ordinary, excepting those in holy orders, and even they were to give security for their good behaviour. The act, however, did not extend to those, who, being attainted of felony or murder, are afterwards admitted to the benefit of clergy, and so delivered to the ordinary; but the ordinary, having such a person in his custody, might, if he pleased, discharge himself of the same, by degrading him, and sending him to the King's Bench.

By another act in the same session, the places where jails ought to be built and kept, were pointed out: the justices of the peace, in their respective counties, had the power of taxing the inhabitants towards building the jail, and of appointing collectors for raising the money for the same. Another act was made against false verdicts, by which a writ of attainder was followed against every juror giving such verdict; and the jury, if found guilty, was each man to forfeit twenty pounds, one half to go to the king, and the other to the party that sueth.

Another act provided for the importation of all French wines by the king's natural subjects, English, Irish, or Welsh; and that no such wines should be imported between the last day of September and the second day of February: it was farther enacted, that no person should retail French wine for above one penny the pint, and malmsey and sack for one shilling the gallon. Another excellent act was made, extending the statute of the staple (which was before confined between merchant and merchant, and only for the merchandize of the staple) to the rest of the king's subjects: and this, says lord Herbert, not only enlarged contracts, but strengthened the sinews of them.

By another act, another terrible grievance which the subjects laboured under from the clergy's power, was removed. It seems (as the preamble of the act recites) that it had been a common practice to cite people, upon fictitious and surmised causes, from the most distant parts of the kingdom, to the Arches, Audience, and other high courts of the archbishops; and upon their not attending, to lay them under excommunication, or suspension from divine service; it was therefore provided, that no such citation should take place, but in cases specified by the statute.

Another act declared all feoffments of lands to the use of the church, to be void; and that all assurances of lands to churches, communities, or companies of any kinds, were as prejudicial to the lords superiors of such lands, as if they were alienated in mortmain.

Several other acts passed in this parliament, equally beneficial, though not so extensive, in their nature: which were all allowed of by Henry, that he might strengthen his own power against the clergy, and strike the greater terror into the court of Rome.

In 1534, the parliament passed an act, giving power to the chancellor to settle the price of victuals; and all exportation of corn or cattle was prohibited, excepting to the English dominions abroad. By another act, all those who, being regularly indicted, shall stand mute to prevent the course of law, are deprived of the benefit of clergy. Another act was made to prevent the abuse of converting tillage into pasturage, especially for sheep: in the preamble of the act, great complaints are made against this practice, which raised the rents, and enhanced the prices of every thing; it was therefore enacted, "that no man should have in his farmed lands above two thousand sheep; yet that every temporal person may keep upon his inheritance as many as he will: secondly, that no man shall take and hold above two farms at once; and those to be in the same parish, upon certain penalties there set down."

By another act it appears, that the legislature thought it became them to take into consideration the state of printing: an act had been made so far back as the reign of Richard III. for importing books, both printed and manuscript; according to the preamble of this act, made in Henry's reign, there were but few printers within this realm in the reign of Richard III. who were cunning and expert in the said science and craft of printing; but there being now great numbers of that kind, the said act of Richard III. was repealed; and, for the encouragement both of printers and book-binders, it was provided that no man should buy books which

were brought from beyond seas to sell again, if they were bound: that no man shall buy books by retail, brought from beyond seas; and that the prices of books, increased to a miserable rate, were to be qualified by the king's great officers of state, or the justices, or any two of them. Several other acts, not relating to the business of the Reformation, were likewise passed for the benefit of the subject, but are too immaterial to be mentioned here.

The parliament of 1536, undertook and brought about the union of England with Wales, in the manner we have related in the history of this reign; and, in order to introduce a general uniformity, justices of the peace, with like powers as they have in England, were appointed by the lord chancellor of England in the county-palatine of Chester, and the other counties already mentioned. By another, the inhuman forest-laws were taken away. By another, it was enacted, that no person, from the first of July, 1536, should have power and authority to pardon or remit treasons, murders, manslughters, or any felons, or their accessaries, in any part of England, Wales, or the Marches of the same: that likewise none should make justices of oyer, justices of assize, justices of peace, or justices of jail-delivery; but they should be made by the king's letters patent; and that all original writs, and all manner of indictments of treason, felony, and trespass, and all manner of trespass, should be made in the king's name; and things done against the king's peace, should be supposed to be done against the king's peace, and not against the peace of any other person. But, notwithstanding the generality of those acts, a great many privileges still continued to the proprietors of lordships.

It appears that there was as yet in England no determined method established by the municipal law for the trial of pirates, who were left to the forms of the civil law, which did not admit any one to be put to death without first confessing their offences, and required more strict proof of the fact than the nature of the offence would admit of: by this means great numbers of offenders had escaped; and those who were convicted, were often put to the torture for confession: but it was now enacted, that they should be judged by commissioners appointed by the king, and in the same manner as if their offences had been committed on land; and that no benefit of clergy should be allowed the criminal: the act, however, very properly made a distinction between pirates, and those who took things through necessity, upon the sea; the said things, viz. provisions, materials, or utensils for navigating the ship, to be paid for, if taken on this side the streights of Morocco (Gibraltar, I suppose) in four months; and if on the other side, in twelve. Another act was made in favour of the breed of English horses; and a penalty imposed upon those who, having parks, did not keep mares thirteen hands, and stallions fourteen hands high. Several regulations were likewise made concerning the form for suing for the gifts and grants made under the king's sign manual. The king, likewise, in this session, carried, in part, his former design of voiding private deeds made in prejudice of the right of wardship: it was likewise enacted, that no lands should pass by bargain and sale, but that which was by writing indented, sealed, and enrolled.

We have now the title of the first law ever made in England relating to bankrupts, in the thirty-fourth year of Henry VIII. viz. "the lord-chancellor, treasurer, &c. shall take order with bankrupts bodies, lands, and goods, for the payment of their debts." But there was a farther regulation made in this act by the thirteenth of Elizabeth.

We now come to the time when interest, or use for money lent, and in those days always known by the name of Usury, was first settled in England by law. It was a statute of 37 Henry VIII. cap. ix. entitled, "How offenders in usury shall be punished." Before this time (says the judicious Josiah Child) there was no law for limiting the rate of interest; there was little trade, and as little money, in the nation, wherefore every man took such an interest for what money he could put out, as he could get; which in sundry instances (to be found in history here and there) was, before this time, higher than ten per cent. as partly appears from the strong expressions in this law, the preamble of which says, "that sundry statutes have been made for the avoiding and punishing of usury, being a thing unlawful [and yet, with the same breath, these lawgivers established it; for this was the church's opinion in those times, though never uniformly put in practice], of other corrupt bargains, shiefts, and chevifances; which statutes are so obscure and dark in intent [so framed on purpose to leave room to avoid the penalties; whilst, in general words (to please the clergy), it was declared sinful], and are of so little force, that by reason whereof little or no punishment hath ensued to the offenders of the same; for reformation whereof (says this preamble gravely), be it enacted, that all former statutes concerning usury, shiefts, &c. all forfeitures and penalties concerning the same be henceforth utterly void.

TAXES in the Reign of HENRY VIII.

In his fourth year, in a parliament at Westminster, were granted to the king two fifteenths of the temporalty, and two tenths of the clergy; and head-money, of every duke ten marks, an earl five pounds, a baron four pounds, a knight four marks, and every man valued at eight hundred pounds in goods, to pay four marks, and so after that rate till him that was valued at forty shillings, and he paid twelve pence; and every man and woman of fifteen years and upwards, four pence.

In his sixteenth year a parliament was holden, wherein divers subsidies were granted to the king, towards the charges of his wars in France.

In his fourteenth year, order was taken by cardinal Wolsey, that the true value of all men's substance might be known, and would have had every man sworn to give an account of his worth, and required a tenth part thereof towards the king's charges in the then war, as the spirituality had granted a fourth part: this the Londoners thought very hard, and thereupon were excused taking an oath, and were allowed to bring in their bills upon their honesties. But when all was done, after much labouring by the cardinal, the clergy granted one half of their yearly spiritual revenues for five years; and the temporalty, two shillings in the pound, from twenty pounds and upwards; and from forty shillings to twenty pounds, of every twenty shillings twelve pence; and under forty shillings, of every head, of sixteen years and upwards, four pence, to be paid in every two years.

In his sixteenth year, the cardinal, of his own head, attempted by commission to draw the people to pay the sixth part of every man's substance in plate or money; but this was generally opposed, and caused insurrections in several counties, which coming to the king's knowledge, he utterly disavowed it, and blamed the cardinal extremely for attempting it.

In his twenty-fourth year, in a parliament then held, a fifteenth was granted to the king, towards his charges in erecting fortifications against Scotland.

In his thirty-first year, a subsidy of two shillings in the pound upon lands, and twelve upon goods, with four fifteenths, were granted to the king, towards his charges in making bulwarks.

In his thirty-fifth year, a subsidy was granted, to be paid in three years; every Englishman being worth, in goods, twenty shillings and upwards to five pounds, to pay four pence of every pound; from five pounds to ten pounds, eight pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, sixteen pence; and from twenty pounds and upwards, of every pound two shillings: strangers, as well denizens as others, being inhabitants, to pay double. And for lands, every Englishman paid eight pence of the pound, from twenty shillings to five pounds; from five pounds to ten pounds, sixteen pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, two shillings; and from twenty pounds and upwards, of every pound three shillings: strangers double. The clergy, six shillings in every pound of benefices; and every priest having no benefice, but an annual stipend, six shillings and eight pence yearly, during three years.

EDWARD VI.

A Very necessary statute was made the second and third of Edward VI. cap. xv. "for restraining the sellers of all manner of provision in England, from combining together not to sell but at a fixed price; and also for restraining workmen and labourers not to make or do their work but at a fixed price; or to do but a certain work in a day, or not to work but at certain hours." A clause, wisely intended, was added to this act, licensing all manner of workmen relating to building of houses, &c. to follow their occupation in all cities and towns corporate, although they did not live therein, nor were free of such corporations: but this clause was repealed by a statute of the third and fourth of this king, cap. xx. plainly (as appears) by the interposition of the city of London, who represented "that being the king's chamber and most ancient city of this realm, the artificers and craftsmen of the arts, crafts, and mysteries aforesaid, were at great costs and charges, as well in bearing and paying taxes, tallages, subsidies, scot, lot, and other charges, as well to the king's majesty as to the said city, and to many and sundry triumphs and other times for the king's honour; and that if foreigners [i. e. non-freemen] should come and work among them within the liberties of the said city, contrary to their ancient privileges, the same should be a great decay of learning, and the impoverishment and driving away of the freemen, being artificers of the crafts and mysteries aforesaid, within the said city; for reformation whereof, the said clause is hereby repealed entirely." So that the reasons for this repeal are expressed as above only in respect to Lon-

don, yet the repeal being general, took in all other corporations, cities, and towns; and so it remains to our own times, contrary to the opinion of most wise and judicious men. By cap. iii. of the said second and third year of king Edward VI. for regulating the purveyors for the king's household, post-horses are therein fixed at one penny per mile.

In the third and fourth of king Edward VI. there was an act of parliament passed (cap. ii.) with many well-contrived clauses for preventing of frauds in the woollen manufactures in England, such as for the clothier's seal on his cloth, against over-stretching the cloths, for the well drying of cloth, also for the well dyeing of wool to be converted into cloth, or into hats or caps; also for preventing the putting any deceitful thing upon cloth, such as flocks, chalk, flour, starch, &c. nor to use iron cards in the rowing of cloths; also for just measuring of cloths: for all which purposes overseers are directed to be annually appointed, not only in corporation-towns, by the chief magistrates, jointly with the wardens, &c. of the clothworkers, but in towns, villages, and hamlets not incorporated, by the justices of the peace, jointly with the clothworkers; which overseers shall, at least once in every quarter of a year, or as often as they think needful, visit clothiers, drapers, dyers, and preservers houses, shops, &c. to which overseers one moiety is hereby given of all the forfeitures and penalties of this act, and the other to the king, &c. All which evidently shews the care of the legislature for that manufacture, and also that it was at this time universally spread all over the kingdom, and in a flourishing condition.

Notwithstanding all which favourable laws for regulating the English woollen manufacture, we have another statute, anno 1552 (5 and 6 Edward VI.) for the very same ends and purposes, to which we refer the curious reader.

We have seen, under the year 1515, a statute for ascertaining the length, breadth, and weight of certain English woollen cloths; as also another more ample statute, anno 1549, for more fully regulating the different kinds of them: in this year, 1552, we have another still more extensive law for the same purpose (5 and 6 Edward VI. cap. vi.) wherein the woollen manufactures of all the different counties of England and Wales are ascertained with respect to length, breadth, weight, &c. whereby all former statutes concerning this subject are repealed. Yet, as perfect as this statute might then be thought, there were many more subsequent ones made on the same subject, not only for ascertaining the true dimensions and weight of those cloths, but for discovering and restraining many frauds and irregularities therein; the full recital of which would be both tiresome and unprofitable to the generality of readers; such as are desirous of perusing them, may consult the statute-books.

By cap. xxiv. of the said 5 and 6 Edward VI. there is another monopolizing act relating to the making of felt hats and thrummed hats, coverlets, and dornecks (i. e. diaper linen), though somewhat more moderate than that in favour of the city of York; for whereas, by the statute made in the year 1544, the manufacture of coverlets was absolutely confined to that city alone, exclusive of all other parts whatever of that county, this law now before us only confines the making of the above-named four kinds of goods to the city

of Norwich, and to incorporate or market-towns of that county.

By a statute of the seventh and last year of king Edward VI. cap. v. "I. The prices of wines are fixed thus; Gascony and Guienne at eight pence per gallon; and Rochelle wine at four pence per gallon; nor should any other wines be sold at an higher price than twelve pence per gallon, on forfeiture of five pounds. This statute is said, in the preamble, to be enacted for the avoiding of many inconveniences, much evil rule, and common resort of misruled persons, used and frequented in many taverns, of late newly set up in back lanes, corners, and suspicious places, both in London and other towns and villages.

"II. The next clause enacts, that none but such as can spend a thousand marks, or else, lastly, shall be the son of a duke, marquis, earl, viscount, or baron of the realm, shall have in his house any vessel of the said wines, for his family's use, exceeding ten gallons, on forfeiture of ten pounds.

"III. Nor shall any person keep a tavern retailing of the said wines, unless licensed, and that only in cities, towns-corporate, boroughs, port-towns, or market-towns, or in the towns of Gravesend, Sitting-bourn, Tuxford, and Bagshot, on the forfeiture of ten pounds: and there shall be but two taverns for retailing wines in every city or town, except in London, which may have forty taverns, in York eight taverns, in Norwich four, in Westminster three, in Bristol six, in Lincoln three, in Hull four, in Shrewsbury three, in Exeter four, in Salisbury three, in Gloucester four, in Westchester four, in Hereford three, in Worcester three, in Southampton three, in Canterbury four, in Ipswich three, in Winchester three, in Oxford three, in Cambridge four, in Colchester three, in Newcastle upon Tyne four. By this limitation it may be thought a pretty near guess may be made at the comparative magnitude of cities and towns, allowances being made for towns situated on very public roads; yet this matter is nevertheless still very uncertain.

"IV. None of the said taverns shall retail wines to be spent or drank within their respective houses.

"V. Merchants may use in their own houses (but not to sell) such wines as they shall import; also high-sheriffs, magistrates of cities and towns, and inhabitants of fortified towns, may keep vessels of wine for their own consumption only."

As extraordinary as several parts of this statute may appear to some of us at this time, they may be pretty well accounted for, not only from the sobriety, poverty, and simplicity of that age, compared with ours, but also from the unsettled and tumultuous disposition of a great part of the people, those especially who adhered to the old religion, and those also who excited commotions in most counties against inclosures; yet, with respect to the limited number of taverns, in several of the fore-named towns, we cannot now perhaps altogether clearly judge or determine the proportion of the magnitude of those places therefrom; for instance, Cambridge is allowed four and Oxford but three taverns; nor some other points relating to this act.

TAXES in the Reign of EDWARD VI.

In no king's reign were ever more parliaments for the time, nor fewer subsidies. The greatest was

in his last year, when there was but one subsidy, with two fifteenths and tenths, granted by the temporalty, and a subsidy by the clergy. And indeed, to shew how loth this king was to lay impositions upon his people, this may be a sufficient argument, that, though he was much in debt, yet he chose rather to negotiate a loan of money from the people of the Low Countries, at the interest of fourteen per cent. per ann. But his way of raising money was by selling the chantry-lands and religious houses, granted him by parliament; and by enquiring after all church-goods, either remaining or embezzled, as jewels, gold and silver chalices, ready money, copes, and other vestments, reserving to every church one chalice and one covering for the communion-table, the rest to be applied to his own benefit. He also raised money by enquiring after offences of officers in great places: on enquiry one Beaumont, master of the Rolls, being convicted of many crimes, surrendered all his offices, lands, and goods, into the king's hands. Also one Whalley, receiver of Yorkshire, being found a delinquent, surrendered his office, and paid a great fine besides. Also the lord Paget, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, conscious that he had sold the king's lands and timber woods without commission, and had applied the king's stores to his own use, for these and other offences, surrendered his office, and was fined four thousand pounds, which he paid in hand. One thing more was done in his time, for raising of money; twenty thousand pounds weight of bullion was appointed to be made so much baser, that the king might gain thereby one hundred and forty thousand pounds.

MARY.

WE have seen, under the year 1285, that the first statutes made in England for widening the roads between market-towns, was made purely for the prevention of robberies, without the least hint therein of the benefit to arise thereby to carriages, on account of commerce, of which there was but very little at that time.

From that time we meet with nothing relating to that subject (except the paying the suburbs about London, &c.) till king Henry VIII's reign, in which there are four statutes, viz. two for the altering or removing certain roads (annis 14 & 15, cap. vi.) in the Weald of Kent, and (anno 26, cap. vii.) in the deep ways of Sussex; both which have been already taken notice of, under the year 1524; a third, for mending a lane near Chester; and a fourth for the repair of bridges, and highways at the ends of bridges; neither of which two did we think worthy of animadversion. But commerce beginning to increase considerably in the reign of his daughter Mary, whereby the old roads became much more frequented by heavy carriages, an act, of 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, anno 1555 (cap. viii.) takes notice, "that the highways were then very noisome and tedious to travel in, and dangerous to all carriages; wherefore it was now enacted (and is still in force), that every parish should annually elect two surveyors of the highways, to see that the parishioners, according to their lands, abilities, farms, &c. send their carts, horses, men, tools, &c. four days in every year, for mending the roads." So that this is properly the first general statute made for mending the roads, extending

extending to all England and Wales, by the labour and expence of each respective parish alone; and on that bottom alone we find in all six statutes relating to this subject in queen Mary's reign, nineteen in queen Elizabeth's, and one in king James I's reign; after which there were none of this kind till king Charles II's Restoration. The said parochial means for keeping the roads in repair were found, in most cases, tolerably effectual, till after the Restoration of Charles II. when the vast increase of the nation's commerce and manufactures, and of the capital city of London, with the concomitant increase of luxury, brought in such a number of heavy-wheeled carriages on our roads, as rendered it by degrees impracticable in most cases for parishes entirely to keep their own part of the roads in tolerable condition, more especially in the counties near London, and in the manufacturing counties. This has introduced the more equitable and effectual method of tolls payable at numberless toll-gates (called turnpikes) by the identical wearers of those roads alone: and many subsequent local statutes have been made for those ends, and also several general ones for limiting the weight of waggon-loads, the breadth of wheel-rims, called fellies, the number of horses, &c. And thus much we thought sufficient to serve for a summary history of the laws relating to the roads of England, so as not to have much occasion to name them any more in this work.

What we have here said, concerning a summary history of the keeping the roads or highways of England in repair, may also be partly applied to the subject of deepening rivers, and meliorating havens or harbours on the sea-coasts. With respect to the former, we have seen that the first instance thereof in the statute book, is that of the third of Henry VI. (cap. v.) for deepening the river Lea from the town of Ware to London, an. 1424; and that in his ninth year (cap. ix.) for the same end: after which we find none, either for rivers or for havens, till the reign of Henry VIII. who repaired and fortified several harbours; for that of 4 Henry VII. for preserving the river Thames, relates merely to the fishing therein; and that of the eleventh of the same king, for removing weirs and engines from Southampton harbour, was for the like purpose; but we find no more statutes of either kind till queen Elizabeth's reign, some of which, as also subsequent ones, we may perhaps think it necessary to take a more particular notice of, in their respective places; as also for bridges over rivers.

TAXES in the Reign of Queen MARY.

Queen Mary began with a rare example, for in the first year of her reign, she remitted, by proclamation, the subsidy of four shillings in the pound of land, and two shillings in the pound of goods granted in the last parliament of king Edward VI.

In her second year, in a parliament then holden, was granted to the king and queen a subsidy of the laity, from five pounds to ten pounds, of eight pence in the pound; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, of twelve pence in the pound; and from twenty pounds and upwards, of sixteen pence in the pound; all strangers to pay double: and the clergy, six shillings in the pound. If this were all, then, upon the matter, in all her time there came no new charge upon her people: for one subsidy remitted, and one received, made but even.

In her last year she borrowed twenty thousand pounds of the city of London, at the rate of twelve per cent. per annum.

E L I Z A B E T H.

IN the fifth year of Elizabeth (cap. iii.) was the first statute enacted in England for the relief of the poor: for whereas all other acts of parliament were only on the foot of voluntary contributions for the poor, resting or depending upon the charitable devotion of the people, which method had not answered the intended purpose, or prevented common beggars from multiplying every where, it was now therefore found necessary to go a step farther. It is certain that the suppression of the convents had not a little increased this disorder; those houses having been a great relief to the poor of their own lands, and in their neighbourhood, to whom not only their kitchens, but their granaries, were ever open, more especially in times of dearth; when, therefore, the church-lands were sold by Henry VIII. at very easy purchases, it was then declared to be for enabling the buyers to keep up that wonted hospitality, which, however, they greatly neglected to do; yet still there was no compulsory law till now. This act, therefore, after "directing poor and impotent persons of every parish to be relieved of that which every person will, of their charity, give weekly, to be gathered by collectors, and distributed to the poor, so as none of them shall go, or sit, openly begging; (now comes the compulsory clause) and if any parishioner shall obstinately refuse to pay reasonably towards the relief of the said poor, or shall discourage others, then the justices of the peace, at their quarter-sessions, may tax him at a reasonable weekly sum; which if he refuses to pay, they may commit him to prison: yet, where the parishioners have more poor than they can relieve, the justices may licence so many of their poor as they shall think proper, to beg in one or more hundreds of their respective counties. Lastly, beggars in any other place than where legally licenced, were to be punished according to the laws of vagabonds."

The next statute of the same session of parliament (viz. cap. iv.) entitled "A repeal of so much of former statutes as concern the hiring, keeping, departing, working, or order of servants, labourers, &c. and a declaration who shall be compelled to serve in handicrafts, and whom in husbandry, and their several duties, &c." gives the substance of many former laws, with their imperfections, contrariety, and remarks, and observes that the wages ascertained in many of those acts of parliament were now become insufficient, by reason of the advanced prices of all necessaries since those times; yet, large and comprehensive as this act is (and too much of it is still in force) there are sundry subsequent statutes, both in this and succeeding reigns, for the regulation of disputes between masters and their servants, apprentices, and labourers, concerning their wages, time of labour, &c.

The next law (cap. v.) of that year, entitled "Constitutions for the maintenance of the navy, &c." contains many good clauses for encouraging our own shipping and mariners: as "I. By permitting herrings, and other fish caught upon our coasts, to be exported duty-free. II. That no foreign ships shall carry any goods coastwise, from

any one English port to another. III. Wines and woad shall be imported from France in English shipping alone (with some inconsiderable exceptions.) IV. That, as well for the maintaining of shipping, the increase of fishermen and mariners, and the repairing of port-towns, as for the sparing and increase of the flesh victuals of this realm, it shall not be lawful for any to eat flesh on Wednesday and Saturdays, on the penalty of three pounds for each offence, excepting cases of sickness; and also those by special licences to be obtained [this purely political fasting from flesh meat was partly altered by cap. ii. 27 Eliz. by leaving out Wednesday; yet the victuallers were to utter no flesh in Lent, nor on Fridays and Saturdays]; for which said licence obtained by peers, they were to pay one pound six shillings and four pence to the poor's box of the parish; knights and their wives, thirteen shillings and four pence; and others, six shillings and eight pence each: but no licence was to extend to the eating of beef [on these days] at any time of the year [this shews, that in those days, black cattle were deemed scarce]; nor to the eating of veal, in any year, from Michaelmas to the first day of May. "But because (adds the statute) no person shall misjudge the intent of this statute, be it enacted, that whosoever shall, by preaching, teaching, writing, or open speech, notify that any eating of flesh, or forbearing of flesh, mentioned in this statute, is of any necessity for saving the soul of man, or that it is the service of God, otherwise than as other polite laws are and be, then such persons shall be punished as spreaders of false news ought to be."

In the following year the parliament, assembled at Westminster, among others, passed the following acts, viz. I. An act against holding or maintaining the authority of the bishop of Rome. II. That no one shall procure a false witness, upon the penalty of forty pounds; nor any one be a false witness, upon the penalty of twenty pounds, and six months imprisonment. III. An act making the clipping and wasting of coin treason. IV. That any person who shall be seen or found in the company of Egyptians [gypsies], shall be deemed felons. V. An act for the due execution of the act "De excommunicato capiendo." VI. An act for translating the Bible and Common Prayer Book into Welsh. VII. An act to establish and confirm the queen's supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs. The work of Reformation, which, with several interruptions, had been carrying on above thirty years, was in a great measure completed, and the articles of the church of England settled by the convocation, and reduced to the number of thirty-nine, as they stand at this day.

The parliament which was dissolved on the twenty-second of January, 1567, made the following acts: I. An act declaring the making and consecrating of bishops within this realm, to be good, orderly, and lawful. II. That no man shall send any rams, sheep, or lambs, alive, out of the realm, upon pain, for the first offence, of forfeiture of all his goods, and one year's imprisonment; and for the second, of being declared a felon. III. That cut-purses and pickpockets shall not have benefit of clergy. IV. Whereas there was but one sheriff for Surry and Suffex, one for Essex and Hertfordshire,

one for Somerset and Dorsetshire, one for Warwick and Leicestershire, one for Nottingham and Derbyshire, one for Oxford and Berkshire; it was ordered that, for the future (the year 1567 being the first), each of these counties should have a sheriff respectively.

In the year 1571, the fourteenth of Elizabeth's reign, was passed the famous act for the maintaining the queen's title, of which we have given the substance, in our history of that reign*. The other acts made in this parliament are little worth notice, if we except one relating to the clergy, by which it is enacted, "that no ecclesiastical person shall be admitted to any benefice with cure, except he be twenty-three years of age at least, and shall first subscribe the articles of religion, in presence of the ordinary, and, within two months after induction, read the same in his parish-church, in the time of common prayer, and declare his unfeigned assent thereunto, and all this upon pain of deprivation. That no one shall retain a benefice with cure, being under the age of twenty-one years, or without a testimonial of his honest life, nor unless he is able to render to the ordinary an account of his faith in Latin."

In the eighteenth year of her reign, an act was passed, making it treason to impair, diminish, or falsify the coin of the realm.

The parliament of 1585 enacted several severe laws against papists: it was also declared, "that no person should be returned to serve upon juries, but who has an estate of freehold lands, tenements, or hereditaments, to the clear yearly value of four pounds at least."

The parliament which met in February, 1593, passed a very rigid statute against all non-conformists, which equally affected papists and protestants. In the preamble to this act it is said, "that this act was made for preventing and avoiding such great inconveniences and perils as might happen and grow by the wicked and dangerous practices of seditious sectaries and disloyal persons." The act ran, "that if any person above the age of sixteen years, shall refuse to repair to some church, or refuse to do the same for the space of one month, shall be committed to prison, there to remain, without bail or mainprize, until they shall conform, and make such open submission and declaration of their conformity, as by this act is appointed." The offenders against this statute, who refused to make the submission, were to abjure the realm, and not to return without her majesty's licence, under the penalty of suffering as felons, without benefit of clergy. This bill met with great opposition in the house of commons, as may be seen in d'Ewe's Journal, p. 474, &c. where the speeches on both sides are inserted. There was an act also made against popish recusants, by which they were confined within five miles of their respective dwellings, on forfeiture of all their goods and chattles, together with lands, during life. By another act all the abbey-lands were confirmed to the crown and grantees.

The parliament which met at Westminster on the twenty-fourth of October, 1597, and was dissolved on the ninth of February, 1598, made the following acts: "I. An act for the punishment of rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars: by this statute all the following persons are to be adjudged

* See p. 382, of this volume.

rogues and vagabonds: people who go about begging as poor scholars, or on the pretence of loss by fire or shipwreck; collectors for jails, or persons delivered out of jail and begging for their fees; such as use any subtle craft or unlawful games, fortune-tellers, gypsies, fencers, bear-wards, common players, and minstrels, jugglers, lurkers, pedlars, and petty-chapmen, fellows not working for reasonable wages when they are able, and the like: their punishment is, to be whipped and sent from parish to parish, by the officer in each, the next straight way to the parish where they were born, or last dwelt for the space of a whole year. II. An act for erecting hospitals, houses of correction, and workhouses for the poor. III. One for the increase of mariners, and maintenance of navigation. IV. An act against lewd and wandering persons, pretending to be soldiers or mariners, and travelling without testimonials from justices of the peace.

In the last parliament of this reign, holden at Westminster, on the twenty-seventh of October, 1601, the following statutes were passed. I. An act for the relief of the poor, appointing the choosing of overseers, and the manner of raising money for the relief of the poor. II. That every parish in England shall pay a weekly sum for the relief of the sick, hurt, and maimed soldiers and mariners. III. An act to redress the misemployment of lands, goods, &c. given to charitable uses. IV. That persons cutting and carrying away corn growing, robbing of orchards, breaking or cutting up hedges, poles, &c. and digging or pulling up fruit-trees, cutting or spoiling wood or underwood, not being felony by law, shall be obliged to make satisfaction or be whipped.

TAXES in the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH.

In the parliament holden in the first year of her reign, a subsidy was granted, of two shil-

lings and eight pence in the pound on goods, and four shillings on lands, to be paid at two several payments, by every person, spiritual and temporal.

In her sixth year, in a parliament held at Westminster, one subsidy was granted by the clergy, and another by the laity, together with two fifteenths and tenths.

In her eighth year, at a parliament then held, there were offered to her four subsidies, upon condition she would declare a successor; but she refused their offer, and directly remitted the fourth subsidy which they had granted, saying, "that it was all one, whether the money was in her subjects coffers or in her own."

In her thirteenth year, in a parliament then held, towards her charges of repressing the Northern rebellion, there was granted her a subsidy of six shillings in the pound, by the clergy; and by the temporality, two fifteenths, and a subsidy of two shillings and eight pence in the pound.

In her six-and-thirtieth year a parliament was holden, in which two subsidies were granted by the clergy, and by the laity three, besides six fifteenths and tenths; but it was put in this act, that this contribution, the like whereof had not been known in former ages, should not be drawn into example.

In her fortieth year, in a parliament at Westminster were granted her by the clergy three entire subsidies, and by the laity as many, with six fifteenths and tenths.

In her forty-second year, to furnish her with money towards the Irish war, she delegated certain commissioners to confirm the crown-lands to the possessors that held any of controverted titles, and to take money for the confirmation, thereby to take away the trouble by contractors, who were at this time very busy.

ARTS and SCIENCES, MANNERS and CUSTOMS, in the XVIth Century.

IF there is a satisfaction, says a modern historian, in viewing in painting and sculpture the features of our ancestors, it must be equally so to read in the page of history their manners and dispositions. We have already shewn how great encouragement learning and the polite arts received from Wolsey, in the beginning of this period; neither were the English wanting all this time in cultivating and cherishing new-born arts and discoveries. One Owen is noted as being the first who, about the year 1536, cast brass cannon in England, some specimens of which are said to be still preserved in the Tower of London. The art of printing had also before this time been imported, and had been brought to as great perfection in England as in any neighbouring country. Music and painting had met likewise with encouragement, Henry himself having some taste for those arts, as appears from several letters patent in favour of their professors, especially to the famous Hans Holbein.

Archbishop Nicholson, in his English Historical Library, speaking of the state of geographical knowledge at or about this period, observes, "that since the beginning of king Henry VIII's reign, our eldest general geographer or antiquary is said to have been Thomas Sulmo, a Guernsey man, who died at London in the year 1545. The year

following, a much greater man of the profession, sir Thomas Elliot, one of king Henry's ambassadors, and sir Thomas More's friends, died also. Cotemporary with those two was George Lily (son of William, the famous grammarian), who lived some time at Rome with cardinal Pole, and published the first exact map that ever was, till then, drawn of this island."

In the year 1521 was first introduced the use of hand-guns or musquets, whereby, in process of time the practice of bows and arrows in war was quite laid aside.

About the year 1535, glasses were first begun to be made in England: the finer sort was made in Crutched-friars, London; the fine flint-glass, little inferior to that of Venice, was first made in the Savoy-house, in the Strand, London; but the first glass-plates for looking-glasses and coach windows, were made about the year 1673, at Vauxhall, near Lambeth, by the encouragement of the duke of Buckingham. The English have improved this manufacture so greatly, as to surpass every other nation in Europe in this useful branch of business.

The ingenious author of the Present State of England, printed in 1683, acquaints us, that the first manufacture of knives in England was begun in 1562, by Thomas Matthews, on Fleet-bridge, London.

London. How strangely are things altered since those times! for now London excels all the earth in this article, and supplies many other nations therewith in great quantities.

Mr. Anderson, in his most elaborate and useful work, lately published, concerning the Origin of Commerce, to which I acknowledge myself greatly indebted for many curious extracts, tells us that he has in his possession the first work ever published in England on the art of Italian book-keeping, or merchants-accounts by double-entry; it is a folio, printed at London, anno 1569, in a black letter, the author James Peele. The style (says Mr. Anderson) is obsolete, yet he has sufficiently testified that he understood the true grounds and principles of double-entry accounts full as well as some who have written much later.

In all probability, this art of double-entry accounts had its rise, or at least its revival, amongst the mercantile cities of Italy: possibly it might be first known at Venice, about the time that numeral algebra was taught there, from the principles of which science double-entry, or what we call merchants-accounts, seem to have been deduced, viz. about the middle of the XVth century, though it did not reach England till our commerce, about this time, began to be considerable. It is said that Lucas de Burgo, a friar, was the first European author who published his algebraic work at Venice, anno 1494.

In the year 1589, William Lee, M. A. of St. John's college, Cambridge, invented an engine or steel-loom, called the Stocking-frame, for knitting or weaving of stockings. This was but twenty years after we had first learned from Spain the method of knitting them with wires or needles. Mr. Lee's invention has proved of considerable benefit to the stocking manufacture, by enabling England, in after times, to export vast quantities of silk stockings to Italy, &c. where, it seems (by sir Josiah Child's excellent Discourse on Trade, first published in the year 1678), they had then not got the use of the stocking-frame, though little short of one hundred years after its invention: yet Dr. Howell, in his History of the World (vol. iii. p. 222.) makes this invention eleven years after, 1600; and adds, that Mr. Lee not only taught his art in England and in France, but his servants did the same in Spain, Venice, and Ireland.

We have the best authority for fixing the date of the first manufacturing of sail-cloth in England to the year 1599, being the preamble to an act of parliament of king James I. cap. xxiii. reciting, that "whereas the cloths called Mildernix, and Powl Davies, whereof sails and other furniture for the navy and shipping are made, were heretofore altogether brought out of France, and other parts beyond sea, and the skill and art of making and weaving the said cloth was never known or used in England till about the thirty-second year of the reign of the late queen Elizabeth (i. e. 1590.), about which time the skill and art of making and weaving was attained to, and since practised and continued in this realm to the great benefit and commodity thereof," &c.

As we still excel all nations upon earth both in naval power and maritime commerce, every thing relative to either should (as far as is practicable) come to us at the first hand; yet, though it may seem somewhat strange, that a nation in those

days very far from being eminent in shipping, should have so long supplied us with this great article, it ought to be considered, that they were in those days (and long before we fell into it) eminent for the manufacture of many kinds of excellent cloths, made both of flax and hemp; and that perfection (in almost every art) is not to be arrived at but by very slow degrees.

In or about the same year was the invention of the telescope or spying-glass discovered, being justly esteemed one of the most useful and excellent discoveries of modern times; though it was, it seems, produced by mere chance. The common account is, that two children of one Janssen, a spectacle-maker at Middleburgh, in Zealand, being at play in their father's shop, and looking through two pieces of glass between their fingers, which were at some small distance from each other, the weather-cock of the church-steeple appeared to them unusually large, and much nearer; of this they instantly told their father, who, surprized also at first, made the experiment of fixing two such pieces of glass in brazen circles, or cylinders, so as they might be placed nearer or farther, at pleasure. Janssen very soon improved this discovery so much, that he presented a telescope, twelve inches long, to prince Maurice, and another to the archduke Albert. Mr. Wotton (in his Reflections on ancient and modern Learning) relates, "that prince Maurice, conjecturing this might be of great use in war, desired him to conceal his secret, and for that reason his name was so little known, that neither Des Cartes nor Gerard Vossius had ever heard any thing of him, when they attributed this invention to one Jacobus Metius, of Alldmain." None of these first telescopes, however, were above eighteen inches long, neither were they properly framed for astronomical observations, until Galileo, astronomer to the grand-duke of Tuscany, hearing of this discovery for bringing objects nearer, made such great improvements therein, as to have gained him, in the opinion of many, the honour of the invention itself, by giving to the telescope the appellation of Galileo's Tube. Some, indeed, make this noble invention to have happened some years later, and that J. Baptista Porta, a Neapolitan, was the first inventor; but the general belief is as above. Our incomparable sir Isaac Newton was the inventor of the reflecting telescope, consisting of specula, or mirrors, instead of lenses, which has been since much improved, and is much more exact than reflecting ones. The microscope, which magnifies the smallest objects so as to be distinctly viewed, was discovered in the year 1621; and it is said this happened both at Naples and Holland at the same time. Mezeray makes this invention eighteen years later; yet he adds, that even the ancients must have known the use of them, if what Roger Bacon says be true, viz. "that Julius Cæsar being on the Belgic shore, opposite Britain, did, with certain great burning-glasses, discover the posture and disposition of the British army, and all the coasts of that country."—Which whoever please, may believe!

By the telescope, astronomy is brought to such a degree of perfection, as it was impossible for the ancients to arrive at. Navigation, and consequently commerce, is likewise much assisted, from a more perfect discovery of the heavenly bodies:

and many volumes have been published of the wonderful and amazing discoveries made by the microscope.

About this time flourished the famous Danish astronomer, Tycho Brahe, who made some astronomical discoveries and improvements, which proved very beneficial to navigation and maritime commerce. He deceased anno 1601.

The progress which the fine arts made in England since the death of their patron, Wolsey, was next to nothing. The English poetry, indeed, seemed to have risen amongst us complete, and is the only art that, since the days of Shakespeare and Spencer, has been on the declining hand. Architecture came, towards the middle and close of this century, to be more sumptuous; but its style was barbarous. Painting has, in England, been always of foreign growth, and when transplanted hither, has been but just kept alive by the bounty of the great; nor could England, during the successive reigns of Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, produce a patron like Wolsey, or an artist like Holbein, who in the likeness could draw the character.

The progress made in the mathematical art was confined to the studies of Dee and one or two more, who were patronized by Burleigh. In natural philosophy the nation was excessively ignorant, insomuch that we read in the year 1577, some of the greatest men about court suffered themselves to be bubbled out of considerable sums by impostors, who pretended to the secret of transmuting metals: we are sorry to find the name of that great and able man Burleigh, in the list of those dupes of a senseless credulity. The queen's own example re-

vived a taste for music, both vocal and instrumental; and even dancing was not void of elegance.

Although the nobility of this age preserved great remains of the ancient customs, yet they were by degrees acquiring the taste of elegant luxury, and many edifices in particular were built by them, neat, large, and sumptuous, to the great ornament of the kingdom, says Camden, but to the no less decay of the glorious hospitality of the nation. It is, however, more reasonable to think, that this new turn of expence promoted arts and industry, while the ancient hospitality was the source of real disorder and sedition, idleness. Among the other species of luxury, that of apparel began much to increase during this age, and the queen thought proper to restrain it by proclamation. Her example was very little conformable to her edicts; as no woman was ever more conceited of her beauty, nor more desirous of making impressions on the hearts of beholders; no one ever went to greater extravagance in apparel, nor studied more the variety and richness of her dress; she appeared almost every day in a different habit, and tried all the several modes by which she hoped to make herself agreeable: she was likewise so fond of her cloaths, that she never would part with any of them; and at her death she had in her wardrobe all the different habits, to the number of three thousand, which she had ever worn in her life-time. The retrenchment of the ancient hospitality, and the diminution of retainers, was ever favourable to the prerogative of the sovereign, and, by disabling the great noblemen from resistance, promoted the execution of the laws, and extended the authority of the courts of justice.

OF COMMERCE, HUSBANDRY, NAVIGATION, PUBLIC REVENUES, &c. in ENGLAND during the XVth Century.

THE English had not the same splendor of success with the Spaniards, nor such influence in other courts, nor did they possess that great power which rendered Spain so dangerous to her neighbours; but they acquired a new kind of glory from the ocean, and the extensive maritime trade they carried on: they knew their true element, and that alone made them more happy than all the foreign conquests and possessions of their ancient kings, and they became a powerful, civilized, industrious, laborious, and enterprising nation. The improvements made by the Spaniards in navigation excited their emulation, and they undertook three successive voyages to discover a north-west passage to Japan and China: Drake and Cavendish sailed round the globe, attacking in all places those very Spaniards who had extended their conquest and trade to both ends of the world: the famous sir Walter Raleigh established the colony of Virginia, and afterwards assisted in that expedition wherein the English fleet went and insulted Philip II. upon his own coasts, destroying his ships, and burning the rich city of Cadiz: at length, grown more formidable, they, in 1602, defeated the first fleet Philip III. sent to sea, and from that time acquired a superiority at sea, which they have ever since maintained.

From the first beginning of Elizabeth's reign they applied themselves to manufactures. The

Flemings, being persecuted by Philip II. removed to London, bringing with them an increase of inhabitants, industry, and riches. This capital, which enjoyed the blessings of peace under Elizabeth, cultivated likewise the liberal arts, which are the badges and consequences of plenty: in a word, London was enlarged, civilized, and embellished, and in a short time one half of the little island of Great Britain was able to counterbalance the whole power of Spain.

The English now figured as the second nation in the world in industry, as in liberty they were the first. They began early to establish a navy-royal; they commenced a great fishery on the Banks of Newfoundland, a whale-fishery in the North Seas, and a trade to Russia; and, by means of an important discovery of a passage by sea to that country, round the north cape of Lapland, opened an extensive field for other discoveries, and new branches of commerce; they also commenced their Turkey trade; and in the very last year of this century incorporated the East India company.

Agriculture now began to be considered in England as the chief riches of the state, while in Spain they began to neglect this real good for ideal treasures: the gold and silver trade of the new world enriched the king of Spain, but in England the subject was benefited by the sale of the natural commodities. A private merchant of London, sir

Thomas Gresham, was at that time rich enough to build the Royal Exchange at his own expence, and to found and endow the college which bears his name; and several other citizens founded hospitals and public schools. Such, says Mr. de Voltaire, in his Essay on General History, were the glorious effects produced by industry in this kingdom, that private persons could do what kings at present can only effect, during the most happy administration.

Thus much in general: I shall now proceed to point out the most remarkable gradations, by which the several articles under our consideration tended to perfection during this period.

Nothing material of discovery had been made from England since Cabot's voyage to the coast of America, in the year 1496. In 1525, king Henry VIII. sent two ships towards the same coasts, one of which was cast away in the Gulph of St. Laurence, and the other returned home the same year, but without any material discovery. One Robert Thorn is said to have put Henry upon this voyage, in hopes of finding a north-west passage to the Moluccas.

In our review of the state of Commerce, &c. at the end of the reign of Henry VII. we have shewn the state of husbandry in England at that time; it seems the evil then complained of, was now grown to a greater height, for, in the twenty-fifth of Henry VIII. a law was made (cap. xiii.) which represents "the custom of engrossing great numbers of sheep in one man's hands, and for that end keeping many farms in the same man's hands, as a practice which has not been but within a few years past, putting such lands as they can get into pasture, and not to tillage; whereby they have not only pulled down churches and towns [quære, how this could be], and enhanced old rates and rents, or else brought them to such excessive fines, that no poor man is able to meddle with them; but also have enhanced all manner of corn, cattle, wool, pigs, geese, hens, chickens, eggs, &c. by reason whereof a marvellous multitude of people be not able to provide meat, cloaths, &c. for themselves and families. One of the greatest occasions why those covetous people do keep such great quantities of lands in their hands from the occupying of the poor husbandman, and do use it in pasture and not in tillage, is only the great profit that cometh by sheep, now got into few persons hands in respect to the whole number of the king's subjects, that some have twenty-four thousand, some twenty thousand, some ten thousand to five thousand sheep, whereby a good sheep, that used to be sold for two shillings and four pence, or three shillings at most, now sold for six, five, or four shillings at the least; and a stone of wool, which used to be sold for eighteen pence and twenty pence, is now sold for four shillings or three shillings and four pence at least, &c. which things tend to the decay of hospitality, the diminishing of the people, and the let of cloth-making, whereby many poor people have been accustomed to be set to work. For the remedy whereof, it was in substance enacted, I. That none shall keep above two thousand four hundred sheep (exclusive of lambs) at any one time, unless it be on his own land of inheritance, in which case he is not hereby limited, nor any spiritual persons. II. No man shall hold above two farms, in the

parish of one of which two he shall be obliged to live or reside himself."

The increase of the woollen manufacture increasing the demand for wool, gave rise to this practice of engrossing farms, and turning them into sheep-walks, which undoubtedly can be managed by much fewer hands than tillage-farms can be, whereby depopulation must necessarily ensue.

In the year 1536, the twenty-seventh of Henry VIII. the king gave encouragement to certain merchants to send out two ships on discovery to the north coast of America, where they visited Cape Breton and Newfoundland; and being in great distress for want of provisions there, they returned home in October the same year; and although this voyage proved unfavourable to their main intent of finding a north-west passage to India, yet it gave rise to the very beneficial fishery of the English on the Banks of Newfoundland, on which barren island one Mr. Hoar, of London, merchant, attempted a settlement at this time, though he met with much misfortune in that unsuccessful attempt.

We find that the English merchants of Southampton and London traded to Brasil in the years 1540 and 1542, and so it seems at those times to have been permitted, and until the year 1580, when the king of Spain got possession of Portugal.

About this time the state of shipping, even in the port of London, was very low, compared with the present time. If we may give credit to Wheeler's Treatise of Commerce, who wrote in 1601, he expressly asserts, that about sixty years before he wrote, there were not above four ships, besides those of the royal navy, that exceeded one hundred and twenty tons burthen, within the river of Thames.

In the year 1553, the last of Edward VI. a very great cosmographical as well as mercantile discovery was made by the enterprising genius of a certain Englishman, who (whether reading Othier's account of the situation of the lands and seas about Norway, &c. delivered to the great king Alfred, anno 887, or whether from any informations lately received from the Norway people, with whom we now constantly traded) about this time discovered a passage by sea to Russia, along the north end of Norway and Russian Lapland, and down into the sea or rather great bay, since termed the White Sea, in which is situated the noted port of Archangel. Sir Hugh Willoughby, as commander in chief, with three ships, had begun this voyage just before the death of Edward VI. being supported by a society or company of gentlemen and merchants for the discovery of unknown countries. It seems to have been the scheme of the famous Sebastian Cabot, who was chosen governor of that company, and who well deserved the pension already noted to have been settled on him by Edward VI. and that the wars of Sweden with Russia by the way of Norway, in some degree obliged the English to attempt this new passage to Russia by the Northern Ocean. This undertaking was supported by a subscription of six thousand pounds, divided into twenty-four shares, twenty-five pounds each share. With those ships went letters from king Edward to all kings, princes, &c. for their protection. It was intended chiefly as a shorter and easier passage (as they imagined) to Cathay (a name then used for that country which is now called China.) Sir Hugh Willoughby being tossed up and down

down for a long time as far as seventy-two degrees north latitude, was compelled, by the sudden approach of winter, to run into an obscure harbour in Russian Lapland, called Arcaia Keca, where he and the crew of two of his three ships (seventy in number) were frozen to death, and where some Russian fishermen, in the summer following, found him sitting in his cabin, with his diary and other papers before him: it being the custom of those Laplanders to frequent the sea-coasts in summer for the benefit of the fishery, but when winter approaches, to withdraw into the Calmarisle and parts, which occasions those stormy shores to be desolate in winter. Richard Chancellor however, in the third ship, accidentally fell into the bay of St. Nicholas, or White Sea, on the Russian coast, where no European, nor any other ships, had ever been seen before: here he landed at the abbey of St. Nicholas, near Archangel, then only a castle, determining to wait on the czar John Basilowitz, at that time engaged in the Livonian war; which war having greatly interrupted the Eastland trade, that prince was the more inclinable, by Chancellor's interposition, to grant the English considerable privileges at Archangel, &c. The Russians before those times having no sea-ports nor shipping on the Baltic shores, the rich furs, hemp, &c. were carried to other parts of Europe, from the ports of Livonia lately possessed by the Teutonic knights of St. Mary of Jerusalem. Thus (as in general is noted in our introduction), although we failed in our principal aim of arriving at China by this supposed north-east passage, we however made a useful and profitable discovery of a trade by sea to Russia: and this same discovery moreover pointed out likewise to the English the way to the whale-fishery at Spitzbergen, soon after put in practice.

Chancellor, from Archangel, by the governor's leave and assistance, travelled on sledges to the czar's court at Moscow, of whom (overjoyed at the new opening of a maritime commerce with Europe) he obtained privileges from the English merchants, and letters to king Edward VI. who, however, died before the arrival of Chancellor.

Thus, by the encouragement of this excellent young prince, for making discoveries northward, a beginning was made for a trade to Russia; but Edward dying before he had executed a very ample charter to those adventurers, it was the said first and second of Philip and Mary (February 6, 1554) that the first charter of incorporation was granted to the Russia company (as it has since been usually called), but then by the name of the Merchants Adventurers for the Discoveries of Lands, Countries, Isles, &c. not before known or frequented by any English. The preamble to this charter, and the substance of the whole it sets forth, is, that the marquis of Winchester, then lord high-treasurer, the earl of Arundel, lord high-steward of the queen's household, the earl of Bedford, lord privy-seal, and the earl of Pembroke, the lord Howard of Effingham, lord high-admiral, &c. had already fitted out ships for discoveries northward, north-eastward, and north-westward, not as yet frequented by other Christian monarchs in friendship with us, to have one governor (the first to be Sebastian Cabot, for life), and twenty-eight of the most sad (i. e. sedate), discreet, and honest of the said fellowship, four of whom to be called Consuls, and the other twenty-

four to be called Assistants; the governor and two consuls (or three consuls in the governor's absence), and twelve assistants to be the quorum of a court. This corporation might purchase lands to the yearly value of sixty pounds thirteen shillings and four pence, to have perpetual succession, a common-seal, may plead and be impleaded, may impose mulcts, forfeitures, &c. on offenders against the company's privileges, and may admit persons from time to time to be free of the company; may make conquests of lands of infidels, so to be discovered by them. And whereas one of the said ships (i. e. Chancellor's) set forth last year (1553) arrived safe, and wintered, in the dominions of our cousin and brother, lord John Basilowitz, emperor of all Russia, who entertained them honourably, &c. and granted them letters to us, with free licence to traffick into his country, with other privileges, under his signet; wherefore we grant this corporation liberty to resort, not only to all parts of that emperor's dominions, but to all other parts not known to our subjects; none of whom but such as shall be free of, or licenced by, this company, shall frequent the parts aforesaid, under forfeiture of ship and merchandize, one half to the crown and the other half to the company."

It seems the Bristol merchants had gotten into the Russia trade soon after its discovery, being encouraged thereto by sir Sebastian Cabot.

Much the like complaints in relation to the English woollen manufacturers as have been made in the present time, were we find made above two hundred years ago, as appears by the statute of the second and third of Philip and Mary (cap. xi.) entitled, "Who shall use the trade of weaving," viz. "that whereas the rich clothiers do oppress the weavers, some by setting up and keeping in their houses divers looms, and maintaining them by journeymen and persons unskillful; some by engrossing looms into their hands, and letting them out at such unreasonable rents as the poor artificers are not able to maintain themselves by, and much less their wives and families, some again by giving much less wages for the workmanship of cloths than in times past, whereby they are forced utterly to forsake their occupations, &c. wherefore it is enacted, I. That no clothier, living out of a city, borough, or market-town, shall keep above one loom in his house, nor let out any loom for hire. II. That no woollen weaver, living out of a city, borough, or market-town, shall keep more than two looms, nor more than two apprentices. III. No weaver (whilst such) shall have a tucking-mill, nor be a tucker, fuller, nor dyer. IV. No tucker or fuller (whilst such) shall keep any loom in his house. V. That no person who hath not heretofore been a cloth-maker, shall hereafter make or weave any kind of broad white woollen cloths, but only in a city, borough, town corporate, or market-town, or else in such places where such cloths have been used to be commonly made for ten years preceding this act. [This clause was probably well intended, that the searchers might be the better enabled to see the goodness of this manufacture.] VI. No person shall set up as a weaver, unless he hath previously served an apprenticeship of seven years to that business. Lastly, that nothing in this act is to extend or be prejudicial to the inhabitants of the counties of York, Cumberland, and Westmoreland; but they

they may keep looms in their houses, and do every other matter relating to spinning, weaving, and cloth-making in the said counties as before the making this statute."

After England had held the town and port of Calais (with its dependent garrisons of Guisnes and Ham) for two hundred and eleven years (the only part of the continent of France held by England) during which time it was not only a door always open for the invasion of France, over which, for that reason, England had no small influence; but (which is more to our purpose) was extremely well situated for a staple port, to disperse, in more early times, the wool, lead, tin, and, in later times, the woollen manufactures of England, into the inland countries of the Netherlands, France, and Germany; the loss of this important place (in the year 1558) to the French, most shamefully and negligently, in the midst of winter, was undoubtedly a considerable prejudice to commerce, and not a little to the honour and influence of England. Hereupon the staple of wool, &c. was removed to Burges, to the great benefit of that city, which had been for some time declining from its ancient opulence and grandeur.

That most diligent agent for the Russian company, Mr. Anthony Jenkinson, did, in the year 1557, first set on foot a new channel of trade, through Russia into Persia, for raw silk, &c. He sailed down the great river Volga to Nisi, Novogorod, Casan, and Astracan, and thence crossed the Caspian sea to Persia. At Boghar, a goodly city, he found merchants from India, Persia, Russia, and Cathay or China, from which last-mentioned country it was nine months journey to Boghar. Jenkinson returned the same way to Colmizro, in the bay of St. Nicholas, anno 1560, and so home the same year to England. On his return he published the first map of Russia, that had ever been made. This voyage, it seems, he performed seven different times; yet so promising a prospect for that company was dropped some few years afterwards, and remained as if it had never been, until the reign of king George II. anno 1744, when it was revived by an act of parliament, enabling the Russia company to trade thence into Persia; upon which considerable quantities of raw silk were brought home by the very same way that Jenkinson took from Persia to Russia, and thence to England: yet the continual troubles and ravages in Persia have since suspended the good effects of this law.

We are now arrived (November 17, 1558) at the commencement of the most illustrious female reign, and of the longest duration, which probably ever existed in the world, viz. that of the truly great Elizabeth, queen of England, it is not now either our present province or intention to draw her character at length, which has already been done; we shall therefore, at this entrance on her glorious government, confine ourselves to this one brief remark, viz. that, to her immortal honour and her kingdom's immense benefit, her reign was supplied with more important articles for commercial history, and more beneficial to the kingdom (even whilst she was surrounded by foreign and domestic enemies) than perhaps all the preceding reigns jointly, since the time of her great predecessor king Edward III. We shall here only in general remark, that, on her now succeeding to the crown, she found the balance of power and wealth already got

into the hands of the commons, or people, she prudently conducted her measures accordingly; though now and then she would exert her prerogative as far (though with more prudence) as did some of her less wise successors.

In the year 1560, the second of Elizabeth, she by her charter confirmed all former charters of privileges to the company of merchant-adventurers of England, and likewise granted them two other ample charters, viz. one in the sixth, and the other in the twenty-eighth year of her reign, in the former of which they had first the designation of Merchant-adventurers given them.

The English Russian company which had been incorporated in the first and second of Philip and Mary, anno 1554, had now the noble sanction of an act of parliament, in the eighth year of Elizabeth's reign.

Martin (afterwards sir Martin) Frobisher or Forbisher made now his first voyage for discovering a north-west passage to the East Indies. Captain Luke Fox, in his book, in quarto, entitled *The North-west Fox*, printed anno 1535, says, "that Mr. Forbisher was fifteen years in noting and bringing up the adventure, before he did attempt the same, which was brought to pass by the help of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick." He set out with two barks, of twenty-five tons each, and one pinnace, of ten tons, and entered the streights going into the great bay (since called Hudson's Bay), which he named Forbisher's Streight; he also gave the following names to places there, viz. Queen Elizabeth's Foreland, Cape Labrador, Gabriel's Island, Prior's Sound, and sundry other islands, capes, and bays, by which names the same places are known to this day. He brought home one of the savages, and also a kind of bright stone, which being tried by the London goldsmiths, it was given out by them, that it held gold in it very richly, and are said to have promised great matters, if any quantity thereof could be obtained; which flattering hopes produced a second voyage, ten years after, although no north-west passage was found.

Mr. John Hawkins, assisted by the subscriptions of sundry gentlemen, now fitted out three ships, and having learned that Negroes were a very good commodity in Hispaniola, he sailed to the coast of Guinea, took in Negroes, and sailed with them for Hispaniola; where he sold his slaves and English commodities, and loaded his three vessels with hides, sugar, and ginger, and also many pearls, returning home anno 1563, after making a prosperous voyage. This seems to have been the very first attempt from England for establishing a Negro trade.

The English genius was not to be discouraged by former unsuccessful attempts for finding a passage to China and the East Indies, without interfering with the Portuguese by the Cape of Good Hope south-eastward, nor with the Spaniards south-westward by the Streights of Magellan: and as they had attempted in vain a passage north-eastward, there seemed now only the north-westward passage to be explored, which we have seen had been in part already attempted by Forbisher. The Portuguese and Spanish chart-makers and cosmographers were, it seems, expressly enjoined by their sovereigns, not to give any kind of light to any other nation, in this respect, because they were greatly apprehensive

left, if there were any such north-west passage, it would prove a much shorter course to India and China than theirs, either by the south-east or south-west passage. For encouraging the English in this attempt, sundry treatises were published by sir Humphrey Gilbert, Mr. Richard Wilkes, &c. built mostly upon the romantic reports of certain ancient and some more modern authors, without any solid probability: yet, upon such slight grounds, and encouragement of friends, captain Forbisher made his second attempt in 1577, with one of the queen's own ships, two barks, and one hundred and forty persons, some of whom were gentlemen. He again entered the streights he had named after himself in his former attempt, where he found store of glittering stones and sand, which he had seen in his last voyage, and with which he now loaded his vessels, returning home the same year, with his imaginary treasure, which, upon farther trial proved good for nothing. However, this served to give rise to the third and last fruitless attempt, by the same sea-commander, in the ensuing year, to find out a north-west passage to China.

In the same year, 1578, Hakluyt gives us an account of the Newfoundland fishers from Europe, in the preceding year, viz. "One hundred ships from Spain, fifty from Portugal, one hundred and fifty from France, and fifteen from England: that the English had the best ships, and therefore gave law to the rest, being in the bays, and protectors of others; for which it was then, and had been of old a custom to make them some sort of acknowledgement as admirals, such as a boat-load of salt for guarding them from pirates and other violent invaders, who frequently drove them from a good harbour;" &c. He says, "the fishery of the English at Iceland was the reason that we had not then such numbers of ships at Newfoundland; that the Spaniards, next to the English, had the best ships there; that there were then also twenty or thirty ships from Biscay, to kill whales, for train-oil." (But here is no mention as yet of whale-fins, or whale-bone, of so great value in our days (which shews its use for women's stays, &c. was not then known.) His friend, in a letter from Newfoundland, is earnest for the English to settle at the island of Cape Breton, for the benefit of the fishery, and in another isle in the mouth of the great river of St. Laurence. Hakluyt was in those times a most indefatigable enquirer after new trades and discoveries, and was undoubtedly of great use to our adventurers, by giving them much light into the nature and means of discoveries, and seems to have been a public blessing to England in those days.

We have, in the former part of the history of this reign, given an account of the circumnavigation of the terraqueous globe by sir Francis Drake, and therefore have no occasion to recapitulate the particulars of that transaction in this place; we shall therefore proceed to give a short account of the first establishment of, and charter granted to, the English Turkey company.

Queen Elizabeth having settled preliminaries at Constantinople, two years before, for her subjects to trade to Turkey, she now (viz. anno 1581) judged it reasonable to incorporate a number of eminent merchants for that end, sir Edward Osborn, an alderman of London, Thomas Smith, esq. Richard Staper, and William Garrett, merchants; in which charter of corporation the queen sets forth, "that

the said sir Edward Osborn and Richard Staper, had, at their own great costs and charges, found out and opened a trade to Turkey, not heretofore, in the memory of any man living, known to be commonly used and frequented, by way of merchandize, by any merchants or other subjects of us or our progenitors, whereby many good offices may be done for the peace of Christendom; relief of Christian slaves, and good vent of the commodities of the realm, to the advancement of her honour and dignity; the increase of her revenue, and of the general wealth of the realm: her majesty therefore grants unto those four merchants, their executors and administrators, and to such Englishmen (not exceeding twelve in number) as the said sir Edward Osborn and Richard Staper shall appoint to be joined to them and the other two before-named persons, and their factors, servants, or deputies, for the space of seven years to trade to Turkey, in such manner as the said company shall agree between themselves. During which time, they may make bye-laws for their good government (not repugnant to the laws of the kingdom.) Nothing to be transacted without the consent of the governor for the time being (sir Edward Osborn being hereby appointed the first governor): the trade to Turkey to be solely to them, their factors and servants, during the said term: and any other subjects trading thither, either by sea or land, without this company's licence, to forfeit ships and goods; a moiety to the crown, the other moiety to this company. For the last six of the said seven years, this company shall export so much goods to Turkey as shall annually pay at least five hundred pounds custom to the crown (except in case of ship wreck, &c.) I. Proviso, that in case this exclusive grant shall hereafter appear to be inconvenient, the queen may revoke the same, upon one year's previous notice. II. Proviso, the queen, during the said term, may nominate two persons to be added to the said number of patentees, with the same privileges, &c. as the rest herein named. Lastly, that if, at the end of the said seven years these grantees desire it, the queen will grant other seven years to them, provided (as aforesaid) the said exclusive trade shall not appear to be unprofitable to the kingdom."

The queen's letters to the grand signor were received with much civility, being delivered to him by her ambassador, Hareborne, anno 1582, whom she empowered to settle consuls in the several ports, and to establish laws or rules to be observed by the English trading to Turkey.

With the first factor the indefatigable Hakluyt (vol. iii. p. 164, 165) sent excellent instructions for enquiring into the nature of dyeing stuffs; also what of those drugs might be produced in England; and how beneficial such new productions would have been to us, which he instances in that of saffron, first brought into England by a pilgrim; as also woad, originally from Thoulouse, in Languedoc: "that the damask-rose was first brought into England by Dr. Linacre, physician to king Henry VII. and king Henry VIII. Turkey fowls, about fifty years past (viz. about 1532): the artichoke in king Henry VIII's time; and of later times the musk-rose and several sorts of plums, by lord Cromwell, out of Italy: the apricot by king Henry VIII's French gardiner; (but there is no mentioned yet of peaches, nor of nectarines).

And now, within these four years (anno 1578) have been brought into England from Vienna, in Austria, divers kinds of flowers called tulips, and others procured thither a little before from Constantinople. And it is said, that since we traded to Zante (this must have been but lately), the plant that beareth the currant is also brought into this realm; and although it brings not fruit to perfection, yet it may serve for pleasure and for some use. (This shews it was then but just introduced.) Many other things have been brought in, that have degenerated by reason of the coldness of the climate: some things brought in, have, through negligence, been long lost; and archbishop Grindal brought the tamarisk plant from Germany, and many people have received great health by this plant."

On the commencement of the English trade to Turkey, the merchants having occasion to attend the queen and council, they had there great thanks and commendations for the ships they then built of so great burthen, with many encouragements to pursue the plan, for the kingdom's sake, says the author of Trade's Increase, who adds, that the ordinary returns of this trade, at the beginning, were three for one.

By England's entering at this time into a direct trade to Turkey, all the commodities of Greece, Syria, Egypt, Persia, and India, came home to us much cheaper. "And (says sir William Monson) when the Venetians served us with those rich eastern wares, by the way of the Red Sea, and down the Nile to Alexandria, and also by the way of caravans to Aleppo, they (i. e. the Venetians) also were then wont to take freight in their ships from port to port, whereas now (i. e. 1685) all strangers are more desirous to employ our own ships in that service."

Jacobs, in his *Lex Mercatoria*, alleges (upon what authority I know not), that the Barbary merchants were incorporated in king Henry VII's time; but that company decaying, out of their ruins arose the Levant or Turkey company, who first trading with Venice, and then with Turkey, furnished England that way with East Indian commodities, which till then were brought to us (mostly) by land, and to the Portuguese alone by long sea," &c.

The same year, 1582, the ship *Susan*, of London, mounting thirty-four guns, carried over to Turkey the English ambassador, Hareborn, who now first settled peace with Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, which piratical states had taken many ships belonging to London, Bristol, &c. and Hareborn having established all the English factories in Turkey (maugre the spite and malice of the French and Venetians) returned over-land to England.

Sir Walter Raleigh, whose great genius much inclining him to new enterprizes and discoveries, had this year formed a society of gentlemen and merchants to subscribe a considerable sum of money towards forming a settlement on the continent of North America, and on Lady-day, 1584, queen Elizabeth granted them a charter for that purpose. Amidas and Barlow, with two vessels, were accordingly sent thither: but they sailed about a thousand leagues out of their way; for the short course to the northern parts of America not being as yet known to us, they steered the wonted course of

the Spaniards, by the Canary Islands, and thence into the trade-winds to the Caribbee Islands, thence sailing through the Gulph of Florida, they anchored at a part of what is now called Virginia, where, making some insignificant trade with the natives, exchanging toys for their furs, they returned home with gain (as they said), and greatly magnified the richness of the country. For encouraging a second adventure, they brought home some pearls and tobacco (the first of that sort that had been seen in England.) The wise queen seemed fond of this design, and either she herself, or sir Walter Raleigh, gave the country the name of Virginia, which they judiciously represented to be a pleasant country, abounding in fine woods, deer, hares, wild fowl, fish, vines, currants, &c.

Raleigh therefore obtained queen Elizabeth's patent to himself, &c. for the possessing such remote heathen lands, not then inhabited by Christians, as they should discover for six years, of which they thereby had the property granted to them for ever, reserving to the crown the fifth part of all gold and silver ore found therein, with power to seize to their proper use all ships, with their merchandize, that shall, without leave, plant within two hundred leagues of this intended settlement, excepting, however, the queen's subjects and allies, fishing at Newfoundland, &c. She also grants free denization to the planters and their posterity residing there: powers are also granted to the patentees for making bye-laws there, not repugnant to those of England.

It is observable, that in this, and some other patents of those times, there were no distinct place, longitude, or latitude, fixed or limited for such plantation, although undoubtedly North America was the country intended.

In the next year, 1585, captain John Davis, with two barks from Dartmouth, first sailed into the streights since called by his name, in the country called Old Greenland, and returned home the same year, as all others have done, without making any useful discovery. At this time we find they knew the use of somewhat like the harpoon, with which they killed a porpoise; but though many whales fell in their way, they knew not yet the right method of killing them.

This same year the gallant sir Richard Grenville sailed for Virginia by the old round-about course, above described, with seven ships, laden with arms, ammunition, and provisions, and with settlers for planting a colony. He began with planting at Roanoke Island, lying about five leagues from the continent, in eighty-six degrees north latitude. There he left one hundred and eight men: it is a truly melancholy consideration, that those poor creatures were left to shift for themselves in so wild a country, for above a year; who, so eager to discover gold and silver mines (now never like to be found there), whilst they neglected to prepare their provisions in due season, and going up the country in quest of those mines (for golden dreams were then universal), most of them were either destroyed by the natives, or perished for want; and the few who survived were taken up by sir Francis Drake, coming now again upon the coast from harrassing the Spanish West Indies, who took them all home with him, even although they had sown corn there, which was very near ripe, sufficient for two years sustenance;

sustenance; and they were but just gone, when a ship, fitted out at the sole expence of sir Walter Raleigh, arrived there with all sorts of conveniences, as did sir Richard Grenville soon after, with three other ships, bringing a farther supply: but finding the places quite desolate where the English planters had settled, they all returned home. In those accounts there appears to be some confusion, with respect as well to the identical year, as to the names of persons engaged therein, which is owing to the inaccuracy of writers and transcribers in those days, which, however is of very little consequence at present.

Sir Walter Raleigh had his mind so intensely set upon a plantation in North America, that he again sent out three ships, with an hundred and fifty persons of both sexes. These planters Raleigh's superintendant settled in the isle of Roanoke, where he found the second colony had been destroyed by the natives. Here he rebuilt the fort and houses, calling it the city of Raleigh in Virginia: he left one hundred and fifteen men in this new settlement, and returned home, where he remained three years before he could obtain the necessary supplies, which he had promised to bring in the year after he had left the colony, where he arrived in 1590, with these supplies both of men and stores, in three ships. It seems, such of the colony as had remained alive had removed to a place on the continent called Croatoan, that word being carved upon the trees; to this place they intended to sail in search of the colony, but a storm unfortunately arising, the ships lost their anchors and cables, and provisions also failing, they agreed to return home, leaving that miserable colony to perish, to the shame of that age; for although Raleigh was in trouble about this time, yet surely the queen and nation ought to have shewn some compassion to the poor people left in a wilderness amongst savages.

Thus was this scheme of a plantation in Virginia quite laid aside during all the rest of queen Elizabeth's reign, and all the great expence of Raleigh and the other adventurers utterly thrown away, besides the loss of many mens lives.

It was in the year 1591 that the first voyage from England to East India was undertaken with three ships; but it was rather a privateering adventure, than a proper mercantile voyage, for they took several ships in their way to India. They had lost so many men by sickness near the cape of Good Hope, that they were obliged to send one of their ships home, and proceeded with only two to India: moreover, in a storm beyond the Cape they lost company with captain Raymond in the principal ship, which was never heard of more; so that only captain Lancaster's ship arrived in India, which also met with many grievous misfortunes; and, on her return, sailing to the West Indies, whilst the captain and the rest of the men went on shore to seek provisions on an uninhabited island, six of the sailors ran away with the ship; and at the end of three years this unfortunate officer was brought home, several of his men having perished for want at that place.

Some English ships now made a voyage to Cape Breton, at the entrance of the Bay of St. Laurence, in North America, some for morse-fishing and others for whale-fishing (says Hakluyt), which is the first mention we find of the latter fishery by any English; and although they met with no whales there,

they found on an island eight hundred whale-fins, where a Biscay ship had been lost three years before. This too is the first mention of whale fins or whale-bone by the English. How the ladies stays were made before this commodious material in them was discovered, does not appear; probably slit pieces of cane, or of some other tough and pliant wood, might have been in use before.

By the trade to Archangel the English became well acquainted with the northern seas at this time, where also they at first carried on a great fishing, or hunting rather, for morfes (as the Russians call them, the English call them sea-horses, and the Dutch and French, sea-cows) on Cherry Island, beyond the North Cape, so called from alderman Cherry, but called by the Dutch Bear Island: but it seems those amphibious animals became so shy, that the moment they saw any man, they ran into the sea. The English thereupon fell into the whale-fishery, though not quite so early as this time.

Grotius tells us, that the Hollanders, about this time built two thousand ships every year; a thing almost incredible, considering their new existence as an independent state, did it not proceed from so illustrious and respectable an author, and their own countryman.

Our own Turkey merchants first, and the Dutch East India company next (for they had got the start of us in the East India trade) keeping up the price of pepper and other spices to a high rate, we being at war with Spain, and so could not get spices from Lisbon at first-hand, queen Elizabeth now determined to enter her people directly on a commerce to East India.

Accordingly, on the thirty-first of December, 1600, she granted a charter to George, earl of Cumberland, and two hundred and fifteen knights, aldermen, and merchants, "that, at their own costs and charges they may set forth one or more voyages to the East Indians, in the countries and parts of Asia and Africa, and to the islands thereabout, divers of which countries, islands, &c. have long since been discovered by others of our subjects; to be one body politic and corporate, by the name of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London, trading to the East Indies: to have succession: to purchase lands (without limitation): to have one governor, and twenty-four persons, to be elected annually, who shall be called Committees, jointly to have the direction of the voyages, the provision of the shipping, and the management of all other things belonging to the said company. Sir Thomas Smith, alderman of London, was to be the first governor: and a deputy-governor to be elected in a general court: both the governors, and all the committees to take the oath of fidelity; as also every member shall take an oath, before being admitted to traffic as a freeman of this company. The company, their sons (at twenty-one years of age), their apprentices, servants, and factors, in India or elsewhere, may, for fifteen years, from Christmas last, freely and solely trade (by such ways and passages as are already found out, or which shall hereafter be discovered) into the countries and ports of Asia and Africa, and into and from all the islands, ports, towns, and places of Asia, Africa, and America, or any of them, beyond Cape Bona Esperanza to the Streights of Magellan, where any traffic of merchandize may

may be used, and to and from every of them, in such manner as shall from time to time be limited and agreed on, at any general court of the company; any statute, usage, diversity of religion or faith, or any other matter to the contrary notwithstanding, so as it be not any country already possessed by any Christian potentate in amity with her majesty, who shall declare the same to be against his or their good liking. Either the governor or deputy governor must always be one in the general assemblies, when they may make all reasonable constitutions, &c. agreeable to the laws of England, for their good government, by plurality of voices; and may punish, by fines and imprisonment, the offenders against their laws. The queen grants the company an exemption from paying any customs for the first four voyages; and for the customs which shall afterwards be payable for merchandize from India, the company shall be allowed to give their bonds, payable one half in six months and the other half in six months after: for merchandize lost at sea, outward-bound, the customs shall be allowed to the company out of the next cargo shipped off. Indian merchandize that shall have paid the customs, may, at the end of thirteen months, be re-exported by any subjects, without paying for their customs. The company may export, in their first voyage, now preparing, thirty thousand pounds in foreign coin, or bullion, so that at least six thousand pounds thereof be first coined in the queen's mint; and the like for the subsequent voyages; provided the company first import at least so much foreign coin or bullion, in gold or silver, into this realm, of which six thousand pounds shall be coined as aforesaid. The company may send yearly to East India six good ships and six pinnaces, with five hundred mariners, unless the navy-royal goes forth. None of the queen's subjects, but the company, their servants, or assigns, shall resort to India, without being licenced by the company, upon pain of forfeiting ships and cargoes, with imprisonment till the offenders give one thousand pounds bond to the company not to trade thither again. Nevertheless, for the encouragement of merchants strangers, and others, to bring in commodities to the realm, the queen gives power to the company to grant licences to trade to East India; and she promises not to grant leave to any others to trade thither, during the company's term, without their consent. The majority of any general meeting of the company may admit apprentices, servants, factors, &c. to the fellowship or freedom of the said company. The silver to be exported shall only be shipped at the ports of London, Dartmouth, and Plymouth, and shall be duly entered by the custom-house officers, without paying any custom for the same. Gold and silver, imported by the company, shall be entered before the landing of the same. Provided, that, in case this charter shall hereafter appear not to be profitable to the crown and realm, then, upon two years notice to the company, their charter shall cease and determine: but if otherwise, then the queen promises, at the end of the said fifteen years, upon the company's suit, to grant them a new charter for fifteen years longer."

This is the very same East India company which, through many various vicissitudes, existed under the same denomination until the year 1708, when it was absorbed by the present United Company of

Merchants of England trading to the East Indies. The original shares subscribed were fifty pounds each.

To close this account of the rise and first proceedings of our East India company, we shall remark, that the company's ships in their homeward bound passage took possession of the island of St. Helena, then uninhabited; though, according to the custom of the Portuguese, well stocked with goats, hogs, and poultry, that they might be supplied therewith when obliged at any time to stop there. Here our East India company planted and fortified, and held it till the year 1673; as will be shewn in the course of this history. This island is all a high rock, whose surface is covered with about twelve inches of earth. As the winds blow constantly at south-east, from the Cape of Good Hope to this island (which is about twenty-two miles in circuit), it is sailed in about three weeks, without handling the sails, and the moderate gale renders the voyage very pleasant. On the contrary, it is extremely difficult to find this island in sailing from Europe, because of the said constant south-east wind; for which reason, when a ship is sent from England thither, they are obliged to sail directly to the Cape of Good Hope, and thence take their course to St. Helena, as already described. The great and only benefit our shipping receive from this island, is the fresh water and provisions they there meet with in their return from India, whereby above two hundred families are there supported and employed.

The very last day of the XVIth century having thus given birth and form to the first English East India company, the members thereof immediately raised seventy-two thousand pounds, though not in one joint-stock, or common capital, as in succeeding times, there having been no joint-stock in this company till the year 1613. They this year, 1601, sent out their first fleet for India, commanded in chief by captain James Lancaster, having one ship of six hundred tons, one of three hundred tons, two of two hundred each, and one of one hundred and thirty, as victualler to the whole fleet, carrying four hundred and eighty men and twenty seven thousand pounds in money and goods, the remainder of the said seventy-two thousand pounds being entirely expended in the purchase of those ships, and for artillery, ammunition, provisions, &c. But queen Elizabeth did not live to see the return of this voyage. At Acheen, in the island of Sumatra, they loaded pepper for some of their ships, but not meeting with a sufficiency, and sailing from thence for the Streights of Malacca, they completed their lading by the capture of a Portuguese ship of nine hundred tons, laden with calicoes and other goods. Sailing thence to Bantam, they delivered queen Elizabeth's letter and presents to the king, as they had before done to the king of Acheen; and from both those kings they received letters and presents for queen Elizabeth; they also obtained privileges for the company from those monarchs. Having settled factories at Bantam, they sailed homewards, and arrived in the Downs in September, 1603, having prosperously made their first voyage in two years and seven months.

In the year 1601, we have a statute of the forty-third of queen Elizabeth (cap. xii.) for awarding commissioners to hear and determine policies of assurances made among merchants, in the preamble

of which statute are the following words: "Whereas it hath been, time out of mind, an usage amongst merchants, both of this realm and of foreign nations, when they make any great adventure (especially into remote parts, to give some consideration of money to other persons (which is commonly in no small number) to have from them assurance made of their goods, merchandizes, ships, and things adventured, or some parts thereof, at such rates, and in such sort as the party assurers and party assured can agree; which course of dealing is commonly termed a Policy of Assurance; by means of which it cometh to pass, upon the loss or perishing of any ship, there followeth not the undoing of any man, but the loss lighteth rather easily upon many, than heavily upon few, and rather upon them that adventure not, than upon those that adventure; whereby all merchants, especially of the younger sort, are allured to venture more willingly, and more freely: and whereas heretofore such assurers have used to stand so justly and precisely on their credit, as few or no controversies have arisen thereupon; and if any have grown, the same have, from time to time, been ended and ordered by certain grave and discreet merchants, appointed by the lord-mayor of London; until of late years, that divers persons have withdrawn themselves from that arbitrary course, and have sought to draw the parties assured to seek their moneys in her majesty's courts, to their great charges and delay. For remedy whereof, it is now enacted, that the lord-chancellor (or keeper) do award one general or standing yearly commission for the determining of causes on policies of assurance, such as now are, or hereafter shall be entered within the office of assurance within the city of London, this commission to consist of the judge of the admiralty, the recorder of London; two doctors of the civil law, two common lawyers, and eight discreet merchants, or to any five of them: which commission shall have authority to determine all causes concerning policies of assurance, in a summary way; who shall summon the parties, examine witnesses upon oath, and imprison disobeyers of their decrees. They shall meet weekly at the office of assurance, on the west side of the Royal Exchange, for the execution of their commission, without fee or reward. And any such as may think themselves aggrieved by their determinations, may, in two months, exhibit his bill in Chancery, for a re-examination of such decree; provided the complainant do first lay down to the said commissioners the sum awarded; and that the lord-chancellor, or keeper, may either reverse or confirm the first decree, according to equity. Lastly, no commissioner shall be an assurer, or assured."

This law sufficiently demonstrates, that at this time there was a great increase of foreign commerce in England.

Assurance, or insurance, of ships and merchandize on the seas, is of great antiquity, even as far back as the reign of the emperor Claudius Cæsar.

The sea-laws of Oleron, as far back as the year 1194, treat of it.

It seems to have been in use in England upon the revival of commerce, somewhat earlier than on the continent; and Antwerp, though in its meridian glory, learned it from England: "whereas (says Molineux's *Lex Mercatoria*, the meetings of

merchants in London were held in Lombard-street (so called because certain nations of Lombardy kept there a pawn-house, or Lombard, long before the Royal Exchange was built), all the policies of assurance at Antwerp; which then were, and now (1622) yet are made, do make mention, that it shall be in all things concerning the said assurances, as was accustomed to be done in Lombard-street in London; which is imitated also in other places of the Low Countries."

As the gradual increase of the suburbs of London does in great measure keep pace with the gradual increase of the general commerce of England, and as it is, moreover, a curious and entertaining part of history, to mark the gradual advances of both, I therefore have no need of an apology for laying before my readers whatever falls in my way of that kind, during the period now before us.

We find by an act of the fourteenth and fifteenth of Henry VIII. (cap. ii.) for limiting foreign artificers as to their journeymen and apprentices, that the jurisdiction of the London corporations was to extend two miles from the city, viz. within the town of Westminster, the parish of St. Martin in the Fields, and of Our Lady in the Strand, St. Clement Danes without Temple-bar, St. Giles in the Fields, St. Andrew in Holborn, the town and borough of Southwark, Shoreditch, White-chapel parish, St. John's street (i. e. Clerkenwell), and Clerkenwell parish, St. Botolph without Aldgate, St. Catherine's (near the Tower of London), and Bermondsey-street." This is an authentic view of the several suburbs of London in the year 1524. Nevertheless we are not to imagine that all those suburbs were contiguous to each other, or joined, as at present to the great contiguity; for there were then, and long after, sundry large breaks, or interruptions, where no buildings were; not only the street (now so well built) called the Strand, then chiefly taken up with the capital dwellings of the nobility, with their large adjoining gardens, but also a great part of St. Martin's parish, were still literally in the Fields: the like may be said of St. Giles in the Fields (then styled the town of St. Giles), and of the upper part of St. Andrew's in Holborn, much of all which, and also of Westminster, Clerkenwell, Shoreditch, White chapel, and Southwark, was literally Fields, even so late as the reign of queen Elizabeth, as appears by a map of London and its suburbs, still extant, first published in the year 1560.

By a statute 24 Henry VIII. the streetway between Charing-cross and Strand-cross (i. e. that is near where Somerset-house is now situated) in the suburbs of London, was directed "to be sufficiently paved and maintained, at the charge of the owners of the land adjoining." This shews that the Strand was not yet built into a continued street.

In the following year, 1534, the high-street between Holborn-bridge and Holborn-bars, at the west end thereof, was directed to be paved; as were also the streets of Southwark; and that every one should maintain the said pavements before his own ground, or forfeit to the king six pence for every yard square.

In the thirty-second of the said king's reign, viz. anno 1541, the following streets or ways in London were ordered to be paved, viz. 1. The street leading from Aldgate to White-chapel church: 2. the upper part of the lane called Chancery-lane: 3.

were brought from beyond seas to sell again, if they were bound: that no man shall buy books by retail, brought from beyond seas; and that the prices of books, increased to a miserable rate, were to be qualified by the king's great officers of state, or the justices, or any two of them. Several other acts, not relating to the business of the Reformation, were likewise passed for the benefit of the subject, but are too immaterial to be mentioned here.

The parliament of 1536, undertook and brought about the union of England with Wales, in the manner we have related in the history of this reign; and, in order to introduce a general uniformity, justices of the peace, with like powers as they have in England, were appointed by the lord chancellor of England in the county-palatine of Chester, and the other counties already mentioned. By another, the inhuman forest-laws were taken away. By another, it was enacted, that no person, from the first of July, 1536, should have power and authority to pardon or remit treasons, murders, manslughters, or any felons, or their accessaries, in any part of England, Wales, or the Marches of the same: that likewise none should make justices of oyer, justices of assize, justices of peace, or justices of jail-delivery; but they should be made by the king's letters patent; and that all original writs, and all manner of indictments of treason, felony, and trespass, and all manner of trespass, should be made in the king's name; and things done against the king's peace, should be supposed to be done against the king's peace, and not against the peace of any other person. But, notwithstanding the generality of those acts, a great many privileges still continued to the proprietors of lordships.

It appears that there was as yet in England no determined method established by the municipal law for the trial of pirates, who were left to the forms of the civil law, which did not admit any one to be put to death without first confessing their offences, and required more strict proof of the fact than the nature of the offence would admit of: by this means great numbers of offenders had escaped; and those who were convicted, were often put to the torture for confession: but it was now enacted, that they should be judged by commissioners appointed by the king, and in the same manner as if their offences had been committed on land; and that no benefit of clergy should be allowed the criminal: the act, however, very properly made a distinction between pirates, and those who took things through necessity, upon the sea; the said things, viz. provisions, materials, or utensils for navigating the ship, to be paid for, if taken on this side the streights of Morocco (Gibraltar, I suppose) in four months; and if on the other side, in twelve. Another act was made in favour of the breed of English horses; and a penalty imposed upon those who, having parks, did not keep mares thirteen hands, and stallions fourteen hands high. Several regulations were likewise made concerning the form for suing for the gifts and grants made under the king's sign manual. The king, likewise, in this session, carried, in part, his former design of voiding private deeds made in prejudice of the right of wardship: it was likewise enacted, that no lands should pass by bargain and sale, but that which was by writing indented, sealed, and enrolled.

We have now the title of the first law ever made in England relating to bankrupts, in the thirty-fourth year of Henry VIII. viz. "the lord-chancellor, treasurer, &c. shall take order with bankrupts bodies, lands, and goods, for the payment of their debts." But there was a farther regulation made in this act by the thirteenth of Elizabeth.

We now come to the time when interest, or use for money lent, and in those days always known by the name of Usury, was first settled in England by law. It was a statute of 37 Henry VIII. cap. ix. entitled, "How offenders in usury shall be punished." Before this time (says the judicious Josiah Child) there was no law for limiting the rate of interest; there was little trade, and as little money, in the nation, wherefore every man took such an interest for what money he could put out, as he could get; which in sundry instances (to be found in history here and there) was, before this time, higher than ten per cent. as partly appears from the strong expressions in this law, the preamble of which says, "that sundry statutes have been made for the avoiding and punishing of usury, being a thing unlawful [and yet, with the same breath, these lawgivers established it; for this was the church's opinion in those times, though never uniformly put in practice], of other corrupt bargains, shiefts, and chevifances; which statutes are so obscure and dark in intent [so framed on purpose to leave room to avoid the penalties; whilst, in general words (to please the clergy), it was declared sinful], and are of so little force, that by reason whereof little or no punishment hath ensued to the offenders of the same; for reformation whereof (says this preamble gravely), be it enacted, that all former statutes concerning usury, shiefts, &c. all forfeitures and penalties concerning the same be henceforth utterly void.

TAXES in the Reign of HENRY VIII.

In his fourth year, in a parliament at Westminster, were granted to the king two fifteenths of the temporalty, and two tenths of the clergy; and head money, of every duke ten marks, an earl five pounds, a baron four pounds, a knight four marks, and every man valued at eight hundred pounds in goods, to pay four marks, and so after that rate till him that was valued at forty shillings, and he paid twelve pence; and every man and woman of fifteen years and upwards, four pence.

In his sixteenth year a parliament was holden, wherein divers subsidies were granted to the king, towards the charges of his wars in France.

In his fourteenth year, order was taken by cardinal Wolsey, that the true value of all men's substance might be known, and would have had every man sworn to give an account of his worth, and required a tenth part thereof towards the king's charges in the then war, as the spirituality had granted a fourth part: this the Londoners thought very hard, and thereupon were excused taking an oath, and were allowed to bring in their bills upon their honesties. But when all was done, after much labouring by the cardinal, the clergy granted one half of their yearly spiritual revenues for five years; and the temporalty, two shillings in the pound, from twenty pounds and upwards; and from forty shillings to twenty pounds, of every twenty shillings twelve pence; and under forty shillings, of every head, of sixteen years and upwards, four pence, to be paid in every two years.

In his sixteenth year, the cardinal, of his own head, attempted by commission to draw the people to pay the sixth part of every man's substance in plate or money; but this was generally opposed, and caused insurrections in several counties, which coming to the king's knowledge, he utterly disavowed it, and blamed the cardinal extremely for attempting it.

In his twenty-fourth year, in a parliament then held, a fifteenth was granted to the king, towards his charges in erecting fortifications against Scotland.

In his thirty-first year, a subsidy of two shillings in the pound upon lands, and twelve upon goods, with four fifteenths, were granted to the king, towards his charges in making bulwarks.

In his thirty-fifth year, a subsidy was granted, to be paid in three years; every Englishman being worth, in goods, twenty shillings and upwards to five pounds, to pay four pence of every pound; from five pounds to ten pounds, eight pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, sixteen pence; and from twenty pounds and upwards, of every pound two shillings: strangers, as well denizens as others, being inhabitants, to pay double. And for lands, every Englishman paid eight pence of the pound, from twenty shillings to five pounds; from five pounds to ten pounds, sixteen pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, two shillings; and from twenty pounds and upwards, of every pound three shillings: strangers double. The clergy, six shillings in every pound of benefices; and every priest having no benefice, but an annual stipend, six shillings and eight pence yearly, during three years.

EDWARD VI.

A Very necessary statute was made the second and third of Edward VI. cap. xv. "for restraining the sellers of all manner of provision in England, from combining together not to sell but at a fixed price; and also for restraining workmen and labourers not to make or do their work but at a fixed price; or to do but a certain work in a day, or not to work but at certain hours." A clause, wisely intended, was added to this act, licensing all manner of workmen relating to building of houses, &c. to follow their occupation in all cities and towns corporate, although they did not live therein, nor were free of such corporations: but this clause was repealed by a statute of the third and fourth of this king, cap. xx. plainly (as appears) by the interposition of the city of London, who represented "that being the king's chamber and most ancient city of this realm, the artificers and craftsmen of the arts, crafts, and mysteries aforesaid, were at great costs and charges, as well in bearing and paying taxes, tallages, subsidies, scot, lot, and other charges, as well to the king's majesty as to the said city, and to many and sundry triumphs and other times for the king's honour; and that if foreigners [i. e. non-freemen] should come and work among them within the liberties of the said city, contrary to their ancient privileges, the same should be a great decay of learning, and the impoverishment and driving away of the freemen, being artificers of the crafts and mysteries aforesaid, within the said city; for reformation whereof, the said clause is hereby repealed entirely." So that the reasons for this repeal are expressed as above only in respect to Lon-

don, yet the repeal being general, took in all other corporations, cities, and towns; and so it remains to our own times, contrary to the opinion of most wise and judicious men. By cap. iii. of the said second and third year of king Edward VI. for regulating the purveyors for the king's household, post-horses are therein fixed at one penny per mile.

In the third and fourth of king Edward VI. there was an act of parliament passed (cap. ii.) with many well-contrived clauses for preventing of frauds in the woollen manufactures in England, such as for the clothier's seal on his cloth, against over-stretching the cloths, for the well drying of cloth, also for the well dyeing of wool to be converted into cloth, or into hats or caps; also for preventing the putting any deceitful thing upon cloth, such as flocks, chalk, flour, starch, &c. nor to use iron cards in the rowing of cloths; also for just measuring of cloths: for all which purposes overseers are directed to be annually appointed, not only in corporation-towns, by the chief magistrates, jointly with the wardens, &c. of the clothworkers, but in towns, villages, and hamlets not incorporated, by the justices of the peace, jointly with the clothworkers; which overseers shall, at least once in every quarter of a year, or as often as they think needful, visit clothiers, drapers, dyers, and pressers houses, shops, &c. to which overseers one moiety is hereby given of all the forfeitures and penalties of this act, and the other to the king, &c. All which evidently shews the care of the legislature for that manufacture, and also that it was at this time universally spread all over the kingdom, and in a flourishing condition.

Notwithstanding all which favourable laws for regulating the English woollen manufacture, we have another statute, anno 1552 (5 and 6 Edward VI.) for the very same ends and purposes, to which we refer the curious reader.

We have seen, under the year 1515, a statute for ascertaining the length, breadth, and weight of certain English woollen cloths; as also another more ample statute, anno 1549, for more fully regulating the different kinds of them: in this year, 1552, we have another still more extensive law for the same purpose (5 and 6 Edward VI. cap. vi.) wherein the woollen manufactures of all the different counties of England and Wales are ascertained with respect to length, breadth, weight, &c. whereby all former statutes concerning this subject are repealed. Yet, as perfect as this statute might then be thought, there were many more subsequent ones made on the same subject, not only for ascertaining the true dimensions and weight of those cloths, but for discovering and restraining many frauds and irregularities therein; the full recital of which would be both tiresome and unprofitable to the generality of readers; such as are desirous of perusing them, may consult the statute-books.

By cap. xxiv. of the said 5 and 6 Edward VI. there is another monopolizing act relating to the making of felt hats and thrummed hats, coverlets, and dornecks (i. e. diaper linen), though somewhat more moderate than that in favour of the city of York; for whereas, by the statute made in the year 1544, the manufacture of coverlets was absolutely confined to that city alone, exclusive of all other parts whatever of that county, this law now before us only confines the making of the above-named four kinds of goods to the city

of Norwich, and to corporate or market-towns of that county.

By a statute of the seventh and last year of king Edward VI. cap. v. "I. The prices of wines are fixed thus; Gascony and Guienne at eight pence per gallon; and Rochelle wine at four pence per gallon; nor should any other wines be sold at an higher price than twelve pence per gallon, on forfeiture of five pounds. This statute is said, in the preamble, to be enacted for the avoiding of many inconveniences, much evil rule, and common resort of misruled persons, used and frequented in many taverns, of late newly set up in back lanes, corners, and suspicious places, both in London and other towns and villages.

"II. The next clause enacts, that none but such as can spend a thousand marks, or else, lastly, shall be the son of a duke, marquis, earl, viscount, or baron of the realm, shall have in his house any vessel of the said wines, for his family's use, exceeding ten gallons, on forfeiture of ten pounds.

"III. Nor shall any person keep a tavern retailing of the said wines, unless licensed, and that only in cities, towns-corporate, boroughs, port-towns, or market-towns, or in the towns of Gravesend, Sitting-bourn, Tuxford, and Bagshot, on the forfeiture of ten pounds: and there shall be but two taverns for retailing wines in every city or town, except in London, which may have forty taverns, in York eight taverns, in Norwich four, in Westminster three, in Bristol six, in Lincoln three, in Hull four, in Shrewsbury three, in Exeter four, in Salisbury three, in Gloucester four, in Westchester four, in Hereford three, in Worcester three, in Southampton three, in Canterbury four, in Ipswich three, in Winchester three, in Oxford three, in Cambridge four, in Colchester three, in Newcastle upon Tyne four. By this limitation it may be thought a pretty near guess may be made at the comparative magnitude of cities and towns, allowances being made for towns situated on very public roads; yet this matter is nevertheless still very uncertain.

"IV. None of the said taverns shall retail wines to be spent or drank within their respective houses.

"V. Merchants may use in their own houses (but not to sell) such wines as they shall import; also high-sheriffs, magistrates of cities and towns, and inhabitants of fortified towns, may keep vessels of wine for their own consumption only."

As extraordinary as several parts of this statute may appear to some of us at this time, they may be pretty well accounted for, not only from the sobriety, poverty, and simplicity of that age, compared with ours, but also from the unsettled and tumultuous disposition of a great part of the people, those especially who adhered to the old religion, and those also who excited commotions in most counties against inclosures; yet, with respect to the limited number of taverns, in several of the fore-named towns, we cannot now perhaps altogether clearly judge or determine the proportion of the magnitude of those places therefrom; for instance, Cambridge is allowed four and Oxford but three taverns; nor some other points relating to this act.

TAXES in the Reign of EDWARD VI.

In no king's reign were ever more parliaments for the time, nor fewer subsidies. The greatest was

in his last year, when there was but one subsidy, with two fifteenths and tenths, granted by the temporality, and a subsidy by the clergy. And indeed, to shew how loth this king was to lay impositions upon his people, this may be a sufficient argument, that, though he was much in debt, yet he chose rather to negotiate a loan of money from the people of the Low Countries, at the interest of fourteen per cent. per ann. But his way of raising money was by selling the chantry-lands and religious houses, granted him by parliament; and by enquiring after all church-goods, either remaining or embezzled, as jewels, gold and silver chalices, ready money, copes, and other vestments, reserving to every church one chalice and one covering for the communion-table, the rest to be applied to his own benefit. He also raised money by enquiring after offences of officers in great places: on enquiry one Beaumont, master of the Rolls, being convicted of many crimes, surrendered all his offices, lands, and goods, into the king's hands. Also one Whalley, receiver of Yorkshire, being found a delinquent, surrendered his office, and paid a great fine besides. Also the lord Paget, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, conscious that he had sold the king's lands and timber woods without commission, and had applied the king's stores to his own use, for these and other offences, surrendered his office, and was fined four thousand pounds, which he paid in hand. One thing more was done in his time, for raising of money; twenty thousand pounds weight of bullion was appointed to be made so much baser, that the king might gain thereby one hundred and forty thousand pounds.

M A R Y.

WE have seen, under the year 1285, that the first statutes made in England for widening the roads between market-towns, was made purely for the prevention of robberies, without the least hint therein of the benefit to arise thereby to carriages, on account of commerce, of which there was but very little at that time.

From that time we meet with nothing relating to that subject (except the paving the suburbs about London, &c.) till king Henry VIII's reign, in which there are four statutes, viz. two for the altering or removing certain roads (annis 14 & 15, cap. vi.) in the Weald of Kent, and (anno 26, cap. vii.) in the deep ways of Suffex; both which have been already taken notice of, under the year 1524; a third, for mending a lane near Chester; and a fourth for the repair of bridges, and highways at the ends of bridges; neither of which two did we think worthy of animadversion. But commerce beginning to increase considerably in the reign of his daughter Mary, whereby the old roads became much more frequented by heavy carriages, an act, of 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, anno 1555 (cap. viii.) takes notice, "that the highways were then very noisome and tedious to travel in, and dangerous to all carriages; wherefore it was now enacted (and is still in force), that every parish should annually elect two surveyors of the highways, to see that the parishioners, according to their lands, abilities, farms, &c. send their carts, horses, men, tools, &c. four days in every year, for mending the roads." So that this is properly the first general statute made for mending the roads, extending

extending to all England and Wales, by the labour and expence of each respective parish alone; and on that bottom alone we find in all six statutes relating to this subject in queen Mary's reign, nineteen in queen Elizabeth's, and one in king James I's reign; after which there were none of this kind till king Charles II's Restoration. The said parochial means for keeping the roads in repair were found, in most cases, tolerably effectual, till after the Restoration of Charles II. when the vast increase of the nation's commerce and manufactures, and of the capital city of London, with the concomitant increase of luxury, brought in such a number of heavy-wheeled carriages on our roads, as rendered it by degrees impracticable in most cases for parishes entirely to keep their own part of the roads in tolerable condition, more especially in the counties near London, and in the manufacturing counties. This has introduced the more equitable and effectual method of tolls payable at numberless toll-gates (called turnpikes) by the identical wearers of those roads alone: and many subsequent local statutes have been made for those ends, and also several general ones for limiting the weight of waggon-loads, the breadth of wheel-rims, called fellies, the number of horses, &c. And thus much we thought sufficient to serve for a summary history of the laws relating to the roads of England, so as not to have much occasion to name them any more in this work.

What we have here said, concerning a summary history of the keeping the roads or highways of England in repair, may also be partly applied to the subject of deepening rivers, and meliorating havens or harbours on the sea-coasts. With respect to the former, we have seen that the first instance thereof in the statute book, is that of the third of Henry VI. (cap. v.) for deepening the river Lea from the town of Ware to London, an. 1424; and that in his ninth year (cap. ix.) for the same end: after which we find none, either for rivers or for havens, till the reign of Henry VIII. who repaired and fortified several harbours; for that of 4 Henry VII. for preserving the river Thames, relates merely to the fishing therein; and that of the eleventh of the same king, for removing weirs and engines from Southampton harbour, was for the like purpose; but we find no more statutes of either kind till queen Elizabeth's reign, some of which, as also subsequent ones, we may perhaps think it necessary to take a more particular notice of, in their respective places; as also for bridges over rivers.

TAXES in the Reign of Queen MARY.

Queen Mary began with a rare example, for in the first year of her reign, she remitted, by proclamation, the subsidy of four shillings in the pound of land, and two shillings in the pound of goods granted in the last parliament of king Edward VI.

In her second year, in a parliament then holden, was granted to the king and queen a subsidy of the laity, from five pounds to ten pounds, of eight pence in the pound; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, of twelve pence in the pound; and from twenty pounds and upwards, of sixteen pence in the pound; all strangers to pay double: and the clergy, six shillings in the pound. If this were all, then, upon the matter, in all her time there came no new charge upon her people: for one subsidy remitted, and one received, made but even.

In her last year she borrowed twenty thousand pounds of the city of London, at the rate of twelve per cent. per annum.

ELIZABETH.

IN the fifth year of Elizabeth (cap. iii.) was the first statute enacted in England for the relief of the poor: for whereas all other acts of parliament were only on the foot of voluntary contributions for the poor, resting or depending upon the charitable devotion of the people, which method had not answered the intended purpose, or prevented common beggars from multiplying every where, it was now therefore found necessary to go a step farther. It is certain that the suppression of the convents had not a little increased this disorder; those houses having been a great relief to the poor of their own lands, and in their neighbourhood, to whom not only their kitchens, but their granaries, were ever open, more especially in times of dearth; when, therefore, the church-lands were sold by Henry VIII. at very easy purchases, it was then declared to be for enabling the buyers to keep up that wonted hospitality, which, however, they greatly neglected to do; yet still there was no compulsory law till now. This act, therefore, after "directing poor and impotent persons of every parish to be relieved of that which every person will, of their charity, give weekly, to be gathered by collectors, and distributed to the poor, so as none of them shall go, or sit, openly begging; (now comes the compulsory clause) and if any parishioner shall obstinately refuse to pay reasonably towards the relief of the said poor, or shall discourage others, then the justices of the peace, at their quarter-sessions, may tax him at a reasonable weekly sum; which if he refuses to pay, they may commit him to prison: yet, where the parishioners have more poor than they can relieve, the justices may licence so many of their poor as they shall think proper, to beg in one or more hundreds of their respective counties. Lastly, beggars in any other place than where legally licenced, were to be punished according to the laws of vagabonds."

The next statute of the same session of parliament (viz. cap. iv.) entitled "A repeal of so much of former statutes as concern the hiring, keeping, departing, working, or order of servants, labourers, &c. and a declaration who shall be compelled to serve in handicrafts, and whom in husbandry, and their several duties, &c." gives the substance of many former laws, with their imperfections, contrariety, and remarks, and observes that the wages ascertained in many of those acts of parliament were now become insufficient, by reason of the advanced prices of all necessaries since those times; yet, large and comprehensive as this act is (and too much of it is still in force) there are sundry subsequent statutes, both in this and succeeding reigns, for the regulation of disputes between masters and their servants, apprentices, and labourers, concerning their wages, time of labour, &c.

The next law (cap. v.) of that year, entitled "Constitutions for the maintenance of the navy, &c." contains many good clauses for encouraging our own shipping and mariners: as "I. By permitting herrings, and other fish caught upon our coasts, to be exported duty-free. II. That no foreign ships shall carry any goods coastwise, from

any one English port to another. III. Wines and woad shall be imported from France in English shipping alone (with some inconsiderable exceptions.) IV. That, as well for the maintaining of shipping, the increase of fishermen and mariners, and the repairing of port-towns, as for the sparing and increase of the flesh victuals of this realm, it shall not be lawful for any to eat flesh on Wednesday and Saturdays, on the penalty of three pounds for each offence, excepting cases of sickness; and also those by special licences to be obtained [this purely political fasting from flesh meat was partly altered by cap. ii. 27 Eliz. by leaving out Wednesday; yet the victuallers were to utter no flesh in Lent, nor on Fridays and Saturdays]; for which said licence obtained by peers, they were to pay one pound six shillings and four pence to the poor's box of the parish; knights and their wives, thirteen shillings and four pence; and others, six shillings and eight pence each: but no licence was to extend to the eating of beef [on these days] at any time of the year [this shews, that in those days, black cattle were deemed scarce]; nor to the eating of veal, in any year, from Michaelmas to the first day of May. "But because (adds the statute) no person shall misjudge the intent of this statute, be it enacted, that whosoever shall, by preaching, teaching, writing, or open speech, notify that any eating of flesh, or forbearing of flesh, mentioned in this statute, is of any necessity for saving the soul of man, or that it is the service of God, otherwise than as other polite laws are and be, then such persons shall be punished as spreaders of false news ought to be."

In the following year the parliament, assembled at Westminster, among others, passed the following acts, viz. I. An act against holding or maintaining the authority of the bishop of Rome. II. That no one shall procure a false witness, upon the penalty of forty pounds; nor any one be a false witness, upon the penalty of twenty pounds, and six months imprisonment. III. An act making the clipping and wasting of coin treason. IV. That any person who shall be seen or found in the company of Egyptians [gypsies], shall be deemed felons. V. An act for the due execution of the act "De excommunicato capiendo." VI. An act for translating the Bible and Common Prayer Book into Welsh. VII. An act to establish and confirm the queen's supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs. The work of Reformation, which, with several interruptions, had been carrying on above thirty years, was in a great measure completed, and the articles of the church of England settled by the convocation, and reduced to the number of thirty-nine, as they stand at this day.

The parliament which was dissolved on the twenty-second of January, 1567, made the following acts: I. An act declaring the making and consecrating of bishops within this realm, to be good, orderly, and lawful. II. That no man shall send any rams, sheep, or lambs, alive, out of the realm, upon pain, for the first offence, of forfeiture of all his goods, and one year's imprisonment; and for the second, of being declared a felon. III. That cut-purses and pickpockets shall not have benefit of clergy. IV. Whereas there was but one sheriff for Surry and Suffex, one for Essex and Hertfordshire,

one for Somerset and Dorsetshire, one for Warwick and Leicestershire, one for Nottingham and Derbyshire, one for Oxford and Berkshire; it was ordered that, for the future (the year 1567 being the first), each of these counties should have a sheriff respectively.

In the year 1571, the fourteenth of Elizabeth's reign, was passed the famous act for the maintaining the queen's title, of which we have given the substance, in our history of that reign*. The other acts made in this parliament are little worth notice, if we except one relating to the clergy, by which it is enacted, "that no ecclesiastical person shall be admitted to any benefice with cure, except he be twenty-three years of age at least, and shall first subscribe the articles of religion, in presence of the ordinary, and, within two months after induction, read the same in his parish-church, in the time of common prayer, and declare his unfeigned assent thereunto, and all this upon pain of deprivation. That no one shall retain a benefice with cure, being under the age of twenty-one years, or without a testimonial of his honest life, nor unless he is able to render to the ordinary an account of his faith in Latin."

In the eighteenth year of her reign, an act was passed, making it treason to impair, diminish, or falsify the coin of the realm.

The parliament of 1585 enacted several severe laws against papists: it was also declared, "that no person should be returned to serve upon juries, but who has an estate of freehold lands, tenements, or hereditaments, to the clear yearly value of four pounds at least."

The parliament which met in February, 1593, passed a very rigid statute against all non-conformists, which equally affected papists and protestants. In the preamble to this act it is said, "that this act was made for preventing and avoiding such great inconveniences and perils as might happen and grow by the wicked and dangerous practices of seditious sectaries and disloyal persons." The act ran, "that if any person above the age of sixteen years, shall refuse to repair to some church, or refuse to do the same for the space of one month, shall be committed to prison, there to remain, without bail or mainprize, until they shall conform, and make such open submission and declaration of their conformity, as by this act is appointed." The offenders against this statute, who refused to make the submission, were to abjure the realm, and not to return without her majesty's licence, under the penalty of suffering as felons, without benefit of clergy. This bill met with great opposition in the house of commons, as may be seen in d'Ewe's Journal, p. 474, &c. where the speeches on both sides are inserted. There was an act also made against popish recusants, by which they were confined within five miles of their respective dwellings, on forfeiture of all their goods and chattles, together with lands, during life. By another act all the abbey-lands were confirmed to the crown and grantees.

The parliament which met at Westminster on the twenty-fourth of October, 1597, and was dissolved on the ninth of February, 1598, made the following acts: "I. An act for the punishment of rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars: by this statute all the following persons are to be adjudged

† See p. 382, of this volume.

rogues and vagabonds: people who go about begging as poor scholars, or on the pretence of loss by fire or shipwreck; collectors for jails, or persons delivered out of jail and begging for their fees; such as use any subtle craft or unlawful games, fortune-tellers, gypsies, fencers, bear-wards, common players, and minstrels, jugglers, lurkers, pedlars, and petty-chapmen, fellows not working for reasonable wages when they are able, and the like: their punishment is, to be whipped and sent from parish to parish, by the officer in each, the next straight way to the parish where they were born, or last dwelt for the space of a whole year. II. An act for erecting hospitals, houses of correction, and workhouses for the poor. III. One for the increase of mariners, and maintenance of navigation. IV. An act against lewd and wandering persons, pretending to be soldiers or mariners, and travelling without testimonials from justices of the peace.

In the last parliament of this reign, holden at Westminster, on the twenty-seventh of October, 1601, the following statutes were passed. I. An act for the relief of the poor, appointing the choosing of overseers, and the manner of raising money for the relief of the poor. II. That every parish in England shall pay a weekly sum for the relief of the sick, hurt, and maimed soldiers and mariners. III. An act to redress the misemployment of lands, goods, &c. given to charitable uses. IV. That persons cutting and carrying away corn growing, robbing of orchards, breaking or cutting up hedges, poles, &c. and digging or pulling up fruit-trees, cutting or spoiling wood or underwood, not being felony by law, shall be obliged to make satisfaction or be whipped.

TAXES in the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH.

In the parliament holden in the first year of her reign, a subsidy was granted, of two shil-

lings and eight pence in the pound on goods, and four shillings on lands, to be paid at two several payments, by every person, spiritual and temporal.

In her sixth year, in a parliament held at Westminster, one subsidy was granted by the clergy, and another by the laity, together with two fifteenths and tenths.

In her eighth year, at a parliament then held, there were offered to her four subsidies, upon condition she would declare a successor; but she refused their offer, and directly remitted the fourth subsidy which they had granted, saying, "that it was all one, whether the money was in her subjects coffers or in her own."

In her thirteenth year, in a parliament then held, towards her charges of repressing the Northern rebellion, there was granted her a subsidy of six shillings in the pound, by the clergy; and by the temporality, two fifteenths, and a subsidy of two shillings and eight pence in the pound.

In her six-and-thirtieth year a parliament was holden, in which two subsidies were granted by the clergy, and by the laity three, besides six fifteenths and tenths; but it was put in this act, that this contribution, the like whereof had not been known in former ages, should not be drawn into example.

In her fortieth year, in a parliament at Westminster were granted her by the clergy three entire subsidies, and by the laity as many, with six fifteenths and tenths.

In her forty-second year, to furnish her with money towards the Irish war, she delegated certain commissioners to confirm the crown-lands to the possessors that held any of controverted titles, and to take money for the confirmation, thereby to take away the trouble by contractors, who were at this time very busy.

ARTS and SCIENCES, MANNERS and CUSTOMS, in the XVIth Century.

IF there is a satisfaction, says a modern historian, in viewing in painting and sculpture the features of our ancestors, it must be equally so to read in the page of history their manners and dispositions. We have already shewn how great encouragement learning and the polite arts received from Wolsey, in the beginning of this period; neither were the English wanting all this time in cultivating and cherishing new-born arts and discoveries. One Owen is noted as being the first who, about the year 1536, cast brass cannon in England, some specimens of which are said to be still preserved in the Tower of London. The art of printing had also before this time been imported, and had been brought to as great perfection in England as in any neighbouring country. Music and painting had met likewise with encouragement, Henry himself having some taste for those arts, as appears from several letters patent in favour of their professors, especially to the famous Hans Holbein.

Archbishop Nicholson, in his English Historical Library, speaking of the state of geographical knowledge at or about this period, observes, "that since the beginning of king Henry VIII's reign, our eldest general geographer or antiquary is said to have been Thomas Sulmo, a Guernsey man, who died at London in the year 1545. The year

following, a much greater man of the profession, sir Thomas Elliot, one of king Henry's ambassadors, and sir Thomas More's friends, died also. Cotemporary with those two was George Lily (son of William, the famous grammarian), who lived some time at Rome with cardinal Pole, and published the first exact map that ever was, till then, drawn of this island."

In the year 1521 was first introduced the use of hand-guns or musquets, whereby, in process of time the practice of bows and arrows in war was quite laid aside.

About the year 1535, glasses were first begun to be made in England: the finer sort was made in Crutched-friars, London; the fine flint-glass, little inferior to that of Venice, was first made in the Savoy-house, in the Strand, London; but the first glass-plates for looking-glasses and coach-windows, were made about the year 1673, at Vauxhall, near Lambeth, by the encouragement of the duke of Buckingham. The English have improved this manufacture so greatly, as to surpass every other nation in Europe in this useful branch of business.

The ingenious author of the Present State of England, printed in 1683, acquaints us, that the first manufacture of knives in England was begun in 1562, by Thomas Matthews, on Fleet-bridge, London.

London. How strangely are things altered since those times! for now London excels all the earth in this article, and supplies many other nations therewith in great quantities.

Mr. Anderſon, in his moſt elaborate and uſeful work, lately published, concerning the Origin of Commerce, to which I acknowledge myſelf greatly indebted for many curious extracts, tells us that he has in his poſſeſſion the firſt work ever published in England on the art of Italian book-keeping, or merchants-accounts by double-entry; it is a folio, printed at London, anno 1569, in a black letter, the author James Peele. The ſtyle (ſays Mr. Anderſon) is obſolete, yet he has ſufficiently teſtified that he underſtood the true grounds and principles of double-entry accounts full as well as ſome who have written much later.

In all probability, this art of double-entry accounts had its riſe, or at leaſt its revival, amongſt the mercantile cities of Italy: poſſibly it might be firſt known at Venice, about the time that numeral algebra was taught there, from the principles of which ſcience double-entry, or what we call merchants-accounts, ſeem to have been deduced, viz. about the middle of the XVth century, though it did not reach England till our commerce, about this time, began to be conſiderable. It is ſaid that Lucas de Burgo, a friar, was the firſt European author who published his algebraic work at Venice, anno 1494.

In the year 1589, William Lee, M. A. of St. John's college, Cambridge, invented an engine or ſteel-loom, called the Stocking-frame, for knitting or weaving of ſtockings. This was but twenty years after we had firſt learned from Spain the method of knitting them with wires or needles. Mr. Lee's invention has proved of conſiderable benefit to the ſtocking manufacture, by enabling England, in after times, to export vaſt quantities of ſilk ſtockings to Italy, &c. where, it ſeems (by ſir Joſiah Child's excellent Diſcourſe on Trade, firſt published in the year 1678), they had then not got the uſe of the ſtocking-frame, though little ſhort of one hundred years after its invention: yet Dr. Howell, in his *History of the World* (vol. iii. p. 222.) makes this invention eleven years after, 1600; and adds, that Mr. Lee not only taught his art in England and in France, but his ſervants did the ſame in Spain, Venice, and Ireland.

We have the beſt authority for fixing the date of the firſt manufacturing of ſail-cloth in England to the year 1599, being the preamble to an act of parliament of king James I. cap. xxiii. reciting, that “whereas the cloths called Mildernix, and Powl Davies, whereof ſails and other furniture for the navy and ſhipping are made, were heretofore altogether brought out of France, and other parts beyond ſea, and the ſkill and art of making and weaving the ſaid cloth was never known or uſed in England till about the thirty-second year of the reign of the late queen Elizabeth (i. e. 1590.), about which time the ſkill and art of making and weaving was attained to, and ſince practiſed and continued in this realm to the great benefit and commodity thereof,” &c.

As we ſtill excel all nations upon earth both in naval power and maritime commerce, every thing relative to either ſhould (as far as is practicable) come to us at the firſt hand; yet, though it may ſeem ſomewhat ſtrange, that a nation in thoſe

days very far from being eminent in ſhipping, ſhould have ſo long ſupplied us with this great article, it ought to be conſidered, that they were in thoſe days (and long before we fell into it) eminent for the manufacture of many kinds of excellent cloths, made both of flax and hemp; and that perfection (in almoſt every art) is not to be arrived at but by very ſlow degrees.

In or about the ſame year was the invention of the telescope or ſpying-glaſs diſcovered, being juſtly eſteemed one of the moſt uſeful and excellent diſcoveries of modern times; though it was, it ſeems, produced by mere chance. The common account is, that two children of one Janſſen, a ſpectacle-maker at Middleburgh, in Zealand, being at play in their father's ſhop, and looking through two pieces of glaſs between their fingers, which were at ſome ſmall diſtance from each other, the weather-cock of the church-ſteeple appeared to them unuſually large, and much nearer; of this they inſtantly told their father, who, ſurprized alſo at firſt, made the experiment of fixing two ſuch pieces of glaſs in brazen circles, or cylinders, ſo as they might be placed nearer or farther, at pleaſure. Janſſen very ſoon improved this diſcovery ſo much, that he preſented a telescope, twelve inches long, to prince Maurice, and another to the archduke Albert. Mr. Wotton (in his *Reflections on ancient and modern Learning*) relates, “that prince Maurice, conjecturing this might be of great uſe in war, deſired him to conceal his ſecret, and for that reaſon his name was ſo little known, that neither Des Cartes nor Gerard Voſſius had ever heard any thing of him, when they attributed this invention to one Jacobus Metius, of Alldmain.” None of theſe firſt telescopes, however, were above eighteen inches long, neither were they properly framed for aſtronomical obſervations, until Galileo, aſtronomer to the grand-duke of Tuscany, hearing of this diſcovery for bringing objects nearer, made ſuch great improvements therein, as to have gained him, in the opinion of many, the honour of the invention itſelf, by giving to the telescope the appellation of Galileo's Tube. Some, indeed, make this noble invention to have happened ſome years later, and that J. Baptiſta Porta, a Neapolitan, was the firſt inventor; but the general belief is as above. Our incomparable ſir Iſaac Newton was the inventor of the reflecting telescope, conſiſting of ſpecula, or mirrors, inſtead of lenſes, which has been ſince much improved, and is much more exact than reflecting ones. The microscope, which magnifies the ſmalleſt objects ſo as to be diſtinctly viewed, was diſcovered in the year 1621; and it is ſaid this happened both at Naples and Holland at the ſame time. Mezeray makes this invention eighteen years later; yet he adds, that even the ancients muſt have known the uſe of them, if what Roger Bacon ſays be true, viz. “that Julius Cæſar being on the Belgic ſhore, oppoſite Britain, did, with certain great burning-glaſſes, diſcover the poſture and diſpoſition of the Britiſh army, and all the coaſts of that country.”—Which whoever pleaſe, may believe!

By the telescope, aſtronomy is brought to ſuch a degree of perfection, as it was impoſſible for the ancients to arrive at. Navigation, and conſequently commerce, is likewise much aſſiſted, from a more perfect diſcovery of the heavenly bodies:

and many volumes have been published of the wonderful and amazing discoveries made by the microscope.

About this time flourished the famous Danish astronomer, Tycho Brahe, who made some astronomical discoveries and improvements, which proved very beneficial to navigation and maritime commerce. He deceased anno 1601.

The progress which the fine arts made in England since the death of their patron, Wolfey, was next to nothing. The English poetry, indeed, seemed to have risen amongst us complete, and is the only art that, since the days of Shakespear and Spencer, has been on the declining hand. Architecture came, towards the middle and close of this century, to be more sumptuous; but its style was barbarous. Painting has, in England, been always of foreign growth, and when transplanted hither, has been but just kept alive by the bounty of the great; nor could England, during the successive reigns of Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, produce a patron like Wolfey, or an artist like Holbein, who in the likeness could draw the character.

The progress made in the mathematical art was confined to the studies of Dee and one or two more, who were patronized by Burleigh. In natural philosophy the nation was excessively ignorant, insomuch that we read in the year 1577, some of the greatest men about court suffered themselves to be bubbled out of considerable sums by impostors, who pretended to the secret of transmuting metals: we are sorry to find the name of that great and able man Burleigh, in the list of those dupes of a senseless credulity. The queen's own example re-

vived a taste for music, both vocal and instrumental; and even dancing was not void of elegance.

Although the nobility of this age preserved great remains of the ancient customs, yet they were by degrees acquiring the taste of elegant luxury, and many edifices in particular were built by them, neat, large, and sumptuous, to the great ornament of the kingdom, says Camden, but to the no less decay of the glorious hospitality of the nation. It is, however, more reasonable to think, that this new turn of expence promoted arts and industry, while the ancient hospitality was the source of real disorder and sedition, idleness. Among the other species of luxury, that of apparel began much to increase during this age, and the queen thought proper to restrain it by proclamation. Her example was very little conformable to her edicts; as no woman was ever more conceited of her beauty, nor more desirous of making impressions on the hearts of beholders; no one ever went to greater extravagance in apparel, nor studied more the variety and richness of her dress; she appeared almost every day in a different habit, and tried all the several modes by which she hoped to make herself agreeable: she was likewise so fond of her cloaths, that she never would part with any of them; and at her death she had in her wardrobe all the different habits, to the number of three thousand, which she had ever worn in her life-time. The retrenchment of the ancient hospitality, and the diminution of retainers, was ever favourable to the prerogative of the sovereign, and, by disabling the great noblemen from resistance, promoted the execution of the laws, and extended the authority of the courts of justice.

OF COMMERCE, HUSBANDRY, NAVIGATION, PUBLIC REVENUES, &c. in ENGLAND during the XVIth Century.

THE English had not the same splendor of success with the Spaniards, nor such influence in other courts, nor did they possess that great power which rendered Spain so dangerous to her neighbours; but they acquired a new kind of glory from the ocean, and the extensive maritime trade they carried on: they knew their true element, and that alone made them more happy than all the foreign conquests and possessions of their ancient kings, and they became a powerful, civilized, industrious, laborious, and enterprising nation. The improvements made by the Spaniards in navigation excited their emulation, and they undertook three successive voyages to discover a north-west passage to Japan and China: Drake and Cavendish sailed round the globe, attacking in all places those very Spaniards who had extended their conquest and trade to both ends of the world: the famous sir Walter Raleigh established the colony of Virginia, and afterwards assisted in that expedition wherein the English fleet went and insulted Philip II. upon his own coasts, destroying his ships, and burning the rich city of Cadiz: at length, grown more formidable, they, in 1602, defeated the first fleet Philip III. sent to sea, and from that time acquired a superiority at sea, which they have ever since maintained.

From the first beginning of Elizabeth's reign they applied themselves to manufactures. The

Flemings, being persecuted by Philip II. removed to London, bringing with them an increase of inhabitants, industry, and riches. This capital, which enjoyed the blessings of peace under Elizabeth, cultivated likewise the liberal arts, which are the badges and consequences of plenty: in a word, London was enlarged, civilized, and embellished, and in a short time one half of the little island of Great Britain was able to counterbalance the whole power of Spain.

The English now figured as the second nation in the world in industry, as in liberty they were the first. They began early to establish a navy-royal; they commenced a great fishery on the Banks of Newfoundland, a whale-fishery in the North Seas, and a trade to Russia; and, by means of an important discovery of a passage by sea to that country, round the north cape of Lapland, opened an extensive field for other discoveries, and new branches of commerce; they also commenced their Turkey trade; and in the very last year of this century incorporated the East India company.

Agriculture now began to be considered in England as the chief riches of the state, while in Spain they began to neglect this real good for ideal treasures: the gold and silver trade of the new world enriched the king of Spain, but in England the subject was benefited by the sale of the natural commodities. A private merchant of London, sir

they may keep looms in their houses, and do every other matter relating to spinning, weaving, and cloth-making in the said counties as before the making this statute."

After England had held the town and port of Calais (with its dependent garrisons of Guisnes and Ham) for two hundred and eleven years (the only part of the continent of France held by England) during which time it was not only a door always open for the invasion of France, over which, for that reason, England had no small influence; but (which is more to our purpose) was extremely well situated for a staple port, to disperse, in more early times, the wool, lead, tin, and, in later times, the woollen manufactures of England, into the inland countries of the Netherlands, France, and Germany; the loss of this important place (in the year 1558) to the French, most shamefully and negligently, in the midst of winter, was undoubtedly a considerable prejudice to commerce, and not a little to the honour and influence of England. Hereupon the staple of wool, &c. was removed to Burges, to the great benefit of that city, which had been for some time declining from its ancient opulence and grandeur.

That most diligent agent for the Russian company, Mr. Anthony Jenkinson, did, in the year 1557, first set on foot a new channel of trade, through Russia into Persia, for raw silk, &c. He sailed down the great river Volga to Nisi, Novogorod, Casan, and Astracan, and thence crossed the Caspian sea to Persia. At Boghar, a goodly city, he found merchants from India, Persia, Russia, and Cathay or China, from which last-mentioned country it was nine months journey to Boghar. Jenkinson returned the same way to Colmizro, in the bay of St. Nicholas, anno 1560, and so home the same year to England. On his return he published the first map of Russia, that had ever been made. This voyage, it seems, he performed seven different times; yet so promising a prospect for that company was dropped some few years afterwards, and remained as if it had never been, until the reign of king George II. anno 1744, when it was revived by an act of parliament, enabling the Russia company to trade thence into Persia; upon which considerable quantities of raw silk were brought home by the very same way that Jenkinson took from Persia to Russia, and thence to England: yet the continual troubles and ravages in Persia have since suspended the good effects of this law.

We are now arrived (November 17, 1558) at the commencement of the most illustrious female reign, and of the longest duration, which probably ever existed in the world, viz. that of the truly great Elizabeth, queen of England, it is not now either our present province or intention to draw her character at length, which has already been done; we shall therefore, at this entrance on her glorious government, confine ourselves to this one brief remark, viz. that, to her immortal honour and her kingdom's immense benefit, her reign was supplied with more important articles for commercial history, and more beneficial to the kingdom (even whilst she was surrounded by foreign and domestic enemies) than perhaps all the preceding reigns jointly, since the time of her great predecessor king Edward III. We shall here only in general remark, that, on her now succeeding to the crown, she found the balance of power and wealth already got

into the hands of the commons, or people, she prudently conducted her measures accordingly; though now and then she would exert her prerogative as far (though with more prudence) as did some of her less wise successors.

In the year 1560, the second of Elizabeth, she by her charter confirmed all former charters of privileges to the company of merchant-adventurers of England, and likewise granted them two other ample charters, viz. one in the sixth, and the other in the twenty-eighth year of her reign, in the former of which they had first the designation of Merchant-adventurers given them.

The English Russian company which had been incorporated in the first and second of Philip and Mary, anno 1554, had now the noble sanction of an act of parliament, in the eighth year of Elizabeth's reign.

Martin (afterwards sir Martin) Frobisher or Forbisher made now his first voyage for discovering a north-west passage to the East Indies. Captain Luke Fox, in his book, in quarto, entitled *The North-west Fox*, printed anno 1535, says, "that Mr. Forbisher was fifteen years in noting and bringing up the adventure, before he did attempt the same, which was brought to pass by the help of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick." He set out with two barks, of twenty-five tons each, and one pinnace, of ten tons, and entered the streights going into the great bay (since called Hudson's Bay), which he named Forbisher's Streight; he also gave the following names to places there, viz. Queen Elizabeth's Foreland, Cape Labrador, Gabriel's Island, Prior's Sound, and sundry other islands, capes, and bays, by which names the same places are known to this day. He brought home one of the savages, and also a kind of bright stone, which being tried by the London goldsmiths, it was given out by them, that it held gold in it very richly, and are said to have promised great matters, if any quantity thereof could be obtained; which flattering hopes produced a second voyage, ten years after, although no north-west passage was found.

Mr. John Hawkins, assisted by the subscriptions of sundry gentlemen, now fitted out three ships, and having learned that Negroes were a very good commodity in Hispaniola, he sailed to the coast of Guinea, took in Negroes, and sailed with them for Hispaniola; where he sold his slaves and English commodities, and loaded his three vessels with hides, sugar, and ginger, and also many pearls, returning home anno 1563, after making a prosperous voyage. This seems to have been the very first attempt from England for establishing a Negroe trade.

The English genius was not to be discouraged by former unsuccessful attempts for finding a passage to China and the East Indies, without interfering with the Portuguese by the Cape of Good Hope south-eastward, nor with the Spaniards south-westward by the Streights of Magellan: and as they had attempted in vain a passage north-eastward, there seemed now only the north-westward passage to be explored, which we have seen had been in part already attempted by Forbisher. The Portuguese and Spanish chart-makers and cosmographers were, it seems, expressly enjoined by their sovereigns, not to give any kind of light to any other nation, in this respect, because they were greatly apprehensive

left, if there were any such north-west passage, it would prove a much shorter course to India and China than theirs, either by the south-east or south-west passage. For encouraging the English in this attempt, sundry treatises were published by sir Humphrey Gilbert, Mr. Richard Wilkes, &c. built mostly upon the romantic reports of certain ancient and some more modern authors, without any solid probability: yet, upon such slight grounds, and encouragement of friends, captain Forbisher made his second attempt in 1577, with one of the queen's own ships, two barks, and one hundred and forty persons, some of whom were gentlemen. He again entered the streights he had named after himself in his former attempt, where he found store of glittering stones and sand, which he had seen in his last voyage, and with which he now loaded his vessels, returning home the same year, with his imaginary treasure, which, upon farther trial proved good for nothing. However, this served to give rise to the third and last fruitless attempt, by the same sea-commander, in the ensuing year, to find out a north-west passage to China.

In the same year, 1578, Hakluyt gives us an account of the Newfoundland fishers from Europe, in the preceding year, viz. "One hundred ships from Spain; fifty from Portugal, one hundred and fifty from France, and fifteen from England: that the English had the best ships, and therefore gave law to the rest, being in the bays, and protectors of others; for which it was then, and had been of old a custom to make them some sort of acknowledgement as admirals, such as a boat-load of salt for guarding them from pirates and other violent invaders, who frequently drove them from a good harbour," &c. He says, "the fishery of the English at Iceland was the reason that we had not then such numbers of ships at Newfoundland; that the Spaniards, next to the English, had the best ships there; that there were then also twenty or thirty ships from Biscay, to kill whales, for train-oil." (But here is no mention as yet of whale-fins, or whale-bone, of so great value in our days (which shews its use for women's stays, &c. was not then known.) His friend, in a letter from Newfoundland, is earnest for the English to settle at the island of Cape Breton, for the benefit of the fishery, and in another isle in the mouth of the great river of St. Laurence. Hakluyt was in those times a most indefatigable enquirer after new trades and discoveries, and was undoubtedly of great use to our adventurers, by giving them much light into the nature and means of discoveries, and seems to have been a public blessing to England in those days.

We have, in the former part of the history of this reign, given an account of the circumnavigation of the terraqueous globe by sir Francis Drake, and therefore have no occasion to recapitulate the particulars of that transaction in this place; we shall therefore proceed to give a short account of the first establishment of, and charter granted to, the English Turkey company.

Queen Elizabeth having settled preliminaries at Constantinople, two years before, for her subjects to trade to Turkey, she now (viz. anno 1581) judged it reasonable to incorporate a number of eminent merchants for that end, sir Edward Osborn, an alderman of London, Thomas Smith, esq. Richard Staper, and William Garrett, merchants; in which charter of corporation the queen sets forth, "that

the said sir Edward Osborn and Richard Staper, had, at their own great costs and charges, found out and opened a trade to Turkey, not heretofore, in the memory of any man living, known to be commonly used and frequented, by way of merchandize, by any merchants or other subjects of us or our progenitors, whereby many good offices may be done for the peace of Christendom, relief of Christian slaves, and good vent of the commodities of the realm, to the advancement of her honour and dignity, the increase of her revenue, and of the general wealth of the realm: her majesty therefore grants unto those four merchants, their executors and administrators, and to such Englishmen (not exceeding twelve in number) as the said sir Edward Osborn and Richard Staper shall appoint to be joined to them and the other two before-named persons, and their factors, servants, or deputies, for the space of seven years to trade to Turkey, in such manner as the said company shall agree between themselves. During which time, they may make bye-laws for their good government (not repugnant to the laws of the kingdom.) Nothing to be transacted without the consent of the governor for the time being (sir Edward Osborn being hereby appointed the first governor): the trade to Turkey to be solely to them, their factors and servants, during the said term: and any other subjects trading thither, either by sea or land, without this company's licence, to forfeit ships and goods; a moiety to the crown, the other moiety to this company. For the last six of the said seven years, this company shall export so much goods to Turkey as shall annually pay at least five hundred pounds custom to the crown (except in case of ship wreck, &c.) I. Proviso, that in case this exclusive grant shall hereafter appear to be inconvenient, the queen may revoke the same, upon one year's previous notice. II. Proviso, the queen, during the said term, may nominate two persons to be added to the said number of patentees, with the same privileges, &c. as the rest herein named. Lastly, that if, at the end of the said seven years these grantees desire it, the queen will grant other seven years to them, provided (as aforesaid) the said exclusive trade shall not appear to be unprofitable to the kingdom."

The queen's letters to the grand signor were received with much civility, being delivered to him by her ambassador, Hareborne, anno 1582, whom she empowered to settle consuls in the several ports, and to establish laws or rules to be observed by the English trading to Turkey.

With the first factor the indefatigable Hakluyt (vol. iii. p. 164, 165) sent excellent instructions for enquiring into the nature of dyeing stuffs; also what of those drugs might be produced in England; and how beneficial such new productions would have been to us, which he instances in that of saffron, first brought into England by a pilgrim; as also woad, originally from Thoulouse, in Languedoc: "that the damask-rose was first brought into England by Dr. Linacre, physician to king Henry VII. and king Henry VIII. Turkey fowls, about fifty years past (viz. about 1532): the artichoke in king Henry VIII's time; and of later times the musk-rose and several sorts of plums, by lord Cromwell, out of Italy: the apricot by king Henry VIII's French gardiner: (but there is no mentioned yet of peaches, nor of nectarines).

And now, within these four years (anno 1578) have been brought into England from Vienna, in Austria, divers kinds of flowers called tulips, and others procured thither a little before from Constantinople. And it is said, that since we traded to Zante (this must have been but lately), the plant that beareth the currant is also brought into this realm; and although it brings not fruit to perfection, yet it may serve for pleasure and for some use. (This shews it was then but just introduced.) Many other things have been brought in, that have degenerated by reason of the coldness of the climate: some things brought in, have, through negligence, been long lost; and archbishop Grindal brought the tamarisk plant from Germany, and many people have received great health by this plant."

On the commencement of the English trade to Turkey, the merchants having occasion to attend the queen and council, they had there great thanks and commendations for the ships they then built of so great burthen, with many encouragements to pursue the plan, for the kingdom's sake, says the author of Trade's Increase, who adds, that the ordinary returns of this trade, at the beginning, were three for one.

By England's entering at this time into a direct trade to Turkey, all the commodities of Greece, Syria, Egypt, Persia, and India, came home to us much cheaper. "And (says sir William Monson) when the Venetians served us with those rich eastern wares, by the way of the Red Sea, and down the Nile to Alexandria, and also by the way of caravans to Aleppo, they (i. e. the Venetians) also were then wont to take freight in their ships from port to port, whereas now (i. e. 1685) all strangers are more desirous to employ our own ships in that service."

Jacobs, in his *Lex Mercatoria*, alleges (upon what authority I know not), that the Barbary merchants were incorporated in king Henry VII's time; but that company decaying, out of their ruins arose the Levant or Turkey company, who first trading with Venice, and then with Turkey, furnished England that way with East Indian commodities, which till then were brought to us (mostly) by land, and to the Portuguese alone by long sea," &c.

The same year, 1582, the ship *Sufan*, of London, mounting thirty-four guns, carried over to Turkey the English ambassador, Hareborn, who now first settled peace with Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, which piratical states had taken many ships belonging to London, Bristol, &c. and Hareborn having established all the English factories in Turkey (maugre the spite and malice of the French and Venetians) returned over-land to England.

Sir Walter Raleigh, whose great genius much inclining him to new enterprizes and discoveries, had this year formed a society of gentlemen and merchants to subscribe a considerable sum of money towards forming a settlement on the continent of North America, and on Lady-day, 1584, queen Elizabeth granted them a charter for that purpose. Amidas and Barlow, with two vessels, were accordingly sent thither: but they sailed about a thousand leagues out of their way; for the short course to the northern parts of America not being as yet known to us, they steered the wonted course of

the Spaniards, by the Canary Islands, and thence into the trade-winds to the Caribbee Islands, thence sailing through the Gulph of Florida, they anchored at a part of what is now called Virginia, where, making some insignificant trade with the natives, exchanging toys for their furs, they returned home with gain (as they said), and greatly magnified the richness of the country. For encouraging a second adventure, they brought home some pearls and tobacco (the first of that sort that had been seen in England.) The wise queen seemed fond of this design, and either she herself, or sir Walter Raleigh, gave the country the name of Virginia, which they judiciously represented to be a pleasant country, abounding in fine woods, deer, hares, wild fowl, fish, vines, currants, &c.

Raleigh therefore obtained queen Elizabeth's patent to himself, &c. for the possessing such remote heathen lands, not then inhabited by Christians, as they should discover for six years, of which they thereby had the property granted to them for ever, reserving to the crown the fifth part of all gold and silver ore found therein, with power to seize to their proper use all ships, with their merchandize, that shall, without leave, plant within two hundred leagues of this intended settlement, excepting, however, the queen's subjects and allies, fishing at Newfoundland, &c. She also grants free denization to the planters and their posterity residing there: powers are also granted to the patentees for making bye-laws there, not repugnant to those of England.

It is observable, that in this, and some other patents of those times, there were no distinct place, longitude, or latitude, fixed or limited for such plantation, although undoubtedly North America was the country intended.

In the next year, 1585, captain John Davis, with two barks from Dartmouth, first sailed into the streights since called by his name, in the country called Old Greenland, and returned home the same year, as all others have done, without making any useful discovery. At this time we find they knew the use of somewhat like the harpoon, with which they killed a porpoise; but though many whales fell in their way, they knew not yet the right method of killing them.

This same year the gallant sir Richard Grenville sailed for Virginia by the old round-about course, above described, with seven ships, laden with arms, ammunition, and provisions, and with settlers for planting a colony. He began with planting at Roanoke Island, lying about five leagues from the continent, in eighty-six degrees north latitude. There he left one hundred and eight men: it is a truly melancholy consideration, that those poor creatures were left to shift for themselves in so wild a country, for above a year; who, so eager to discover gold and silver mines (now never like to be found there), whilst they neglected to prepare their provisions in due season, and going up the country in quest of those mines (for golden dreams were then universal), most of them were either destroyed by the natives, or perished for want; and the few who survived were taken up by sir Francis Drake, coming now again upon the coast from harraffing the Spanish West Indies, who took them all home with him, even although they had sown corn there, which was very near ripe, sufficient for two years sustenance;

sustenance; and they were but just gone, when a ship, fitted out at the sole expence of sir Walter Raleigh, arrived there with all sorts of conveniences, as did sir Richard Grenville soon after, with three other ships, bringing a farther supply: but finding the places quite desolate where the English planters had settled, they all returned home. In those accounts there appears to be some confusion, with respect as well to the identical year, as to the names of persons engaged therein, which is owing to the inaccuracy of writers and transcribers in those days, which, however is of very little consequence at present.

Sir Walter Raleigh had his mind so intensely set upon a plantation in North America, that he again sent out three ships, with an hundred and fifty persons of both sexes. These planters Raleigh's superintendant settled in the isle of Roanoke, where he found the second colony had been destroyed by the natives. Here he rebuilt the fort and houses, calling it the city of Raleigh in Virginia: he left one hundred and fifteen men in this new settlement, and returned home, where he remained three years before he could obtain the necessary supplies, which he had promised to bring in the year after he had left the colony, where he arrived in 1590, with these supplies both of men and stores, in three ships. It seems, such of the colony as had remained alive had removed to a place on the continent called Croatoan, that word being carved upon the trees; to this place they intended to sail in search of the colony, but a storm unfortunately arising, the ships lost their anchors and cables, and provisions also failing, they agreed to return home, leaving that miserable colony to perish, to the shame of that age; for although Raleigh was in trouble about this time, yet surely the queen and nation ought to have shewn some compassion to the poor people left in a wilderness amongst savages.

Thus was this scheme of a plantation in Virginia quite laid aside during all the rest of queen Elizabeth's reign, and all the great expence of Raleigh and the other adventurers utterly thrown away, besides the loss of many mens lives.

It was in the year 1591 that the first voyage from England to East India was undertaken with three ships; but it was rather a privateering adventure, than a proper mercantile voyage, for they took several ships in their way to India. They had lost so many men by sickness near the cape of Good Hope, that they were obliged to send one of their ships home, and proceeded with only two to India: moreover, in a storm beyond the Cape they lost company with captain Raymond in the principal ship, which was never heard of more; so that only captain Lancaster's ship arrived in India, which also met with many grievous misfortunes; and, on her return, sailing to the West Indies, whilst the captain and the rest of the men went on shore to seek provisions on an uninhabited island, six of the sailors ran away with the ship; and at the end of three years this unfortunate officer was brought home, several of his men having perished for want at that place.

Some English ships now made a voyage to Cape Breton, at the entrance of the Bay of St. Laurence, in North America, some for morse-fishing and others for whale-fishing (says Hakluyt), which is the first mention we find of the latter fishery by any English; and although they met with no whales there,

they found on an island eight hundred whale-fins, where a Biscay ship had been lost three years before. This too is the first mention of whale fins or whale-bone by the English. How the ladies stays were made before this commodious material in them was discovered, does not appear; probably slit pieces of cane, or of some other tough and pliant wood, might have been in use before.

By the trade to Archangel the English became well acquainted with the northern seas at this time, where also they at first carried on a great fishing, or hunting rather, for morse (as the Russians call them, the English call them sea-horses, and the Dutch and French, sea-cows) on Cherry Island, beyond the North Cape, so called from alderman Cherry, but called by the Dutch Bear Island: but it seems those amphibious animals became so shy, that the moment they saw any man, they ran into the sea. The English thereupon fell into the whale-fishery, though not quite so early as this time.

Grotius tells us, that the Hollanders, about this time built two thousand ships every year; a thing almost incredible, considering their new existence as an independent state, did it not proceed from so illustrious and respectable an author, and their own countryman.

Our own Turkey merchants first, and the Dutch East India company next (for they had got the start of us in the East India trade) keeping up the price of pepper and other spices to a high rate, we being at war with Spain, and so could not get spices from Lisbon at first-hand, queen Elizabeth now determined to enter her people directly on a commerce to East India.

Accordingly, on the thirty-first of December, 1600, she granted a charter to George, earl of Cumberland, and two hundred and fifteen knights, aldermen, and merchants, "that, at their own costs and charges they may set forth one or more voyages to the East Indians, in the countries and parts of Asia and Africa, and to the islands thereabout, divers of which countries, islands, &c. have long since been discovered by others of our subjects; to be one body politic and corporate, by the name of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London, trading to the East Indies: to have succession: to purchase lands (without limitation): to have one governor, and twenty-four persons, to be elected annually, who shall be called Committees, jointly to have the direction of the voyages, the provision of the shipping, and the management of all other things belonging to the said company. Sir Thomas Smith, alderman of London, was to be the first governor: and a deputy-governor to be elected in a general court: both the governors, and all the committees to take the oath of fidelity; as also every member shall take an oath, before being admitted to traffic as a freeman of this company. The company, their sons (at twenty-one years of age), their apprentices, servants, and factors, in India or elsewhere, may, for fifteen years, from Christmas last, freely and solely trade (by such ways and passages as are already found out, or which shall hereafter be discovered) into the countries and ports of Asia and Africa, and into and from all the islands, ports, towns, and places of Asia, Africa, and America, or any of them, beyond Cape Bona Esperanza to the Straights of Magellan, where any traffic of merchandize may

may be used, and to and from every of them, in such manner as shall from time to time be limited and agreed on, at any general court of the company; any statute, usage, diversity of religion or faith, or any other matter to the contrary notwithstanding, so as it be not any country already possessed by any Christian potentate in amity with her majesty, who shall declare the same to be against his or their good liking. Either the governor or deputy governor must always be one in the general assemblies, when they may make all reasonable constitutions, &c. agreeable to the laws of England, for their good government, by plurality of voices; and may punish, by fines and imprisonment, the offenders against their laws. The queen grants the company an exemption from paying any customs for the first four voyages; and for the customs which shall afterwards be payable for merchandize from India, the company shall be allowed to give their bonds, payable one half in six months and the other half in six months after: for merchandize lost at sea, outward-bound, the customs shall be allowed to the company out of the next cargo shipped off. Indian merchandize that shall have paid the customs, may, at the end of thirteen months, be re-exported by any subjects, without paying for their customs. The company may export, in their first voyage, now preparing, thirty thousand pounds in foreign coin, or bullion, so that at least six thousand pounds thereof be first coined in the queen's mint; and the like for the subsequent voyages; provided the company first import at least so much foreign coin or bullion, in gold or silver, into this realm, of which six thousand pounds shall be coined as aforesaid. The company may send yearly to East India six good ships and six pinnaces, with five hundred mariners, unless the navy-royal goes forth. None of the queen's subjects, but the company, their servants, or assigns, shall resort to India, without being licenced by the company, upon pain of forfeiting ships and cargoes, with imprisonment till the offenders give one thousand pounds bond to the company not to trade thither again. Nevertheless, for the encouragement of merchants strangers, and others, to bring in commodities to the realm, the queen gives power to the company to grant licences to trade to East India; and she promises not to grant leave to any others to trade thither, during the company's term, without their consent. The majority of any general meeting of the company may admit apprentices, servants, factors, &c. to the fellowship or freedom of the said company. The silver to be exported shall only be shipped at the ports of London, Dartmouth, and Plymouth, and shall be duly entered by the custom-house officers, without paying any custom for the same. Gold and silver, imported by the company, shall be entered before the landing of the same. Provided, that, in case this charter shall hereafter appear not to be profitable to the crown and realm, then, upon two years notice to the company, their charter shall cease and determine: but if otherwise, then the queen promises, at the end of the said fifteen years, upon the company's suit, to grant them a new charter for fifteen years longer."

This is the very same East India company which, through many various vicissitudes, existed under the same denomination until the year 1708, when it was absorbed by the present United Company of

Merchants of England trading to the East Indies. The original shares subscribed were fifty pounds each.

To close this account of the rise and first proceedings of our East India company, we shall remark, that the company's ships in their homeward bound passage took possession of the island of St. Helena, then uninhabited; though, according to the custom of the Portuguese, well stocked with goats, hogs, and poultry, that they might be supplied therewith when obliged at any time to stop there. Here our East India company planted and fortified, and held it till the year 1673; as will be shewn in the course of this history. This island is all a high rock, whose surface is covered with about twelve inches of earth. As the winds blow constantly at south-east, from the Cape of Good Hope to this island (which is about twenty-two miles in circuit), it is sailed in about three weeks, without handing the sails, and the moderate gale renders the voyage very pleasant. On the contrary, it is extremely difficult to find this island in sailing from Europe, because of the said constant south-east wind; for which reason, when a ship is sent from England thither, they are obliged to sail directly to the Cape of Good Hope, and thence take their course to St. Helena, as already described. The great and only benefit our shipping receive from this island, is the fresh water and provisions they there meet with in their return from India, whereby above two hundred families are there supported and employed.

The very last day of the XVIth century having thus given birth and form to the first English East India company, the members thereof immediately raised seventy-two thousand pounds, though not in one joint-stock, or common capital, as in succeeding times, there having been no joint-stock in this company till the year 1613. They this year, 1601, sent out their first fleet for India, commanded in chief by captain James Lancaster, having one ship of six hundred tons, one of three hundred tons, two of two hundred each, and one of one hundred and thirty, as victualler to the whole fleet, carrying four hundred and eighty men and twenty seven thousand pounds in money and goods, the remainder of the said seventy-two thousand pounds being entirely expended in the purchase of those ships, and for artillery, ammunition, provisions, &c. But queen Elizabeth did not live to see the return of this voyage. At Acheen, in the island of Sumatra, they loaded pepper for some of their ships, but not meeting with a sufficiency, and sailing from thence for the Streights of Malacca, they completed their lading by the capture of a Portuguese ship of nine hundred tons, laden with calicoes and other goods. Sailing thence to Bantam, they delivered queen Elizabeth's letter and presents to the king, as they had before done to the king of Acheen; and from both those kings they received letters and presents for queen Elizabeth; they also obtained privileges for the company from those monarchs. Having settled factories at Bantam, they sailed homewards, and arrived in the Downs in September, 1603, having prosperously made their first voyage in two years and seven months.

In the year 1601, we have a statute of the forty-third of queen Elizabeth (cap. xii.) for awarding commissioners to hear and determine policies of assurances made among merchants, in the preamble

of which statute are the following words: "Whereas it hath been, time out of mind, an usage amongst merchants, both of this realm and of foreign nations, when they make any great adventure (especially into remote parts, to give some consideration of money to other persons (which is commonly in no small number) to have from them assurance made of their goods, merchandizes, ships, and things adventured, or some parts thereof, at such rates, and in such sort as the party assurers and party assured can agree, which course of dealing is commonly termed a Policy of Assurance; by means of which it cometh to pass, upon the loss or perishing of any ship, there followeth not the undoing of any man, but the loss lighteth rather easily upon many, than heavily upon few, and rather upon them that adventure not, than upon those that adventure; whereby all merchants, especially of the younger sort, are allured to venture more willingly, and more freely: and whereas heretofore such assurers have used to stand so justly and precisely on their credit, as few or no controversies have arisen thereupon; and if any have grown, the same have, from time to time, been ended and ordered by certain grave and discreet merchants, appointed by the lord-mayor of London; until of late years, that divers persons have withdrawn themselves from that arbitrary course, and have sought to draw the parties assured to seek their moneys in her majesty's courts, to their great charges and delay. For remedy whereof, it is now enacted, that the lord-chancellor (or keeper) do award one general or standing yearly commission for the determining of causes on policies of assurance, such as now are, or hereafter shall be entered within the office of assurance within the city of London, this commission to consist of the judge of the admiralty, the recorder of London; two doctors of the civil law, two common lawyers, and eight discreet merchants, or to any five of them: which commission shall have authority to determine all causes concerning policies of assurance, in a summary way; who shall summon the parties, examine witnesses upon oath, and imprison disobeyers of their decrees. They shall meet weekly at the office of assurance, on the west side of the Royal Exchange, for the execution of their commission, without fee or reward. And any such as may think themselves aggrieved by their determinations, may, in two months, exhibit his bill in Chancery, for a re-examination of such decree; provided the complainant do first lay down to the said commissioners the sum awarded; and that the lord-chancellor, or keeper, may either reverse or confirm the first decree, according to equity. Lastly, no commissioner shall be an assurer, or assured."

This law sufficiently demonstrates, that at this time there was a great increase of foreign commerce in England.

Assurance, or insurance, of ships and merchandize on the seas, is of great antiquity, even as far back as the reign of the emperor Claudius Cæsar.

The sea-laws of Oleron, as far back as the year 1194, treat of it.

It seems to have been in use in England upon the revival of commerce, somewhat earlier than on the continent; and Antwerp, though in its meridian glory, learned it from England: "whereas (says Molineux's *Lex Mercatoria*, the meetings of

merchants in London were held in Lombard-street (so called because certain nations of Lombardy kept there a pawn-house, or Lombard, long before the Royal Exchange was built), all the policies of assurance at Antwerp, which then were, and now (1622) yet are made, do make mention, that it shall be in all things concerning the said assurances, as was accustomed to be done in Lombard-street in London; which is imitated also in other places of the Low Countries."

As the gradual increase of the suburbs of London does in great measure keep pace with the gradual increase of the general commerce of England, and as it is, moreover, a curious and entertaining part of history, to mark the gradual advances of both, I therefore have no need of an apology for laying before my readers whatever falls in my way of that kind, during the period now before us.

We find by an act of the fourteenth and fifteenth of Henry VIII. (cap. ii.) for limiting foreign artificers as to their journeymen and apprentices, that the jurisdiction of the London corporations was to extend two miles from the city, viz. within the town of Westminster, the parish of St. Martin in the Fields, and of Our Lady in the Strand, St. Clement Danes without Temple-bar, St. Giles in the Fields, St. Andrew in Holborn, the town and borough of Southwark, Shoreditch, White-chapel parish, St. John's street (i. e. Clerkenwell), and Clerkenwell parish, St. Botolph without Aldgate, St. Catherine's (near the Tower of London), and Bermondsey-street." This is an authentic view of the several suburbs of London in the year 1524. Nevertheless we are not to imagine that all those suburbs were contiguous to each other, or joined, as at present to the great contiguity; for there were then, and long after, sundry large breaks, or interruptions, where no buildings were; not only the street (now so well built) called the Strand, then chiefly taken up with the capital dwellings of the nobility, with their large adjoining gardens, but also a great part of St. Martin's parish, were still literally in the Fields: the like may be said of St. Giles in the Fields (then styled the town of St. Giles), and of the upper part of St. Andrew's in Holborn, much of all which, and also of Westminster, Clerkenwell, Shoreditch, White chapel, and Southwark, was literally Fields, even so late as the reign of queen Elizabeth, as appears by a map of London and its suburbs, still extant, first published in the year 1560.

By a statute 24 Henry VIII. the streetway between Charing-cross and Strand-cross (i. e. that is near where Somerset-house is now situated) in the suburbs of London, was directed "to be sufficiently paved and maintained, at the charge of the owners of the land adjoining." This shews that the Strand was not yet built into a continued street.

In the following year, 1534, the high-street between Holborn-bridge and Holborn-bars, at the west end thereof, was directed to be paved; as were also the streets of Southwark; and that every one should maintain the said pavements before his own ground, or forfeit to the king six pence for every yard square.

In the thirty-second of the said king's reign, viz. anno 1541, the following streets or ways in London were ordered to be paved, viz. 1. The street leading from Aldgate to White-chapel church: 2. the upper part of the lane called Chancery-lane: 3.

the way leading from Holborn-bars, westward, towards St. Giles in the Fields, as far as any habitation is on both sides of the said street: 4. Gray's Inn lane: 5. Shoe-lane: and, 6. Fetter, now called Fetter-lane; the two last being thoroughfares and passages from Fleet-street into Holborn." The part of Chancery-lane now to be paved is thus described, viz. "from the bars beside the Rolls, lately set up by the lord privy-seal, into the said highway in Holborn." These passages shew the age of the Rolls-office in Chancery-lane; and also that all Holborn, above the city-bars, remained unpaved till now; nor was it at this time all built on both sides (nor a considerable time later) as appears by the map before mentioned, drawn in queen Elizabeth's reign: all these six ways now directed to be paved, are therein described as "very foul, and full of pits and sloughs, very perilous and noxious (noisome) as well for all the king's subjects on horseback as on foot and with carriages." Yet three of these, viz. Shoe-lane, Fetter-lane, and Chancery-lane, are now in the very center of the present immense contiguity; and all the rest are likewise well built and inhabited. So vast is the increase and improvement of London since those times. By a statute of 34 and 35 Henry VIII. cap. xii. the streets named White-cross-street, Chiswel-street leading from White-cross-street into the highway leading to Moor-gate; the lane called Golding-lane, and street called Grub-street, in the parish of St. Giles without Cripple-gate; the street called Goswell-street, in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldersgate; Long-lane, in the parish of St. Botolph aforesaid and of St. Sepulchre without Newgate; the street called St. John's-street, leading from the Bars of Smithfield up to the Pound at the corner of the wall extending along the high way to Islington; and also the street leading from the said Bars to Cow-cross: the lane called Water-lane, in Fleet-street, leading down to the Thames; the way leading without Temple-bar, westward, by and unto St. Clement's Inn gates and New Inn gates to Drury-place, in the county of Middlesex (this shews that this way was not built on); and also one little lane stretching from the said way to the sign of the Bell at Drury-lane end; and the common way leading through a certain place called Petit France, from the bars at the west end of Tottenham-street, Westminster, unto the uttermost part of the west end of the said place called Petit France: the street or highway leading from Bishopsgate-street to and above Shoreditch-church; and the bridge called Strand-bridge, and the way leading from the said bridge towards Temple-bar, and the lane called Foskue-lane from the garden and tenement of the bishop of Lichfield, and the garden and tenement called the Bell and Proctors, down to Strand-bridge (those names are now unknown), be very foul and full of pits and sloughs, very perilous and noxious, and very necessary to be kept clear, for the avoiding of corrupt favours, and avoiding of pestilence: for the amendment and reformation whereof, all who have any lands or tenements adjoining to the aforesaid streets, lanes, and ways, unto the midst of them, in length and breadth as his land and tenement do lie or extend, in like manner and form as the streets in the city of London be paved, with causeys or channels in the midst of the same streets, and shall yearly maintain the same."

James Howel, in his *Londinopolis*, published in folio, anno 1657, gives us many particulars of the vast increase of the suburbs of London towards the close of queen Elizabeth's reign, which more plainly points out the vast increase of England's commerce, than a whole volume of speculative reasoning could do alone. It was not material to make different sections thereof, and therefore we have brought them altogether, whether a little before or after this year.

"It seems, that about this time the ground called Spital-fields, began gradually to be built upon for weavers; as had also Hog-lane, in that part which had (within sixty years from the date of his said book) had fair rows of elm-trees all along, now turned into houses on both sides, from Hound-ditch to White-chapel church.

"As to Wapping (says Howel), it is yet within the memory of man, that there was never a house from St. Catherine's to Wapping: but now (i. e. anno 1657) there is a continued street towards a mile from the Tower, all along the river, almost as far as Radcliffe; which proceeded from the increase of navigation, mariners, and traffick." This shews that Wapping was originally a village, or place detached from London, though now part of the great contiguity thereof. "Radcliffe also (continues he) is much increased in buildings, and also Nightingale-lane.

"Northward, London's suburbs have been less increased than on the east and west sides; yet there was an increase, about this time, on that side also. Where the buildings on the west side of Smithfield stand, was formerly a very large pond of water; and where the place called the Sheep-pens is, was a field with growing elms, and the place of execution for criminals. Afterwards (in king Henry VI's reign) they began to build the space between the said pond and river of Wells (now Turnmill-brook) which runs into Fleet-ditch; and afterwards that pond was drained, and built upon, and so down that street now called Cow-lane; and also Chick-lane and Hosier-lane, &c. So that the buildings there are so increased, that now remaineth not one tree there."

Some other additions were made about Clerkenwell, about or near this time, where the fields, gardens, and avenues of the great priory of St. John of Jerusalem, and also the convent on the north side of Clerkenwell-green, stood.

Westward, without Newgate, the great street named Holborn, and its contiguity, have been gradually built quite up to the village of St. Giles in the Fields: but as the greatest increase thereabout was chiefly in the next century, we must refer thereto.

From the year 1512, the fourth of Henry VIII. we may properly date the commencement of what may be called an English royal navy. i. e. a number of stout ships of war, actually belonging to, and permanently kept on foot by, the English crown, for national defence, king Henry VIII. being the first English monarch who effectually pursued this plan, and for that end established a royal navy-office, with commissioners, &c. nearly as at present. He must indeed be allowed (amidst all his wild dissipations) to have employed great sums of money on his marine affairs, as well for the construction of ships for war, as of dock-yards, wharfs, store-houses, &c. Before his time there was no fixed per-

manent royal navy; but, on ordinary occasions, the Cinque Ports (as already fully seen) supplied the crown with a determined number of sorry ships as they had in those old times; and on great emergencies we also have seen that all the maritime towns of the kingdom were bound, on reasonable notice to send their quota of ships and mariners, for a determined time; commanded either by the king or his admiral; such as was the fleet of king Edward III. at the siege of Calais, anno 1347, and other capital expeditions.

Moreover (bishop Gibson, in his *Additions to Camden's Britannia*) observes that king Henry VIII. in the said fourth year of his reign, for the advancement and benefit of navigation and commerce, erected a corporation for the business of examining, licensing, and regulating of pilots; for ordering and erecting of beacons, light-houses, buoys, &c. which is styled the Corporation of the Trinity-house of Deptford Strand, and has proved of great benefit for accomplishing the ends of its founder. Another society, for the like good purposes, he also erected at Hull, by the name of the Trinity-house at Hull; and also another at Newcastle upon Tyne (anno 1537): "Which three establishments (says Hakluyt) were in imitation of that which the emperor Charles V. had erected at Seville, in Spain; who, observing the many shipwrecks in voyages to and from the West Indies, occasioned by the ignorance of seamen, established, at the Contraction-house, lectures upon navigation; and a pilot major, for the examination of other pilots and mariners: he also directed books to be published on that subject, for the use of his mariners." The king, by his charter, confirmed to the Deptford Trinity-house society, all the ancient rights, privileges, &c. of the shipmen and mariners of England, and their several possessions at Deptford: whereby it appears plainly, that they had been a society long before, though nowhere recorded how long. This corporation (whose powers, &c. have been since confirmed and augmented by succeeding kings) have also the power of appointing pilots for the king's ships, and for examining and fixing their wages, and certifying their qualifications, and those of the masters of the ships of war; also of clearing and deepening the Thames by ballast hoys, with which ballast they supply the shipping. They have also the examination of the forty mathematical boys of Christ's Hospital. They have likewise power to hear and determine complaints of officers and sailors in the merchants service: so that this corporation more especially is eminently of great utility to the nation.

Henry also made Deptford, near London, a magazine to the royal navy, which has gradually increased to the flourishing state we now see it in. And, considering how far the river of Thames was exposed to insults from foreign enemies, he caused a fortification to be erected at Gravesend, and another opposite to it on the Essex shore, where Tilbury fort now stands. And having lost his fine ship *Regent*, of one thousand tons, he caused another to be built; such a one (says Hall) as had never been seen in England, and named it the *Henry Grace de Dieu*.

We have in a treaty of peace between Henry VIII. and Lewis XII. of France, made anno 1514, a recital of implements for a naval war, such as

cannon, gunpowder, stones (for they had not yet the use of iron bullets), darts, &c. And in the same year the *Chronicon Pretiosum* makes a master shipwright's daily pay, with his diet, five pence, and without diet seven pence per diem; an hewer, with diet four pence, without diet six pence; and an able clencher the same. Note, that living was then twice as cheap as in our days.

In the year 1523, according to lord Herbert's *History of Henry VIII.* in the attempts of the English and French courts to gain Scotland to their respective interests, at the death of king James V. the English ministers, among other arguments, asserted "that the English were masters of the seas, and thereby were able to stop and interclude all succour that should come to them (the Scots) from any other place." And as in the replication of the partizans of France that assertion is not contradicted, the point seems to have been admitted.

The reigns of Edward VI. and Mary furnish no improvements in navigation worthy our notice; but Elizabeth, very early in her reign, put naval affairs upon a better footing than they had been under her predecessor, both by building some ships of her own, and by encouraging the merchants to build large trading vessels, which on occasion, were converted into ships of war. In 1582, the seamen of England were computed at fourteen thousand two hundred and ninety-five, and the number of vessels twelve-hundred and thirty-two, of which there were not above two hundred and seventeen above eighty tons. Monson computes that, though the navigation decreased in the first year of James I. by the practices of the merchants, who carried on their trade in foreign bottoms, yet before 1640, the number of seamen was treble in England.

The navy which the queen left at her decease appears considerable, when we consider only the number of vessels, which were forty-two; but when we reflect, that none of these ships carried above forty guns, that four only came up to that number, that there were but two ships of a thousand tons, and twenty-three below five hundred, some of fifty, and some even of twenty tons; that the whole number of guns belonging to the fleet were seven hundred and seventy-four; we must entertain a very contemptible idea of the English navy, compared with the force it hath now attained. In the year 1588 there were not above five vessels equipped by the noblemen and sea-ports, which exceeded two hundred tons.

In this famous year (1588) what is called the *Chest at Chatham* was first erected, being a contribution for the benefit and relief of maimed and superannuated English mariners (out of which pensions are paid to such for their lives) by the advice of sir Francis Drake, sir John Hawkins, &c. It was first only a voluntary monthly contribution of the mariners out of their pay, for the succour of their then wounded brethren, but was afterwards made perpetual by queen Elizabeth. By an act of the rump-parliament, anno 1649 (cap. xxiv.) for abolishing deans and chapters, and of their lands, we find this chest had been usually kept at what is called the *Hill House*, at Chatham, which, with its gardens, &c. belonged to the dean and chapter of Rochester. Until the foundation of Greenwich hospital by king William III. this was the only charity of that kind for distressed sailors.

PUBLIC REVENUE.

It is difficult to compute exactly queen Elizabeth's ordinary revenue, but it certainly fell much short of five thousand pounds a year. In 1590 she raised the customs from fourteen thousand pounds a year to fifty thousand pounds, and obliged sir Thomas Smith, who had farmed them, to refund some of his former profits. This improvement of the revenue was owing to the suggestions of one Caemarden, and was extremely opposed by Burleigh, Leicester, and Walsingham: but the queen's perseverance overcame all their opposition. The great undertakings which she executed with so narrow a revenue, and with such small supplies from her people, prove the mighty effects of prudence and œconomy. She received from the parliament, during her whole reign, only twenty subsidies and thirty-nine fifteenths. It is not easy to compute the amount of those supplies, because the value of a subsidy was continually falling; and in the end of her reign it amounted only to eighty thousand pounds, which in the beginning had been an hundred and twenty thousand. If we suppose that the whole supplies granted to Elizabeth, during a reign of forty-five years, amounted to three millions, we shall not probably be much wide of the truth. This sum makes only sixty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds a year; and it is surprising that while the queen's demands were so moderate, and her expences so well regulated, she should ever have found any difficulty of getting a supply from the parliament, or be reduced to make sale of the crown-lands: but such was the extreme, I had almost said absurd, parsimony of the parliaments during that period; they valued nothing in comparison of their money. The members had no connection with the court, and the very idea which they conceived of the trust committed to them, was to refuse the demands of the crown, and to grant as few supplies as possible. The crown, on the other hand, considered the parliament in no other light than a means of supply. Queen Elizabeth made a merit to her people of seldom assembling parliaments: no redress of grievances was expected from these assemblies; they were supposed to meet for no other purpose than to impose taxes.

Before queen Elizabeth's reign, the English princes had always recourse to the city of Antwerp for voluntary loans; and their credit was so low, that besides the exorbitant interest of ten or twelve per cent. they were obliged to make the city of London join in the security. Sir Thomas Gresham, that great and enterprising merchant, one of the

chief ornaments of this reign, engaged the company of Merchant-adventurers to grant the queen a loan; and as the money was regularly paid, her credit by degrees established itself in the city, and she shook off this dependence on foreigners.

In 1559, the queen employed Gresham to borrow two hundred thousand pounds at Antwerp, in order to enable her to reform the coinage, which was at that time extremely debased. She was so impolitic as to make herself an innovation in the coin, by dividing a pound of silver into sixty-two shillings, instead of sixty, the former standard. This is the last time that the coin has been tampered with in England.

The splendor of a court was, during this age, a great part of the public charge; and as Elizabeth was a single woman, and expensive in no species of magnificence, except cloaths, this circumstance enabled her to perform great things by her narrow revenue. She is said to have paid four millions of debt left on the crown by her father, brother, and sister; an incredible sum for that age*. The states of the United Provinces, at the time of her decease, owed her about eight hundred thousand pounds; and the king of France four hundred and fifty thousand: though that prince was extremely frugal, and, after the peace of Vervins, was continually amassing treasure, the queen never could, by the most pressing remonstrances, prevail on him to make payment of those sums which she had so generously advanced him during his greatest distresses; one payment of twenty thousand crowns, and another of fifty thousand, were all she could obtain by the strongest representations she could make of the difficulties to which the rebellion in Ireland had reduced her. The queen expended in the war with Spain, between the years 1589 and 1593, the sum of one million three hundred thousand pounds, besides the double subsidy, amounting to two hundred and eighty thousand pounds, granted to her by parliament. In the year 1599, she spent six hundred thousand pounds in six months, in the service of Ireland. Sir Robert Cecil affirmed, that in the space of ten years Ireland cost her three millions four hundred thousand pounds. She made the earl of Essex a present of thirty thousand pounds, upon his departure to take upon him the government of that kingdom. Lord Burleigh computed, that the value of the gifts conferred on that favourite, amounted to three hundred thousand pounds; a proof of her strong affection to him. It was a common saying during this reign, that the queen paid bountifully, though she rewarded sparingly.

* D'Ewes, p. 473. I think it is impossible to reconcile this account of the public debts with that given by Strype, *Eccles Mem.* vol. ii. p. 344. that in the year 1553, the crown owed above three hundred thousand pounds. I own that this last sum appears

a great deal more likely. The whole revenue of queen Elizabeth would not in ten years have paid four millions. *Hume's History of the Tudors*, vol. ii. p. 729.

An Historical Deduction of the VALUE of our ENGLISH SILVER and GOLD COIN, but particularly those of the former, from the CONQUEST. Extracted from Mr. Anderson, Bishop Fleetwood, and others; together with some Observations on the Present State of our SILVER MONEY.

WE shall close our remarks upon this period with a view of the state of our coinage, from the accession of William the Norman to that of Elizabeth inclusive, when the value of our money was nearly settled on the same footing as at present. This is a matter very necessary to be properly understood, for by this alone we shall be enabled to form a suitable judgment of the true rate in cheapness of provisions and all other necessities of life through their different variations and periods, the pay of artificers, labourers, soldiers, sailors, &c. a subject frequently brought into conversation, and as frequently misunderstood.

The ancient Britons, when first invaded by the Romans, had no other kind of money but iron and tin plates and rings (copper not being then, nor long after, found in our island); these might well enough answer, with barter, the purposes of the inconsiderable transactions in those rude times, when they had neither arts nor manufactures of any kind. The necessity, however, of an universal medium in commerce, which we call Money, was in much earlier times discovered in the more eastern parts of the world, and both gold and silver money were thence soon after introduced into Carthage and Greece; from Greece it was brought to Rome, and thence gradually westward into all the Roman provinces.

Silver, on account of its cleanness and moderate plenty, was, by the general consent of all civilized nations, deemed the most proper for an universal medium of commerce, though at first, and for many ages, by weight only, till at length, for greater convenience, princes and states fell upon the expedient of coins, by stamping pieces of the metal of a determined weight and fineness, to pass current by their authority.

Gold had, indeed, all the properties of silver for such a general medium, even in a higher degree; it was less diminishable by fire, more ductile, more beautiful; but its much greater scarcity, more especially in Europe, rendered it unfit for an universal medium of commerce.

On the other hand, copper, by reason of its fouler and baser nature, and its great plenty, could not be so well used in large transactions, though extremely useful in small ones.

Whilst the Romans held Britain, they coined here gold, silver, and copper; of all which coins, as well as of those brought from Rome itself, many have been dug up, in various parts of this island.

When the Saxons first conquered a part of England, in the middle of the Vth century, they were little better than savages, and probably had no sort of coins in their own country of Germany; but when they became more civilized, they coined silver money, of which some pieces are still to be found in the cabinets of the curious.

As far as certainly appears, the largest silver coin in England, not only before, but for some cen-

turies after the Norman ingression, was denominated a Penny; which, till the reign of king Edward III. contained as much silver as about three pence of our money; and as this penny was, in their manner of coining, cut almost through cross-wise, it could with ease be divided into half-pence and farthings, or fourthlings. Thus in England, from the time of our first Norman king, William I. called the Conqueror, the silver coins were thrice the value of the modern, till the eighteenth year of king Edward III. A. D. 1344; and from thence to the time of king Henry VIII. it was not only farther lessened, but in his reign, and in the first five years of his son, Edward VI. shamefully debased; but in the last year of that hopeful young monarch its purity was restored, and its weight reduced to the state it is in at this present time. But to be more particular:

From the before-mentioned year, 1344, to the eighth year of Henry V. anno 1420, the English silver penny, on an average, weighed very near two pence half-penny of our money.

From the ninth year of Henry V. anno 1421, to the first year of Henry VIII. anno 1509, the silver penny, on an average, was worth near two pence of our modern money.

From the second year of king Henry VIII. anno 1510, to his thirty-third year, anno 1542, a pound of fine silver was coined into forty-five shillings, being three shillings and nine pence per ounce; so that their nine pence was equal to our shilling. But,

In the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth years of Henry VIII, annis 1543, 1544, the silver coin began to be debased to ten ounces of fine silver and two ounces alloy per pound, troy weight, out of which pound they coined forty-eight shillings; yet still four pence of their coin was equal to five pence of our money.

But in the following year, 1545, that king suffered his silver coin to be debased so far as to six ounces fine and six ounces alloy, in such sort that eight pence of their money was but equal to five pence of our's.

And in the three following years, 1546, 1547, 1548, the coin was still farther debased to four ounces fine and eight ounces alloy, and they coined forty-eight shillings of this base metal in the pound; so that their shilling, or twelve pence, was worth but five pence of our modern money, whereby they made the people pay after the rate of twelve shillings for an ounce of pure silver.

In the third year of Edward VI. anno 1549, the coin was brought back to the fineness of the year 1545, viz. six ounces fine and six ounces alloy, so that their eight pence (as above) was equal to our five pence.

Yet they still remained infatuated, as if foreigners as well as our own people would, in bills of exchange, and other money transactions with us,

of the church took up the pen, and answered some pamphlets: a proclamation was issued for executing the laws against nonconformists, and some of the principal dissenters were suspended, deprived, and imprisoned. The severities exercised against them were chiefly attributed to archbishop Parker, who suspected them of practices against his person. He had always been a bitter enemy to their opinions, and now, perceiving they were countenanced by persons of high rank, he complained that the church had no friend at court but the queen herself. She ordered the lord high-treasurer Burleigh to make a severe speech in the council against nonconformity: she declared against the religious exercises of the dissenters, and seemed at this juncture inclined to a persecution; for ten Dutchmen and one woman were condemned to the stake for heresy, though the sentence was afterwards mitigated into banishment; yet two persons of the same nation were actually burned in Smithfield.

Hitherto the papists in England had lived free from persecution, nay they were even indulged with the liberty of solemnizing their own rites within their private houses, though against the laws then in being; but when that hot haughty prelate, pope Pius V. in the year 1569, fulminated his bull against Elizabeth, by which he deprived her of her crown, and absolved her subjects from their obedience and allegiance to her, the government, well knowing what vast swarms of missionaries were then in England, thought it necessary to redouble its circumspection upon the popish party. Many gentlemen of the inns of court were brought before the archbishop of Canterbury, and not giving a satisfactory account of their principles, were sent to prison. The gentlemen in the commission of peace all over England were obliged to sign an instrument, professing their conformity to, and belief in, the established religion; and in the next parliament, which sat in the year 1571, the law was enacted against those who brought into, or offered to publish in England, any bulls or mandates from the pope, &c. already mentioned in the civil history of this reign†: yet, for six whole years together, after this law was made, it was not executed upon any papist, till Cuthbert Mayne, a priest, and an obstinate maintainer of the pope's authority over that of the queen, was executed at Launceston, in Cornwall; and a country gentleman who had harboured him, had his goods confiscated, and himself adjudged to perpetual imprisonment.

Archbishop Parker dying in 1575, was succeeded in the see of Canterbury by Grindal, of York, a prelate of great moderation towards the puritans. In his first convocation, some articles for the regulation of the clergy were agreed upon; and in the summer after he made a metropolitanical visitation. The articles of his injunctions manifest a becoming concern for the doctrines and worship of the church; but appearing too zealous for the puritans, the members of the Star-chamber, by virtue of their ecclesiastical commission, confined him to his house, and suspended him for six months from his jurisdiction. At length, however, he was restored to his functions, which he exercised until, finding himself pressed with age and infirmities, he resigned his archbishopric in 1583, and retired to Croydon, where he soon after died.

He was succeeded by Dr. John Whitgift, bishop of Worcester, a divine who had already distinguished himself by his learning and regard for the church of England. The beginning of his administration was pestered with the sect of Brownists, so called from their founder, Robert Brown, an English gentleman of Rutlandshire, who refused to join the congregation in any public office of worship, and out-did all the other puritans in railing against the church. Brown having written some pamphlets that were obnoxious to the ministers of the state and Gospel, Elias Thacker and John Copping, who had dispersed some of them, were prosecuted by the government, and executed for their crime. As to Brown himself, he was a poor unsteady wrong-headed man; he was saved from the gallows by being kinsman to the lord Burleigh; he next conformed, and then relapsed, and conforming again, had a benefice given him: at last he died in jail, into which he had been thrown for the breach of the peace: his sect, however, continued very numerous. But Whitgift was a prelate of great resolution, and pressed conformity as vigorously as the queen could wish him: finding the dissenters, among other things, had confined the queen's supremacy to a temporal jurisdiction, he took occasion to represent them to Elizabeth as agreeing with the papists on that head. Elizabeth could not brook the least opposition of this kind, and finding Whitgift to be a prelate according to her own mind, she remitted all ecclesiastical businesses to him, that she might be free from the importunities of the great patrons of the dissenters.

The first thing, therefore, that Whitgift did, was to press the clergy of his own diocese to subscribe to the following articles, which had been declared lawful by the civilians and judges of England.

"I. That the bishop, but no other inferior judge, may punish any person, ecclesiastical or lay, by a pecuniary mulct, for an ecclesiastical crime or offence, especially if he sees the party more afraid of such a penalty than the church censures.

"II. By the ecclesiastical law, the ordinary may set a pecuniary punishment upon such as absent themselves from divine service without reasonable excuse, especially when his absence proceeds from contempt.

"III. Some canonists affirm, that a bishop may make an ordinance, that an excommunicated person shall pay ten thousand pounds for every month he stands excommunicated out of contempt."

The pressing those articles raised such a storm of calumny against the archbishop as must have crushed him, had he not been powerfully supported by Elizabeth. After various tentatives to reclaim the dissenters, Whitgift at last gave the heads of them a meeting at Lambeth, in presence of the earl of Leicester and other ministers, who, though puritanically inclined, could not help deciding in his favour. Nevertheless, in the next parliament, a strong party in the house of commons joined in a petition to the upper house in favour of the nonconformists; but they were baffled by the vigilance of the archbishop, who prevailed upon the queen to quash all objections from the house of commons, and inflict farther severities on the dissenters; they were subjected to the oath "ex officio," as often as it should be administered, on pain of imprison-

† See p. 382, of this volume.

ment. Cartwright was sent to the Fleet for refusing it; Udal, one of their preachers, was condemned to death; and Penry was executed for having written some satirical libels.

The other ecclesiastical occurrences of this reign are very inconsiderable; I shall therefore only observe, that the dissenters, who, like all other sects, increased under persecution, now swarmed all over England; and at last they disputed the legality of the ecclesiastical commission under which they had suffered so great severities, and the matter was solemnly argued at the bar, in an action brought by one Caudrey, a deprived minister: many learned arguments were produced on each side the question;

but the judges came to a resolution, that if the act of supremacy had never been made, the king or queen of England, for the time being, might establish such an ecclesiastical commission as was then in force, by the ancient prerogative and law of England. Some time after this, one John Greenwood, a priest, and Henry Barrow, a gentleman, were, to the shame of Christianity, executed for not thinking like the queen and her council; but Cartwright, relenting in his opposition, had some indulgence shewn him: and, in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, the farther execution of the more sanguinary laws against dissenters were, for reasons of state, judged proper to be remitted.

OF LEARNING and LEARNED MEN in the XVth CENTURY.

LEARNING, on its revival, was held in great estimation by the English princes and nobles; and as it was not yet prostituted by being too common, even the great deemed it an object of ambition to attain a character for literature: the four successive sovereigns, Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, may be, on one account or other, admitted into the class of authors. Queen Catherine Parr translated a book; lady Jane Grey, considering her age, her sex, and her station, may be regarded as a prodigy of literature; sir Thomas Smith was raised from being professor at Cambridge, first to be ambassador to France, and afterwards secretary of state. The dispatches of those times, and among others those of Burleigh himself, are frequently interlarded with quotations from the Greek and Latin classics: even the ladies of the court valued themselves on knowledge; lady Burleigh, lady Bacon, and their two sisters, were mistresses of the ancient as well as the modern languages, and valued themselves more on their erudition than on their rank and quality. But to be more particular:

Cardinal Wolsey may be said to have been the father of revived learning in England, in this century. He had before him the fame which Leo X. the finest gentleman of his age, had acquired by restoring more than an Augustan age. In Italy, Bembo, Vida, Sannazarius, and more great poets and writers than ever appeared in any one nation at any one time, all found encouragement and protection, either from the bounty or through the example of his holiness. Painting, sculpture, and architecture, now started at once to that height from which they have been ever since declining. Wolsey had a soul exquisitely susceptible of the glory arising from a patronage, that gives surer immortality than power or titles can communicate. The learning of the English in general, at this time, was equally useless and heavy, and their taste none. Wolsey saw this, and had the virtue to attempt to improve the one, and introduce the other. He had himself as much learning as was sufficient for a gentleman, and more than was useful for a statesman. Mr. Guthrie, in his History of England, has favoured us with a letter of this great man, addressed to the masters of a school he founded at Ipswich, which does great honour to his style, his taste, and his judgment: it contains the method of teaching and education that was to be observed in that school; and it is no small reproach to Eng-

lish literature, that this piece, the most perfect of its kind that we know of, must have been utterly lost here, had it not been preserved in a foreign grammar, which, by great accident, fell into the hands of a late laborious antiquary.

I am pleased that I can here introduce the reader to some acquaintance with this curious piece, as it fully confirms the character of the cardinal's taste and learning. It is drawn up as a scholar, and at the same time as a gentleman would express himself, were it not perhaps in too princely a style: it is prefaced by a letter to his two schoolmasters, where he pays great compliments to their functions, and exhorts them strongly to the faithful discharge of their duty. He then lays down the method of education to be observed in his school, and orders the boys to be divided into eight classes; he orders those in the first class to be instructed in the eight parts of speech, and to be taught to pronounce the Latin in a full, open, elegant manner. The second class is to practise the speaking of Latin: every boy is to have a note-book, and being well grounded in his rudiments, he is to be exercised in translating some quick, witty, pertinent saying from English into Latin: they are in this class to read no author but their rudiments; though the masters are at liberty to teach them, if they pleased, Lily's *Carmen Monitorium*, or Cato's *Distichs*: "Nimirum (says the cardinal) *formandi oris gratia*." To the third class his eminency recommended the reading of *Æsop*, for the improvement of their ordinary style, because of that author's pure, neat, polite, and pleasant language: along with this study he recommends the learning of Lily upon Nouns, but without enjoining it. The fourth class is to read Virgil, that prince of poets, as the cardinal calls him; and he orders the masters to make the boys read the majesty of his verse aloud, in full sonorous tone. There is something so genteely expressed by the cardinal, when he comes to speak of the fifth class, that I cannot help transcribing and translating it: "*Imprimis hoc unum admonendum censuerimus, ut neque plagis severioribus, neque vultuosis minis, aut ulla tyrannidis specie tenera pubes afficiatur. Hac enim injuriâ ingenii alacritas, aut extingui, aut magnâ ex parte obtundi solet.*"—"In the first place, I think it proper to put you upon your guard, that tender youth is not to be treated with severe whippings, or blustering threatenings, nor with the least appearance of tyranny; for by such usage a forward

genius is commonly either quite crushed, or at least in a great measure blunted." After this preface, he recommends to the fifth class Cicero's Select Epistles, as being, in his opinion, the best book for obtaining the richness and copiousness of style. The sixth class are appointed to read books of history, such as Sallust, or Cæsar's Commentaries; and, by the bye, he recommends it to the masters to teach the students in this class, the knowledge of defective, anomalous, and heteroclite verbs, out of Lilly. The seventh class are enjoined to read the Epistles of Horace, with Ovid's Metamorphoses and Fasti; they are likewise to be taught composition of verses and epistles; to reduce verse to prose, and prose to verse; and to have always in the morning some specimen of their composition ready: and the cardinal concludes his directions to this class in the following amiable manner: "*Interdum laxandus est animus, intermiscendus lusus at liberalis tamen et literis dignus. In ipsis studiis sic voluptas est intermiscenda, ut puer ludum potius discendi quam laborem existimet. Cavendum erit ne immodicâ contentione ingenia discantium obruantur, aut lectione prælongâ defatigentur. Utrâque enim juxta offenditur.*" In the mean time the mind is to be relaxed, and labour to be mixed with diversions, but such diversions as may become a gentleman, and a man of letters. Pleasure is even to be mingled with study itself, that the boy may think learning rather an amusement than a toil. Particular care is to be taken not to hurt the genius of a boy by over-stretching it, nor to fatigue him by too long lessons: both extremities are hurtful." I cannot withstand the temptation of translating the whole of the section relating to the eighth and last class: "Lastly (says his eminence), when the youths, by such exercises, have attained to some knowledge of the language, let them then proceed to the higher rules of grammar, such as the figures, as they are laid down by Donatus Valla, upon elegance, and several ancient writers who treat upon the Latin tongue. In reading those works, we particularly recommend it to you, to endeavour to make yourselves masters of every passage requiring immediate explanation: as, for instance, suppose you were to give the plan of one of Terence's comedies, you are to preface it with a short account of the author's life, his genius, and his manner of writing; you are next to explain the pleasure and profit that attends the reading of comedies; you are then, in a clear but succinct manner, to explain the signification and etymology of the word, to give a summary of the fable, and also an exact description of the nature of the verse; you are afterwards to construe it in its natural order; lastly, you are carefully to mark out to your pupils every striking elegance of style, every antiquated expression, every thing that is new, every grecified turn, every thing that is obscure, every etymology, derivation, or composition, that may arise, whatever is harsh or confused in the arrangement of the sentence: you are to mark every orthography, every figure, every graceful ornament of style, every rhetorical flourish, whatsoever is proverbial, all passages that ought to be imitated, and all that ought not. Besides, you are to take care in school, that your pupils speak as correctly as possible; you are to applaud the excellent, and you are to mend the incorrect; sometimes you ought in the English language to throw

out a short ground-work for an essay; but let it be somewhat that is excellent: if you please, you are to lay before them certain short rules, by which they may more conveniently handle the subject assigned them.

"When in the school, the students are tinged with such ground-works of learning, they will soon give eminent proofs of what great importance it is to have their tender years formed by the best masters. In the mean while, do you persevere in adorning the country to which you owe so much, with the most liberal studies."

To his zeal for the improvement of youth, the cardinal added all the qualities of a fine gentleman and a polite courtier. Erasmus, one of the best judges of wit and good-manners that ever wrote, in several of his epistles takes particular notice of his politeness and affability: he says, that his manners betrayed nothing of his birth; and that the public was not in greater admiration of his exalted fortune, than of his generous disposition. But it was not for Wolsey to confine his love for learning and the Muses to his own example and munificence, without planting those seminaries, which, in succeeding ages, were productive of many of the noblest fruits of learning. He searched for men of genius and letters, as the lord of a soil does for a rich mine: he employed no ministers but such as were scholars; and under his administration, the dignities of the law, the church, and of the state, were filled with men who had nothing but merit to recommend them. Dr. Clark and Dr. Knight were through him made bishops; Dr. Taylor was made master of the Rolls; Dr. Pace, one of the principal secretaries of state; Dr. Gardiner, who had a very fine turn for letters, was employed in several embassies; not to mention Cromwell and others, who by his means rose to the highest offices in the state, with a vast number of other promotions, equally just and generous.

Wolsey's house, like Cicero's Tuscullanum, was a retreat to all men of letters, without distinction; they were welcome to his purse, to his library, and to his table. The study of the liberal arts, says the great author I have already quoted, when decayed and degenerated, was by him revived and renewed. Learning, whilst struggling with the patrons of ancient ignorance, was encouraged by his countenance, protected by his authority, embellished by his splendor, and cherished by his munificence. Whenever he heard of a learned foreigner, he settled on him a handsome salary, suitable to his merit, and invited him to England. He employed agents through all countries for making up a library which might vie with that of Ptolemy Philadelphus himself; and revived the study of the three learned languages, the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Latin, without which, to use his own expression, learning itself was but lame.

No mechanic ever worked with more labour in his profession, than the cardinal did with assiduity to adorn England with the luminaries of learning: he brought Matthias Calphurnius, one of the best Greek scholars of his time, from Greece, to teach that language at Oxford; and I am apt to believe it is owing to his labours that England can shew more great men than any other nation can in that language: though Erasmus differed from him greatly, both in political and religious matters, yet he allowed him a large appointment, and offered to provide

provide for him, if he would come to England, either in the church or state: he was the patron of Ludovicus Vives, another learned foreigner, perhaps the best critic of his time, who lived some time in England at the cardinal's invitation: he appointed Lavinius, a pupil and relation of Erasmus, to be his private secretary, and gave him an education worthy his merit. I should tire the reader were I to enumerate all the other instances of Wolsey's regard for the polite arts; I shall therefore close this account of the cardinal with observing, that he did a thousand generous acts for the benefit of learning, for which his memory deserves all the immortality the pen can bestow.

There were many other persons of note in the literary walk during this reign; but it would too much swell our work to enumerate all their names and writings: we must not, however, pass unnoticed Dr. John Collet, dean of St. Paul's, and founder of the school there; nor William Lilly, born at Odiham, in Hampshire, who was first master of St. Paul's school, and composed a grammar of the Latin tongue, which goes by his name, and is still in use in several of our schools; John Leland, that famous searcher of antiquities, flourished also in Henry's time.

The short reign of his successor, Edward VI. furnished very few persons of note, either as swordsmen or scholars. Edward Hall, a barrister at law, wrote a chronicle of the union of the two houses of York and Lancaster, which was well received; and Thomas Sternhold, born at Southampton, turned into English metre the Psalms of David, as we now hear them sung in most of our churches.

During the reign of Mary, bloody and tumultuous as it was, we find several learned men, the chief of whom were John Rogers, a clergyman of Lancashire, who translated the Bible into English, with notes; and Henry, lord Stafford, son to Edward, duke of Buckingham, who, amongst other works he wrote, translated a book out of Latin into English, entitled, "*Utriusque potestatis differentia*," which book, as some think, was first composed by Edward Fox, bishop of Hereford: John Hopkins also translated several of the Psalms into English metre, which, with those of Sternhold, still continue to be sung in the church.

Revived and improved literature made one of the principal glories of Elizabeth's reign; England under her saw an Augustan age! Elizabeth

herself translated several books, and was familiarly acquainted with the Greek as well as Latin tongue. It is pretended that she made an extempore reply in Greek to the university of Cambridge, who had addressed her in that language: it is certain that she answered in Latin without preparation, and in a very spirited manner, to the Polish ambassador, who had been wanting in respect to her; when she had finished, she turned about to her courtiers, and said, "God's death! my lords (for she was much addicted to swearing), I have been forced this day to scour up my old Latin that hath lain long rusting." Elizabeth, after she was queen, did not entirely drop the ambition of appearing as an author: and, next to her desire of admiration for beauty, this seems to have been the chief object of her vanity: she translated Boethius Of the Consolation of Philosophy, in order, as she pretended, to allay her grief for Henry IV's change of religion. As far as we can judge from Elizabeth's compositions, we may pronounce, that, notwithstanding her application and excellent parts, her taste in literature was very indifferent; she was inferior to her successor in this particular, who was himself far from being a just model of eloquence.

Unhappily for literature, at least for the learned of this age, the queen's vanity lay more in shining by her own learning, than in encouraging men of genius by her liberality: this province she left to Leicester, &c.

During this reign England produced a number of excellent poets, such as Spencer, Sidney, Donne, Johnson, Shakespeare, Beaumont, and Fletcher: Fairfax translated Tasso with great ease and elegance, and Harrington translated Ariosto with tolerable accuracy; Bacon acquired immortal renown by his philosophical writings; Camden excelled as an antiquary and historian. In this reign we owe to the patronage of the illustrious great who composed the English court, the strength of Jewell's reasoning, the inimitable style of Hooker, with the extent and variety of Raleigh's learning; it was under Elizabeth that Hobbes formed his first notions; and, towards the latter end of her reign, Cromwell drew his first breath, as if (says a modern author) it had been the will of Heaven, that she should not leave the world without bequeathing to it a spirit equal to her own.

L A W S.

HENRY VIII.

THIS king's first parliament sat on the twenty-first of January, 1510, at Westminster. Its laudable design seems to have been chiefly pointed towards relieving the people from the dreadful yoke under which they groaned, through the infamous revival of the penal statutes by Empson and Dudley. Among other statutes, it was now enacted, "that untrue inquisitions found in the reign of king Henry VII. by the procurement of Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, entitling the king to tenures in capite, may be traversed by the parties, though they have had liveries: and that their livery should be no conclusion." By another act, all assurances made by Emp-

son and Dudley of lands to the use of others, were made void, and their joint feoffees stood seised of the whole. The penal laws against clothworkers were likewise repealed, or mitigated. But the most important act of this parliament, was that determining that all actions for the king, upon any penal statute, should be taken within three years after the offence was committed; and actions for any other person, within one year: this act wisely foreclosed the field of litigation, by ripping up or reviving past offences, since no benefit for a forfeiture could accrue three years after the offence charged or committed.

There likewise passed in this parliament a repeal of that statute made in Henry VII's time giving authority to justices of assize and justices of the peace,

peace, in their sessions, to hear and determine all offences and contempts committed against any statutes in force, saving treason, murder, and felony. A law was likewise made for obliging coroners to do their duty without having the thirteen shillings and four pence advanced to them as a fee; since the meaning of the law was, that the fee should accrue from the estate of the murderer, but not in cases of death by accident or misadventure.

On the fourth of February, 1512, the parliament sat again, when the following acts were passed: That every person carrying beyond seas money, plate, or jewels, should forfeit double the value. This had been a favourite measure in the English government, though it was often broke through for conveniency; but as the English were now upon the eve of a war with France, it was absolutely necessary to enforce it. By another act it was ordained, "That all sorts of men, under the age of forty years, excepting judges and clergymen, should make use of bows and arrows, and practise shooting." This act was occasioned by the experience of the decay of military discipline in England. The use and conveniency of fire-arms bade fair to enervate the bodies of the English, who, by the practice of archery and strength of their arms in drawing the bow, had rendered themselves the terror of Europe; it was therefore provided by the parliament, that those exercises should be revived, not only to improve the natural strength of Englishmen, but because the long-bow and arrow was still a more formidable weapon than any of the small fire-arms that were yet carried to the field. In consequence of this principle, that bodily exercise in the people is absolutely necessary for the defence of the state, another act was made in this parliament, in confirmation of a statute passed in the nineteenth of the late reign, against shooting with cross-bows, and retracting all licences which allowed such exercise.

Two other acts which passed in this parliament, relate entirely to the expedition which was now on foot against France: the first was a kind of extension of the law made in Henry VII's time, and which we have already taken notice of, for empowering all those who followed the king to the wars, to alienate their lands; for it was now provided, that who is or shall be in the king's wars beyond the sea, or on the sea, shall have a protection of "*Profecturus, or Moraturus cum clausula volumus*;" and he may alien his lands holden in capite, without licence: and if he die in that service, his heirs, within age and ward, his executors, feoffees, or assigns, shall have the wardship and marriage towards the performance of his will.

The other act related to false musters, and to penalties upon captains using the same, or defrauding the soldiers of their pay: desertion was made felony without benefit of clergy, and was cognizable by the justices of the peace of that county where the offender was apprehended.

By another act it was provided, "That no person within the city of London, or within seven miles of the same, should practise physic or surgery without being first examined by the bishop of London, or the dean of St. Paul's, who were to be assisted by expert physicians and surgeons. The same provisions were to extend throughout all the other counties in the kingdom, but with this difference, that the number of assistants to be

called in by the bishop there, was left undetermined; and the practitioners approved of at London were not to undergo any second examination: but all this was with a saving clause to the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge of all their rights and privileges.

In the winter of the following year, 1513, an act passed for taking away benefit of clergy from all who committed murder or felony in any consecrated place, or upon the king's highway, or in their houses.

In 1514, the parliament passed an act relating to surgeons, by which they were exempted from serving all constabships and wardships, bearing of arms, and sitting on all juries and inquests, by reason of the continual service and attendance they give day and night, and at all times, to their patients. This privilege is still enjoyed by all persons of that profession.

The parliament of the year 1515, passed many salutary acts; among others, a sumptuary law was enacted against the excessive expence of apparel; and the dress of every degree among the laity was regulated. Another act confirmed and made perpetual the statute of the third of this reign, concerning the maintenance of archery and shooting in long-bows. I am inclined to believe, with lord Herbert, that this precaution chiefly tended to exercise the common people, whom the conveniency of calivers, or hand-guns, then in use, was apt to render idle and effeminate. Another act was made for regulating the wages of artificers and farmers servants; and another for encouragement of husbandry. Another act was made, for regulating the manner of manufacturing woollen cloth, and a severe penalty imposed upon any person that should export Norfolk wool out of the kingdom. Those acts concerning the woollen trade were at this time absolutely necessary, because of the disreputation which the faults in that trade had brought upon English cloths in foreign countries.

But the most remarkable act of this parliament was for remedying an abuse become frequent, from the great hurry the members of the house of commons were generally in for returning into the country before the close of the sessions: it was therefore provided, that such members who shall, without leave from the house, absent themselves from their duty, shall forfeit all their wages to which they are entitled from their constituents. From this act it appears, that the practice of paying wages, viz. four shillings to a knight of the shire, and two shillings at least to a burgess, a day, besides travelling expences, was still continued, and punctually observed. But it is remarkable we know of no coercive power upon the face of this act, which the house of commons before this time had over its own members; and the act itself establishes no other penalty against those who should absent themselves even without leave from the house, besides the loss of their wages. This, however, is no argument that the house might not exercise a compulsory power, by ordering such members into custody; though it is a very strong reason for thinking, that the payment of their wages was then by law so much a debt from the constituents, that, let the behaviour of the representative, after chosen, be what it would, it might be levied by him.

The parliament of 1523 took the state of the coinage into consideration. It was found that the

the increase of trade demanded a greater circulation of money, than the current specie of that time could effect; it was therefore enacted, "That coiners who make money in any mint in England, should coin of every hundred pounds of gold, twenty pounds into half angels, or pieces of forty pence; and of every hundred pounds worth of bullion, plate, or silver, a certain portion into groats, two-pences, pence, and farthings: the farthings to have a different make from the half-penny; that they who bring less than one hundred pounds in bullion, or plate, to the mint, shall have the tenth part thereof in half-pence or farthings; and yet this shall not extend to the mint-masters of York, Durham, or Canterbury." By another statute it was enacted, "That all in the king's service in war, might alienate their lands for the performance of their wills; and if any of them died in the king's service in war, his feoffees or executors should have wardship of his heirs and lands." This gave a new blow to what still remained of the feudal institution, as it left the barons and great tenants at farther liberty to indulge their full enjoyment, at the expence of their estates, of all the luxuries now introduced by the extension of commerce and the increase of coin. Thus many of those great possessions, which, ever since the Conquest, or soon after, had gone from father to son in the same descent, came now into the hands of commoners, and thereby the system of property was almost daily and hourly altered.

The parliament which sat in the year 1530, passed several acts relating to the clergy, which we have mentioned in their proper places; besides which, several acts passed of a civil nature; in particular one act, by which all servants embezzling goods to the value of forty shillings and upwards, within their masters houses, were adjudged to be guilty of felony; and the goods, after conviction, were ordered to be returned to the rightful owners. Another act was made for prohibiting the exportation of brass; probably with a view to encourage the making of great guns. Several regulations about foreign tradesmen likewise passed in this parliament, and they were subjected to the same taxes and duties with natural-born subjects.

In 1532, the twenty-fourth of this king, it was enacted by the parliament, that none should have the benefit of his recourse to his ordinary, excepting those in holy orders, and even they were to give security for their good behaviour. The act, however, did not extend to those, who, being attainted of felony or murder, are afterwards admitted to the benefit of clergy, and so delivered to the ordinary; but the ordinary, having such a person in his custody, might, if he pleased, discharge himself of the same, by degrading him, and sending him to the King's Bench.

By another act in the same session, the places where jails ought to be built and kept, were pointed out: the justices of the peace, in their respective counties, had the power of taxing the inhabitants towards building the jail, and of appointing collectors for raising the money for the same. Another act was made against false verdicts, by which a writ of attainder was followed against every juror giving such verdict; and the jury, if found guilty, was each man to forfeit twenty pounds, one half to go to the king, and the other to the party that sueth.

Another act provided for the importation of all French wines by the king's natural subjects, English, Irish, or Welsh; and that no such wines should be imported between the last day of September and the second day of February: it was farther enacted, that no person should retail French wine for above one penny the pint, and malmsey and sack for one shilling the gallon. Another excellent act was made, extending the statute of the staple (which was before confined between merchant and merchant, and only for the merchandize of the staple) to the rest of the king's subjects: and this, says lord Herbert, not only enlarged contracts, but strengthened the sinews of them.

By another act, another terrible grievance which the subjects laboured under from the clergy's power, was removed. It seems (as the preamble of the act recites) that it had been a common practice to cite people, upon fictitious and surmised causes, from the most distant parts of the kingdom, to the Arches, Audience, and other high courts of the archbishops; and upon their not attending, to lay them under excommunication, or suspension from divine service; it was therefore provided, that no such citation should take place, but in cases specified by the statute.

Another act declared all feoffments of lands to the use of the church, to be void; and that all assurances of lands to churches, communities, or companies of any kinds, were as prejudicial to the lords superiors of such lands, as if they were alienated in mortmain.

Several other acts passed in this parliament, equally beneficial, though not so extensive, in their nature: which were all allowed of by Henry, that he might strengthen his own power against the clergy, and strike the greater terror into the court of Rome.

In 1534, the parliament passed an act, giving power to the chancellor to settle the price of victuals; and all exportation of corn or cattle was prohibited, excepting to the English dominions abroad. By another act, all those who, being regularly indicted, shall stand mute to prevent the course of law, are deprived of the benefit of clergy. Another act was made to prevent the abuse of converting tillage into pasturage, especially for sheep: in the preamble of the act, great complaints are made against this practice, which raised the rents, and enhanced the prices of every thing; it was therefore enacted, "that no man should have in his farmed lands above two thousand sheep; yet that every temporal person may keep upon his inheritance as many as he will: secondly, that no man shall take and hold above two farms at once; and those to be in the same parish, upon certain penalties there set down."

By another act it appears, that the legislature thought it became them to take into consideration the state of printing: an act had been made so far back as the reign of Richard III. for importing books, both printed and manuscript; according to the preamble of this act, made in Henry's reign, there were but few printers within this realm in the reign of Richard III. who were cunning and expert in the said science and craft of printing; but there being now great numbers of that kind, the said act of Richard III. was repealed; and, for the encouragement both of printers and book-binders, it was provided that no man should buy books which

were brought from beyond seas to sell again, if they were bound: that no man shall buy books by retail, brought from beyond seas; and that the prices of books, increased to a miserable rate, were to be qualified by the king's great officers of state, or the justices, or any two of them. Several other acts, not relating to the business of the Reformation, were likewise passed for the benefit of the subject, but are too immaterial to be mentioned here.

The parliament of 1536, undertook and brought about the union of England with Wales, in the manner we have related in the history of this reign; and, in order to introduce a general uniformity, justices of the peace, with like powers as they have in England, were appointed by the lord chancellor of England in the county-palatine of Chester, and the other counties already mentioned. By another, the inhuman forest-laws were taken away. By another, it was enacted, that no person, from the first of July, 1536, should have power and authority to pardon or remit treasons, murders, manslughters, or any felons, or their accessaries, in any part of England, Wales, or the Marches of the same: that likewise none should make justices of oyer, justices of assize, justices of peace, or justices of jail-delivery; but they should be made by the king's letters patent; and that all original writs, and all manner of indictments of treason, felony, and trespass, and all manner of trespass, should be made in the king's name; and things done against the king's peace, should be supposed to be done against the king's peace, and not against the peace of any other person. But, notwithstanding the generality of those acts, a great many privileges still continued to the proprietors of lordships.

It appears that there was as yet in England no determined method established by the municipal law for the trial of pirates, who were left to the forms of the civil law, which did not admit any one to be put to death without first confessing their offences, and required more strict proof of the fact than the nature of the offence would admit of: by this means great numbers of offenders had escaped; and those who were convicted, were often put to the torture for confession: but it was now enacted, that they should be judged by commissioners appointed by the king, and in the same manner as if their offences had been committed on land; and that no benefit of clergy should be allowed the criminal: the act, however, very properly made a distinction between pirates, and those who took things through necessity, upon the sea; the said things, viz. provisions, materials, or utensils for navigating the ship, to be paid for, if taken on this side the streights of Morocco (Gibraltar, I suppose) in four months; and if on the other side, in twelve. Another act was made in favour of the breed of English horses; and a penalty imposed upon those who, having parks, did not keep mares thirteen hands, and stallions fourteen hands high. Several regulations were likewise made concerning the form for suing for the gifts and grants made under the king's sign manual. The king, likewise, in this session, carried, in part, his former design of voiding private deeds made in prejudice of the right of wardship: it was likewise enacted, that no lands should pass by bargain and sale, but that which was by writing indented, sealed, and enrolled.

We have now the title of the first law ever made in England relating to bankrupts, in the thirty-fourth year of Henry VIII. viz. "the lord-chancellor, treasurer, &c. shall take order with bankrupts bodies, lands, and goods, for the payment of their debts." But there was a farther regulation made in this act by the thirteenth of Elizabeth.

We now come to the time when interest, or use for money lent, and in those days always known by the name of Usury, was first settled in England by law. It was a statute of 37 Henry VIII. cap. ix. entitled, "How offenders in usury shall be punished." Before this time (says the judicious Josiah Child) there was no law for limiting the rate of interest; there was little trade, and as little money, in the nation, wherefore every man took such an interest for what money he could put out, as he could get; which in sundry instances (to be found in history here and there) was, before this time, higher than ten per cent. as partly appears from the strong expressions in this law, the preamble of which says, "that sundry statutes have been made for the avoiding and punishing of usury, being a thing unlawful [and yet, with the same breath, these lawgivers established it; for this was the church's opinion in those times, though never uniformly put in practice], of other corrupt bargains, shiefts, and chevifances; which statutes are so obscure and dark in intent [so framed on purpose to leave room to avoid the penalties; whilst, in general words (to please the clergy), it was declared sinful], and are of so little force, that by reason whereof little or no punishment hath ensued to the offenders of the same; for reformation whereof (says this preamble gravely), be it enacted, that all former statutes concerning usury, shiefts, &c. all forfeitures and penalties concerning the same be henceforth utterly void.

TAXES in the Reign of HENRY VIII.

In his fourth year, in a parliament at Westminster, were granted to the king two fifteenths of the temporalty, and two tenths of the clergy; and head-money, of every duke ten marks, an earl five pounds, a baron four pounds, a knight four marks, and every man valued at eight hundred pounds in goods, to pay four marks, and so after that rate till him that was valued at forty shillings, and he paid twelve pence; and every man and woman of fifteen years and upwards, four pence.

In his sixteenth year a parliament was holden, wherein divers subsidies were granted to the king, towards the charges of his wars in France.

In his fourteenth year, order was taken by cardinal Wolsey, that the true value of all men's substance might be known, and would have had every man sworn to give an account of his worth, and required a tenth part thereof towards the king's charges in the then war, as the spirituality had granted a fourth part: this the Londoners thought very hard, and thereupon were excused taking an oath, and were allowed to bring in their bills upon their honesties. But when all was done, after much labouring by the cardinal, the clergy granted one half of their yearly spiritual revenues for five years; and the temporalty, two shillings in the pound, from twenty pounds and upwards; and from forty shillings to twenty pounds, of every twenty shillings twelve pence; and under forty shillings, of every head, of sixteen years and upwards, four pence, to be paid in every two years.

In his sixteenth year, the cardinal, of his own head, attempted by commission to draw the people to pay the sixth part of every man's substance in plate or money; but this was generally opposed, and caused insurrections in several counties, which coming to the king's knowledge, he utterly disavowed it, and blamed the cardinal extremely for attempting it.

In his twenty-fourth year, in a parliament then held, a fifteenth was granted to the king, towards his charges in erecting fortifications against Scotland.

In his thirty-first year, a subsidy of two shillings in the pound upon lands, and twelve upon goods, with four fifteenths, were granted to the king, towards his charges in making bulwarks.

In his thirty-fifth year, a subsidy was granted, to be paid in three years; every Englishman being worth, in goods, twenty shillings and upwards to five pounds, to pay four pence of every pound; from five pounds to ten pounds, eight pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, sixteen pence; and from twenty pounds and upwards, of every pound two shillings: strangers, as well denizens as others, being inhabitants, to pay double. And for lands, every Englishman paid eight pence of the pound, from twenty shillings to five pounds; from five pounds to ten pounds, sixteen pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, two shillings; and from twenty pounds and upwards, of every pound three shillings: strangers double. The clergy, six shillings in every pound of benefices; and every priest having no benefice, but an annual stipend, six shillings and eight pence yearly, during three years.

EDWARD VI.

A Very necessary statute was made the second and third of Edward VI. cap. xv. "for restraining the sellers of all manner of provision in England, from combining together not to sell but at a fixed price; and also for restraining workmen and labourers not to make or do their work but at a fixed price; or to do but a certain work in a day, or not to work but at certain hours." A clause, wisely intended, was added to this act, licensing all manner of workmen relating to building of houses, &c. to follow their occupation in all cities and towns corporate, although they did not live therein, nor were free of such corporations: but this clause was repealed by a statute of the third and fourth of this king, cap. xx. plainly (as appears) by the interposition of the city of London, who represented "that being the king's chamber and most ancient city of this realm, the artificers and craftsmen of the arts, crafts, and mysteries aforesaid, were at great costs and charges, as well in bearing and paying taxes, tallages, subsidies, scot, lot, and other charges, as well to the king's majesty as to the said city, and to many and sundry triumphs and other times for the king's honour; and that if foreigners [i. e. non-freemen] should come and work among them within the liberties of the said city, contrary to their ancient privileges, the same should be a great decay of learning, and the impoverishment and driving away of the freemen, being artificers of the crafts and mysteries aforesaid, within the said city; for reformation whereof, the said clause is hereby repealed entirely." So that the reasons for this repeal are expressed as above only in respect to Lon-

don, yet the repeal being general, took in all other corporations, cities, and towns; and so it remains to our own times, contrary to the opinion of most wise and judicious men. By cap. iii. of the said second and third year of king Edward VI. for regulating the purveyors for the king's household, post-horses are therein fixed at one penny per mile.

In the third and fourth of king Edward VI. there was an act of parliament passed (cap. ii.) with many well-contrived clauses for preventing of frauds in the woollen manufactures in England, such as for the clothier's seal on his cloth, against over-stretching the cloths, for the well drying of cloth, also for the well dyeing of wool to be converted into cloth, or into hats or caps; also for preventing the putting any deceitful thing upon cloth, such as flocks, chalk, flour, starch, &c. nor to use iron cards in the rowing of cloths; also for just measuring of cloths: for all which purposes overseers are directed to be annually appointed, not only in corporation-towns, by the chief magistrates, jointly with the wardens, &c. of the clothworkers, but in towns, villages, and hamlets not incorporated, by the justices of the peace, jointly with the clothworkers; which overseers shall, at least once in every quarter of a year, or as often as they think needful, visit clothiers, drapers, dyers, and presers houses, shops, &c. to which overseers one moiety is hereby given of all the forfeitures and penalties of this act, and the other to the king, &c. All which evidently shews the care of the legislature for that manufacture, and also that it was at this time universally spread all over the kingdom, and in a flourishing condition.

Notwithstanding all which favourable laws for regulating the English woollen manufacture, we have another statute, anno 1552 (5 and 6 Edward VI.) for the very same ends and purposes, to which we refer the curious reader.

We have seen, under the year 1515, a statute for ascertaining the length, breadth, and weight of certain English woollen cloths; as also another more ample statute, anno 1549, for more fully regulating the different kinds of them: in this year, 1552, we have another still more extensive law for the same purpose (5 and 6 Edward VI. cap. vi.) wherein the woollen manufactures of all the different counties of England and Wales are ascertained with respect to length, breadth, weight, &c. whereby all former statutes concerning this subject are repealed. Yet, as perfect as this statute might then be thought, there were many more subsequent ones made on the same subject, not only for ascertaining the true dimensions and weight of those cloths, but for discovering and restraining many frauds and irregularities therein; the full recital of which would be both tiresome and unprofitable to the generality of readers; such as are desirous of perusing them, may consult the statute-books.

By cap. xxiv. of the said 5 and 6 Edward VI. there is another monopolizing act relating to the making of felt hats and thrummed hats, coverlets, and dornecks (i. e. diaper linen), though somewhat more moderate than that in favour of the city of York; for whereas, by the statute made in the year 1544, the manufacture of coverlets was absolutely confined to that city alone, exclusive of all other parts whatever of that county, this law now before us only confines the making of the above-named four kinds of goods to the city

of Norwich, and to corporate or market-towns of that county.

By a statute of the seventh and last year of king Edward VI. cap. v. "I. The prices of wines are fixed thus; Gascony and Guienne at eight pence per gallon; and Rochelle wine at four pence per gallon; nor should any other wines be sold at an higher price than twelve pence per gallon, on forfeiture of five pounds. This statute is said, in the preamble, to be enacted for the avoiding of many inconveniences, much evil rule, and common resort of misruled persons, used and frequented in many taverns, of late newly set up in back lanes, corners, and suspicious places, both in London and other towns and villages.

"II. The next clause enacts, that none but such as can spend a thousand marks, or else, lastly, shall be the son of a duke, marquis, earl, viscount, or baron of the realm, shall have in his house any vessel of the said wines, for his family's use, exceeding ten gallons, on forfeiture of ten pounds.

"III. Nor shall any person keep a tavern retailing of the said wines, unless licensed, and that only in cities, towns-corporate, boroughs, port-towns, or market-towns, or in the towns of Gravesend, Sitting-bourn, Tuxford, and Bagshot, on the forfeiture of ten pounds: and there shall be but two taverns for retailing wines in every city or town, except in London, which may have forty taverns, in York eight taverns, in Norwich four, in Westminster three, in Bristol six, in Lincoln three, in Hull four, in Shrewsbury three, in Exeter four, in Salisbury three, in Gloucester four, in Westchester four, in Hereford three, in Worcester three, in Southampton three, in Canterbury four, in Ipswich three, in Winchester three, in Oxford three, in Cambridge four, in Colchester three, in Newcastle upon Tyne four. By this limitation it may be thought a pretty near guess may be made at the comparative magnitude of cities and towns, allowances being made for towns situated on very public roads; yet this matter is nevertheless still very uncertain.

"IV. None of the said taverns shall retail wines to be spent or drank within their respective houses.

"V. Merchants may use in their own houses (but not to sell) such wines as they shall import; also high-sheriffs, magistrates of cities and towns, and inhabitants of fortified towns, may keep vessels of wine for their own consumption only."

As extraordinary as several parts of this statute may appear to some of us at this time, they may be pretty well accounted for, not only from the sobriety, poverty, and simplicity of that age, compared with ours, but also from the unsettled and tumultuous disposition of a great part of the people, those especially who adhered to the old religion, and those also who excited commotions in most counties against inclosures; yet, with respect to the limited number of taverns, in several of the fore-named towns, we cannot now perhaps altogether clearly judge or determine the proportion of the magnitude of those places therefrom; for instance, Cambridge is allowed four and Oxford but three taverns; nor some other points relating to this act.

TAXES in the Reign of EDWARD VI.

In no king's reign were ever more parliaments for the time, nor fewer subsidies. The greatest was

in his last year, when there was but one subsidy, with two fifteenths and tenths, granted by the temporality, and a subsidy by the clergy. And indeed, to shew how loth this king was to lay impositions upon his people, this may be a sufficient argument, that, though he was much in debt, yet he chose rather to negotiate a loan of money from the people of the Low Countries, at the interest of fourteen per cent. per ann. But his way of raising money was by selling the chantry-lands and religious houses, granted him by parliament; and by enquiring after all church goods, either remaining or embezzled, as jewels, gold and silver chalices, ready money, copes, and other vestments, reserving to every church one chalice and one covering for the communion-table, the rest to be applied to his own benefit. He also raised money by enquiring after offences of officers in great places: on enquiry one Beaumont, master of the Rolls, being convicted of many crimes, surrendered all his offices, lands, and goods, into the king's hands. Also one Whalley, receiver of Yorkshire, being found a delinquent, surrendered his office, and paid a great fine besides. Also the lord Paget, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, conscious that he had sold the king's lands and timber woods without commission, and had applied the king's stores to his own use, for these and other offences, surrendered his office, and was fined four thousand pounds, which he paid in hand. One thing more was done in his time, for raising of money; twenty thousand pounds weight of bullion was appointed to be made so much baser, that the king might gain thereby one hundred and forty thousand pounds.

M A R Y.

WE have seen, under the year 1285, that the first statutes made in England for widening the roads between market-towns, was made purely for the prevention of robberies, without the least hint therein of the benefit to arise thereby to carriages, on account of commerce, of which there was but very little at that time.

From that time we meet with nothing relating to that subject (except the paving the suburbs about London, &c.) till king Henry VIII's reign, in which there are four statutes, viz. two for the altering or removing certain roads (annis 14 & 15, cap. vi.) in the Weald of Kent, and (anno 26, cap. vii.) in the deep ways of Suffex; both which have been already taken notice of, under the year 1524; a third, for mending a lane near Chester; and a fourth for the repair of bridges, and highways at the ends of bridges; neither of which two did we think worthy of animadversion. But commerce beginning to increase considerably in the reign of his daughter Mary, whereby the old roads became much more frequented by heavy carriages, an act, of 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, anno 1555 (cap. viii.) takes notice, "that the highways were then very noisome and tedious to travel in, and dangerous to all carriages; wherefore it was now enacted (and is still in force), that every parish should annually elect two surveyors of the highways, to see that the parishioners, according to their lands, abilities, farms, &c. send their carts, horses, men, tools, &c. four days in every year, for mending the roads." So that this is properly the first general statute made for mending the roads, extending

extending to all England and Wales, by the labour and expence of each respective parish alone; and on that bottom alone we find in all six statutes relating to this subject in queen Mary's reign, nineteen in queen Elizabeth's, and one in king James I's reign; after which there were none of this kind till king Charles II's Restoration. The said parochial means for keeping the roads in repair were found, in most cases, tolerably effectual, till after the Restoration of Charles II. when the vast increase of the nation's commerce and manufactures, and of the capital city of London, with the concomitant increase of luxury, brought in such a number of heavy-wheeled carriages on our roads, as rendered it by degrees impracticable in most cases for parishes entirely to keep their own part of the roads in tolerable condition, more especially in the counties near London, and in the manufacturing counties. This has introduced the more equitable and effectual method of tolls payable at numberless toll-gates (called turnpikes) by the identical wearers of those roads alone: and many subsequent local statutes have been made for those ends, and also several general ones for limiting the weight of waggon-loads, the breadth of wheel-rims, called fellies, the number of horses, &c. And thus much we thought sufficient to serve for a summary history of the laws relating to the roads of England, so as not to have much occasion to name them any more in this work.

What we have here said, concerning a summary history of the keeping the roads or highways of England in repair, may also be partly applied to the subject of deepening rivers, and meliorating havens or harbours on the sea-coasts. With respect to the former, we have seen that the first instance thereof in the statute book, is that of the third of Henry VI. (cap. v.) for deepening the river Lea from the town of Ware to London, an. 1424; and that in his ninth year (cap. ix.) for the same end: after which we find none, either for rivers or for havens, till the reign of Henry VIII. who repaired and fortified several harbours; for that of 4 Henry VII. for preserving the river Thames, relates merely to the fishing therein; and that of the eleventh of the same king, for removing weirs and engines from Southampton harbour, was for the like purpose; but we find no more statutes of either kind till queen Elizabeth's reign, some of which, as also subsequent ones, we may perhaps think it necessary to take a more particular notice of, in their respective places; as also for bridges over rivers.

TAXES in the Reign of Queen MARY.

Queen Mary began with a rare example, for in the first year of her reign, she remitted, by proclamation, the subsidy of four shillings in the pound of land, and two shillings in the pound of goods granted in the last parliament of king Edward VI.

In her second year, in a parliament then holden, was granted to the king and queen a subsidy of the laity, from five pounds to ten pounds, of eight pence in the pound; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, of twelve pence in the pound; and from twenty pounds and upwards, of sixteen pence in the pound; all strangers to pay double: and the clergy, six shillings in the pound. If this were all, then, upon the matter, in all her time there came no new charge upon her people: for one subsidy remitted, and one received, made but even.

In her last year she borrowed twenty thousand pounds of the city of London, at the rate of twelve per cent. per annum.

ELIZABETH.

IN the fifth year of Elizabeth (cap. iii.) was the first statute enacted in England for the relief of the poor: for whereas all other acts of parliament were only on the foot of voluntary contributions for the poor, resting or depending upon the charitable devotion of the people, which method had not answered the intended purpose, or prevented common beggars from multiplying every where, it was now therefore found necessary to go a step farther. It is certain that the suppression of the convents had not a little increased this disorder; those houses having been a great relief to the poor of their own lands, and in their neighbourhood, to whom not only their kitchens, but their granaries, were ever open, more especially in times of dearth; when, therefore, the church-lands were sold by Henry VIII. at very easy purchases, it was then declared to be for enabling the buyers to keep up that wonted hospitality, which, however, they greatly neglected to do; yet still there was no compulsory law till now. This act, therefore, after "directing poor and impotent persons of every parish to be relieved of that which every person will, of their charity, give weekly, to be gathered by collectors, and distributed to the poor, so as none of them shall go, or sit, openly begging; (now comes the compulsory clause) and if any parishioner shall obstinately refuse to pay reasonably towards the relief of the said poor, or shall discourage others, then the justices of the peace, at their quarter-sessions, may tax him at a reasonable weekly sum; which if he refuses to pay, they may commit him to prison: yet, where the parishioners have more poor than they can relieve, the justices may licence so many of their poor as they shall think proper, to beg in one or more hundreds of their respective counties. Lastly, beggars in any other place than where legally licenced, were to be punished according to the laws of vagabonds."

The next statute of the same session of parliament (viz. cap. iv.) entitled "A repeal of so much of former statutes as concern the hiring, keeping, departing, working, or order of servants, labourers, &c. and a declaration who shall be compelled to serve in handicrafts, and whom in husbandry, and their several duties, &c." gives the substance of many former laws, with their imperfections, contrariety, and remarks, and observes that the wages ascertained in many of those acts of parliament were now become insufficient, by reason of the advanced prices of all necessaries since those times; yet, large and comprehensive as this act is (and too much of it is still in force) there are sundry subsequent statutes, both in this and succeeding reigns, for the regulation of disputes between masters and their servants, apprentices, and labourers, concerning their wages, time of labour, &c.

The next law (cap. v.) of that year, entitled "Constitutions for the maintenance of the navy, &c." contains many good clauses for encouraging our own shipping and mariners: as "I. By permitting herrings, and other fish caught upon our coasts, to be exported duty-free. II. That no foreign ships shall carry any goods coastwise, from

any one English port to another. III. Wines and woad shall be imported from France in English shipping alone (with some inconsiderable exceptions.) IV. That, as well for the maintaining of shipping, the increase of fishermen and mariners, and the repairing of port-towns, as for the sparing and increase of the flesh victuals of this realm, it shall not be lawful for any to eat flesh on Wednesday and Saturdays, on the penalty of three pounds for each offence, excepting cases of sickness; and also those by special licences to be obtained [this purely political fasting from flesh meat was partly altered by cap. ii. 27 Eliz. by leaving out Wednesday; yet the victuallers were to utter no flesh in Lent, nor on Fridays and Saturdays]; for which said licence obtained by peers, they were to pay one pound six shillings and four pence to the poor's box of the parish; knights and their wives, thirteen shillings and four pence; and others, six shillings and eight pence each: but no licence was to extend to the eating of beef [on these days] at any time of the year [this shews, that in those days, black cattle were deemed scarce]; nor to the eating of veal, in any year, from Michaelmas to the first day of May. "But because (adds the statute) no person shall misjudge the intent of this statute, be it enacted, that whosoever shall, by preaching, teaching, writing, or open speech, notify that any eating of flesh, or forbearing of flesh, mentioned in this statute, is of any necessity for saving the soul of man, or that it is the service of God, otherwise than as other polite laws are and be, then such persons shall be punished as spreaders of false news ought to be."

In the following year the parliament, assembled at Westminster, among others, passed the following acts, viz. I. An act against holding or maintaining the authority of the bishop of Rome. II. That no one shall procure a false witness, upon the penalty of forty pounds; nor any one be a false witness, upon the penalty of twenty pounds, and six months imprisonment. III. An act making the clipping and wasting of coin treason. IV. That any person who shall be seen or found in the company of Egyptians [gypsies], shall be deemed felons. V. An act for the due execution of the act "De excommunicato capiendo." VI. An act for translating the Bible and Common Prayer Book into Welsh. VII. An act to establish and confirm the queen's supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs. The work of Reformation, which, with several interruptions, had been carrying on above thirty years, was in a great measure completed, and the articles of the church of England settled by the convocation, and reduced to the number of thirty-nine, as they stand at this day.

The parliament which was dissolved on the twenty-second of January, 1567, made the following acts: I. An act declaring the making and consecrating of bishops within this realm, to be good, orderly, and lawful. II. That no man shall send any rams, sheep, or lambs, alive, out of the realm, upon pain, for the first offence, of forfeiture of all his goods, and one year's imprisonment; and for the second, of being declared a felon. III. That cut-purses and pickpockets shall not have benefit of clergy. IV. Whereas there was but one sheriff for Surry and Suffex, one for Essex and Hertfordshire,

one for Somerset and Dorsetshire, one for Warwick and Leicestershire, one for Nottingham and Derbyshire, one for Oxford and Berkshire; it was ordered that, for the future (the year 1567 being the first), each of these counties should have a sheriff respectively.

In the year 1571, the fourteenth of Elizabeth's reign, was passed the famous act for the maintaining the queen's title, of which we have given the substance, in our history of that reign*. The other acts made in this parliament are little worth notice, if we except one relating to the clergy, by which it is enacted, "that no ecclesiastical person shall be admitted to any benefice with cure, except he be twenty-three years of age at least, and shall first subscribe the articles of religion, in presence of the ordinary, and, within two months after induction, read the same in his parish-church, in the time of common prayer, and declare his unfeigned assent thereunto, and all this upon pain of deprivation. That no one shall retain a benefice with cure, being under the age of twenty-one years, or without a testimonial of his honest life, nor unless he is able to render to the ordinary an account of his faith in Latin."

In the eighteenth year of her reign, an act was passed, making it treason to impair, diminish, or falsify the coin of the realm.

The parliament of 1585 enacted several severe laws against papists: it was also declared, "that no person should be returned to serve upon juries, but who has an estate of freehold lands, tenements, or hereditaments, to the clear yearly value of four pounds at least."

The parliament which met in February, 1593, passed a very rigid statute against all non-conformists, which equally affected papists and protestants. In the preamble to this act it is said, "that this act was made for preventing and avoiding such great inconveniences and perils as might happen and grow by the wicked and dangerous practices of seditious sectaries and disloyal persons." The act ran, "that if any person above the age of sixteen years, shall refuse to repair to some church, or refuse to do the same for the space of one month, shall be committed to prison, there to remain, without bail or mainprize, until they shall conform, and make such open submission and declaration of their conformity, as by this act is appointed." The offenders against this statute, who refused to make the submission, were to abjure the realm, and not to return without her majesty's licence, under the penalty of suffering as felons, without benefit of clergy. This bill met with great opposition in the house of commons, as may be seen in d'Ewe's Journal, p. 474, &c. where the speeches on both sides are inserted. There was an act also made against popish recusants, by which they were confined within five miles of their respective dwellings, on forfeiture of all their goods and chattles, together with lands, during life. By another act all the abbey-lands were confirmed to the crown and grantees.

The parliament which met at Westminster on the twenty-fourth of October, 1597, and was dissolved on the ninth of February, 1598, made the following acts: "I. An act for the punishment of rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars: by this statute all the following persons are to be adjudged

† See p. 382, of this volume.

rogues and vagabonds: people who go about begging as poor scholars, or on the pretence of loss by fire or shipwreck; collectors for jails, or persons delivered out of jail and begging for their fees; such as use any subtle craft or unlawful games, fortune-tellers, gypsies, fencers, bear-wards, common players, and minstrels, jugglers, lurkers, pedlars, and petty-chapmen, fellows not working for reasonable wages when they are able, and the like: their punishment is, to be whipped and sent from parish to parish, by the officer in each, the next straight way to the parish where they were born, or last dwelt for the space of a whole year. II. An act for erecting hospitals, houses of correction, and workhouses for the poor. III. One for the increase of mariners, and maintenance of navigation. IV. An act against lewd and wandering persons, pretending to be soldiers or mariners, and travelling without testimonials from justices of the peace.

In the last parliament of this reign, holden at Westminster, on the twenty-seventh of October, 1601, the following statutes were passed. I. An act for the relief of the poor, appointing the choosing of overseers, and the manner of raising money for the relief of the poor. II. That every parish in England shall pay a weekly sum for the relief of the sick, hurt, and maimed soldiers and mariners. III. An act to redress the misemployment of lands, goods, &c. given to charitable uses. IV. That persons cutting and carrying away corn growing, robbing of orchards, breaking or cutting up hedges, poles, &c. and digging or pulling up fruit-trees, cutting or spoiling wood or underwood, not being felony by law, shall be obliged to make satisfaction or be whipped.

TAXES in the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH.

In the parliament holden in the first year of her reign, a subsidy was granted, of two shil-

lings and eight pence in the pound on goods, and four shillings on lands, to be paid at two several payments, by every person, spiritual and temporal.

In her sixth year, in a parliament held at Westminster, one subsidy was granted by the clergy, and another by the laity, together with two fifteenths and tenths.

In her eighth year, at a parliament then held, there were offered to her four subsidies, upon condition she would declare a successor; but she refused their offer, and directly remitted the fourth subsidy which they had granted, saying, "that it was all one, whether the money was in her subjects coffers or in her own."

In her thirteenth year, in a parliament then held, towards her charges of repressing the Northern rebellion, there was granted her a subsidy of six shillings in the pound, by the clergy; and by the temporality, two fifteenths, and a subsidy of two shillings and eight pence in the pound.

In her six-and-thirtieth year a parliament was holden, in which two subsidies were granted by the clergy, and by the laity three, besides six fifteenths and tenths; but it was put in this act, that this contribution, the like whereof had not been known in former ages, should not be drawn into example.

In her fortieth year, in a parliament at Westminster were granted her by the clergy three entire subsidies, and by the laity as many, with six fifteenths and tenths.

In her forty-second year, to furnish her with money towards the Irish war, she delegated certain commissioners to confirm the crown-lands to the possessors that held any of controverted titles, and to take money for the confirmation, thereby to take away the trouble by contractors, who were at this time very busy.

ARTS and SCIENCES, MANNERS and CUSTOMS, in the XVIth Century.

IF there is a satisfaction, says a modern historian, in viewing in painting and sculpture the features of our ancestors, it must be equally so to read in the page of history their manners and dispositions. We have already shewn how great encouragement learning and the polite arts received from Wolsey, in the beginning of this period; neither were the English wanting all this time in cultivating and cherishing new-born arts and discoveries. One Owen is noted as being the first who, about the year 1536, cast brass cannon in England, some specimens of which are said to be still preserved in the Tower of London. The art of printing had also before this time been imported, and had been brought to as great perfection in England as in any neighbouring country. Music and painting had met likewise with encouragement, Henry himself having some taste for those arts, as appears from several letters patent in favour of their professors, especially to the famous Hans Holbein.

Archbishop Nicholson, in his English Historical Library, speaking of the state of geographical knowledge at or about this period, observes, "that since the beginning of king Henry VIII's reign, our eldest general geographer or antiquary is said to have been Thomas Sulmo, a Guernsey man, who died at London in the year 1545. The year

following, a much greater man of the profession, sir Thomas Elliot, one of king Henry's ambassadors, and sir Thomas More's friends, died also. Cotemporary with those two was George Lily (son of William, the famous grammarian), who lived some time at Rome with cardinal Pole, and published the first exact map that ever was, till then, drawn of this island."

In the year 1521 was first introduced the use of hand-guns or musquets, whereby, in process of time the practice of bows and arrows in war was quite laid aside.

About the year 1535, glasses were first begun to be made in England: the finer sort was made in Crutched-friars, London; the fine flint-glass, little inferior to that of Venice, was first made in the Savoy-house, in the Strand, London; but the first glass-plates for looking-glasses and coach-windows, were made about the year 1673, at Vauxhall, near Lambeth, by the encouragement of the duke of Buckingham. The English have improved this manufacture so greatly, as to surpass every other nation in Europe in this useful branch of business.

The ingenious author of the Present State of England, printed in 1683, acquaints us, that the first manufacture of knives in England was begun in 1562, by Thomas Matthews, on Fleet-bridge, London.

London. How strangely are things altered since those times! for now London excels all the earth in this article, and supplies many other nations therewith in great quantities.

Mr. Anderson, in his most elaborate and useful work, lately published, concerning the Origin of Commerce, to which I acknowledge myself greatly indebted for many curious extracts, tells us that he has in his possession the first work ever published in England on the art of Italian book-keeping, or merchants-accounts by double-entry; it is a folio, printed at London, anno 1569, in a black letter, the author James Peele. The style (says Mr. Anderson) is obsolete, yet he has sufficiently testified that he understood the true grounds and principles of double-entry accounts full as well as some who have written much later.

In all probability, this art of double-entry accounts had its rise, or at least its revival, amongst the mercantile cities of Italy: possibly it might be first known at Venice, about the time that numeral algebra was taught there, from the principles of which science double-entry, or what we call merchants-accounts, seem to have been deduced, viz. about the middle of the XVth century, though it did not reach England till our commerce, about this time, began to be considerable. It is said that Lucas de Burgo, a friar, was the first European author who published his algebraic work at Venice, anno 1494.

In the year 1589, William Lee, M. A. of St. John's college, Cambridge, invented an engine or steel-loom, called the Stocking-frame, for knitting or weaving of stockings. This was but twenty years after we had first learned from Spain the method of knitting them with wires or needles. Mr. Lee's invention has proved of considerable benefit to the stocking manufacture, by enabling England, in after times, to export vast quantities of silk stockings to Italy, &c. where, it seems (by sir Josiah Child's excellent Discourse on Trade, first published in the year 1678), they had then not got the use of the stocking-frame, though little short of one hundred years after its invention: yet Dr. Howell, in his History of the World (vol. iii. p. 222.) makes this invention eleven years after, 1600; and adds, that Mr. Lee not only taught his art in England and in France, but his servants did the same in Spain, Venice, and Ireland.

We have the best authority for fixing the date of the first manufacturing of sail-cloth in England to the year 1599, being the preamble to an act of parliament of king James I. cap. xxiii. reciting, that "whereas the cloths called Mildernix, and Powl Davies, whereof sails and other furniture for the navy and shipping are made, were heretofore altogether brought out of France, and other parts beyond sea, and the skill and art of making and weaving the said cloth was never known or used in England till about the thirty-second year of the reign of the late queen Elizabeth (i. e. 1590.), about which time the skill and art of making and weaving was attained to, and since practised and continued in this realm to the great benefit and commodity thereof," &c.

As we still excel all nations upon earth both in naval power and maritime commerce, every thing relative to either should (as far as is practicable) come to us at the first hand; yet, though it may seem somewhat strange, that a nation in those

days very far from being eminent in shipping, should have so long supplied us with this great article, it ought to be considered, that they were in those days (and long before we fell into it) eminent for the manufacture of many kinds of excellent cloths, made both of flax and hemp; and that perfection (in almost every art) is not to be arrived at but by very slow degrees.

In or about the same year was the invention of the telescope or spying-glass discovered, being justly esteemed one of the most useful and excellent discoveries of modern times; though it was, it seems, produced by mere chance. The common account is, that two children of one Janssen, a spectacle-maker at Middleburgh, in Zealand, being at play in their father's shop, and looking through two pieces of glass between their fingers, which were at some small distance from each other, the weather-cock of the church-steeple appeared to them unusually large, and much nearer; of this they instantly told their father, who, surprized also at first, made the experiment of fixing two such pieces of glass in brazen circles, or cylinders, so as they might be placed nearer or farther, at pleasure. Janssen very soon improved this discovery so much, that he presented a telescope, twelve inches long, to prince Maurice, and another to the archduke Albert. Mr. Wotton (in his Reflections on ancient and modern Learning) relates, "that prince Maurice, conjecturing this might be of great use in war, desired him to conceal his secret, and for that reason his name was so little known, that neither Des Cartes nor Gerard Vossius had ever heard any thing of him, when they attributed this invention to one Jacobus Metius, of Alkmaar." None of these first telescopes, however, were above eighteen inches long, neither were they properly framed for astronomical observations, until Galileo, astronomer to the grand-duke of Tuscany, hearing of this discovery for bringing objects nearer, made such great improvements therein, as to have gained him, in the opinion of many, the honour of the invention itself, by giving to the telescope the appellation of Galileo's Tube. Some, indeed, make this noble invention to have happened some years later, and that J. Baptista Porta, a Neapolitan, was the first inventor; but the general belief is as above. Our incomparable sir Isaac Newton was the inventor of the reflecting telescope, consisting of specula, or mirrors, instead of lenses, which has been since much improved, and is much more exact than reflecting ones. The microscope, which magnifies the smallest objects so as to be distinctly viewed, was discovered in the year 1621; and it is said this happened both at Naples and Holland at the same time. Mezeray makes this invention eighteen years later; yet he adds, that even the ancients must have known the use of them, if what Roger Bacon says be true, viz. "that Julius Cæsar being on the Belgic shore, opposite Britain, did, with certain great burning-glasses, discover the posture and disposition of the British army, and all the coasts of that country."—Which whoever please, may believe!

By the telescope, astronomy is brought to such a degree of perfection, as it was impossible for the ancients to arrive at. Navigation, and consequently commerce, is likewise much assisted, from a more perfect discovery of the heavenly bodies:

and many volumes have been published of the wonderful and amazing discoveries made by the microscope.

About this time flourished the famous Danish astronomer, Tycho Brahe, who made some astronomical discoveries and improvements, which proved very beneficial to navigation and maritime commerce. He deceased anno 1601.

The progress which the fine arts made in England since the death of their patron, Wolsey, was next to nothing. The English poetry, indeed, seemed to have risen amongst us complete, and is the only art that, since the days of Shakespeare and Spencer, has been on the declining hand. Architecture came, towards the middle and close of this century, to be more sumptuous; but its style was barbarous. Painting has, in England, been always of foreign growth, and when transplanted hither, has been but just kept alive by the bounty of the great; nor could England, during the successive reigns of Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, produce a patron like Wolsey, or an artist like Holbein, who in the likeness could draw the character.

The progress made in the mathematical art was confined to the studies of Dee and one or two more, who were patronized by Burleigh. In natural philosophy the nation was excessively ignorant, insomuch that we read in the year 1577, some of the greatest men about court suffered themselves to be bubbled out of considerable sums by impostors, who pretended to the secret of transmuting metals: we are sorry to find the name of that great and able man Burleigh, in the list of those dupes of a senseless credulity. The queen's own example re-

vived a taste for music, both vocal and instrumental; and even dancing was not void of elegance.

Although the nobility of this age preserved great remains of the ancient customs, yet they were by degrees acquiring the taste of elegant luxury, and many edifices in particular were built by them, neat, large, and sumptuous, to the great ornament of the kingdom, says Camden, but to the no less decay of the glorious hospitality of the nation. It is, however, more reasonable to think, that this new turn of expence promoted arts and industry, while the ancient hospitality was the source of real disorder and sedition, idleness. Among the other species of luxury, that of apparel began much to increase during this age, and the queen thought proper to restrain it by proclamation. Her example was very little conformable to her edicts; as no woman was ever more conceited of her beauty, nor more desirous of making impressions on the hearts of beholders; no one ever went to greater extravagance in apparel, nor studied more the variety and richness of her dress; she appeared almost every day in a different habit, and tried all the several modes by which she hoped to make herself agreeable: she was likewise so fond of her cloaths, that she never would part with any of them; and at her death she had in her wardrobe all the different habits, to the number of three thousand, which she had ever worn in her life-time. The retrenchment of the ancient hospitality, and the diminution of retainers, was ever favourable to the prerogative of the sovereign, and, by disabling the great noblemen from resistance, promoted the execution of the laws, and extended the authority of the courts of justice.

OF COMMERCE, HUSBANDRY, NAVIGATION, PUBLIC REVENUES, &c. in ENGLAND during the XVth Century.

THE English had not the same splendor of success with the Spaniards, nor such influence in other courts, nor did they possess that great power which rendered Spain so dangerous to her neighbours; but they acquired a new kind of glory from the ocean, and the extensive maritime trade they carried on: they knew their true element, and that alone made them more happy than all the foreign conquests and possessions of their ancient kings, and they became a powerful, civilized, industrious, laborious, and enterprising nation. The improvements made by the Spaniards in navigation excited their emulation, and they undertook three successive voyages to discover a north-west passage to Japan and China: Drake and Cavendish sailed round the globe, attacking in all places those very Spaniards who had extended their conquest and trade to both ends of the world: the famous sir Walter Raleigh established the colony of Virginia, and afterwards assisted in that expedition wherein the English fleet went and insulted Philip II. upon his own coasts, destroying his ships, and burning the rich city of Cadiz: at length, grown more formidable, they, in 1602, defeated the first fleet Philip III. sent to sea, and from that time acquired a superiority at sea, which they have ever since maintained.

From the first beginning of Elizabeth's reign they applied themselves to manufactures. The

Flemings, being persecuted by Philip II. removed to London, bringing with them an increase of inhabitants, industry, and riches. This capital, which enjoyed the blessings of peace under Elizabeth, cultivated likewise the liberal arts, which are the badges and consequences of plenty: in a word, London was enlarged, civilized, and embellished, and in a short time one half of the little island of Great Britain was able to counterbalance the whole power of Spain.

The English now figured as the second nation in the world in industry, as in liberty they were the first. They began early to establish a navy-royal; they commenced a great fishery on the Banks of Newfoundland, a whale-fishery in the North Seas, and a trade to Russia; and, by means of an important discovery of a passage by sea to that country, round the north cape of Lapland, opened an extensive field for other discoveries, and new branches of commerce; they also commenced their Turkey trade; and in the very last year of this century incorporated the East India company.

Agriculture now began to be considered in England as the chief riches of the state, while in Spain they began to neglect this real good for ideal treasures: the gold and silver trade of the new world enriched the king of Spain, but in England the subject was benefited by the sale of the natural commodities. A private merchant of London, sir

Thomas Gresham, was at that time rich enough to build the Royal Exchange at his own expence, and to found and endow the college which bears his name; and several other citizens founded hospitals and public schools. Such, says Mr. de Voltaire, in his Essay on General History, were the glorious effects produced by industry in this kingdom, that private persons could do what kings at present can only effect, during the most happy administration.

Thus much in general: I shall now proceed to point out the most remarkable gradations, by which the several articles under our consideration tended to perfection during this period.

Nothing material of discovery had been made from England since Cabot's voyage to the coast of America, in the year 1496. In 1525, king Henry VIII. sent two ships towards the same coasts, one of which was cast away in the Gulph of St. Laurence, and the other returned home the same year, but without any material discovery. One Robert Thorn is said to have put Henry upon this voyage, in hopes of finding a north-west passage to the Moluccas.

In our review of the state of Commerce, &c. at the end of the reign of Henry VII. we have shewn the state of husbandry in England at that time; it seems the evil then complained of, was now grown to a greater height, for, in the twenty-fifth of Henry VIII. a law was made (cap. xiii.) which represents "the custom of engrossing great numbers of sheep in one man's hands, and for that end keeping many farms in the same man's hands, as a practice which has not been but within a few years past, putting such lands as they can get into pasture, and not to tillage; whereby they have not only pulled down churches and towns [quære, how this could be], and enhanced old rates and rents, or else brought them to such excessive fines, that no poor man is able to meddle with them; but also have enhanced all manner of corn, cattle, wool, pigs, geese, hens, chickens, eggs, &c. by reason whereof a marvellous multitude of people be not able to provide meat, cloaths, &c. for themselves and families. One of the greatest occasions why those covetous people do keep such great quantities of lands in their hands from the occupying of the poor husbandman, and do use it in pasture and not in tillage, is only the great profit that cometh by sheep, now got into few persons hands in respect to the whole number of the king's subjects, that some have twenty-four thousand, some twenty thousand, some ten thousand to five thousand sheep, whereby a good sheep, that used to be sold for two shillings and four pence, or three shillings at most, now sold for six, five, or four shillings at the least; and a stone of wool, which used to be sold for eighteen pence and twenty pence, is now sold for four shillings or three shillings and four pence at least, &c. which things tend to the decay of hospitality, the diminishing of the people, and the let of cloth-making, whereby many poor people have been accustomed to be set to work. For the remedy whereof, it was in substance enacted, I. That none shall keep above two thousand four hundred sheep (exclusive of lambs) at any one time, unless it be on his own land of inheritance, in which case he is not hereby limited, nor any spiritual persons. II. No man shall hold above two farms, in the

parish of one of which two he shall be obliged to live or reside himself."

The increase of the woollen manufacture increasing the demand for wool, gave rise to this practice of engrossing farms, and turning them into sheep-walks, which undoubtedly can be managed by much fewer hands than tillage-farms can be, whereby depopulation must necessarily ensue.

In the year 1536, the twenty-seventh of Henry VIII. the king gave encouragement to certain merchants to send out two ships on discovery to the north coast of America, where they visited Cape Breton and Newfoundland; and being in great distress for want of provisions there, they returned home in October the same year; and although this voyage proved unfavourable to their main intent of finding a north-west passage to India, yet it gave rise to the very beneficial fishery of the English on the Banks of Newfoundland, on which barren island one Mr. Hoar, of London, merchant, attempted a settlement at this time, though he met with much misfortune in that unsuccessful attempt.

We find that the English merchants of Southampton and London traded to Brasil in the years 1540 and 1542, and so it seems at those times to have been permitted, and until the year 1580, when the king of Spain got possession of Portugal.

About this time the state of shipping, even in the port of London, was very low, compared with the present time. If we may give credit to Wheeler's Treatise of Commerce, who wrote in 1601, he expressly asserts, that about sixty years before he wrote, there were not above four ships, besides those of the royal navy, that exceeded one hundred and twenty tons burthen, within the river of Thames.

In the year 1553, the last of Edward VI. a very great cosmographical as well as mercantile discovery was made by the enterprising genius of a certain Englishman, who (whether reading Othier's account of the situation of the lands and seas about Norway, &c. delivered to the great king Alfred, anno 887, or whether from any informations lately received from the Norway people, with whom we now constantly traded) about this time discovered a passage by sea to Russia, along the north end of Norway and Russian Lapland, and down into the sea or rather great bay, since termed the White Sea, in which is situated the noted port of Archangel. Sir Hugh Willoughby, as commander in chief, with three ships, had begun this voyage just before the death of Edward VI. being supported by a society or company of gentlemen and merchants for the discovery of unknown countries. It seems to have been the scheme of the famous Sebastian Cabot, who was chosen governor of that company, and who well deserved the pension already noted to have been settled on him by Edward VI. and that the wars of Sweden with Russia by the way of Norway, in some degree obliged the English to attempt this new passage to Russia by the Northern Ocean. This undertaking was supported by a subscription of six thousand pounds, divided into twenty-four shares, twenty-five pounds each share. With those ships went letters from king Edward to all kings, princes, &c. for their protection. It was intended chiefly as a shorter and easier passage (as they imagined) to Cathay (a name then used for that country which is now called China.) Sir Hugh Willoughby being tossed up and down

down for a long time as far as seventy-two degrees north latitude, was compelled, by the sudden approach of winter, to run into an obscure harbour in Russian Lapland, called Arcaia Keca, where he and the crew of two of his three ships (seventy in number) were frozen to death, and where some Russian fishermen, in the summer following, found him sitting in his cabin, with his diary and other papers before him: it being the custom of those Laplanders to frequent the sea-coasts in summer for the benefit of the fishery, but when winter approaches, to withdraw into the Calmarisle and parts, which occasions those stormy shores to be desolate in winter. Richard Chancellor however, in the third ship, accidentally fell into the bay of St. Nicholas, or White Sea, on the Russian coast, where no European, nor any other ships, had ever been seen before: here he landed at the abbey of St. Nicholas, near Archangel, then only a castle, determining to wait on the czar John Basilowitz, at that time engaged in the Livonian war; which war having greatly interrupted the Eastland trade, that prince was the more inclinable, by Chancellor's interposition, to grant the English considerable privileges at Archangel, &c. The Russians before those times having no sea-ports nor shipping on the Baltic shores, the rich furs, hemp, &c. were carried to other parts of Europe, from the ports of Livonia lately possessed by the Teutonic knights of St. Mary of Jerusalem. Thus (as in general is noted in our introduction), although we failed in our principal aim of arriving at China by this supposed north-east passage, we however made a useful and profitable discovery of a trade by sea to Russia: and this same discovery moreover pointed out likewise to the English the way to the whale-fishery at Spitzbergen, soon after put in practice.

Chancellor, from Archangel, by the governor's leave and assistance, travelled on sledges to the czar's court at Moscow, of whom (overjoyed at the new opening of a maritime commerce with Europe) he obtained privileges from the English merchants, and letters to king Edward VI. who, however, died before the arrival of Chancellor.

Thus, by the encouragement of this excellent young prince, for making discoveries northward, a beginning was made for a trade to Russia; but Edward dying before he had executed a very ample charter to those adventurers, it was the said first and second of Philip and Mary (February 6, 1554) that the first charter of incorporation was granted to the Russia company (as it has since been usually called), but then by the name of the Merchants Adventurers for the Discoveries of Lands, Countries, Isles, &c. not before known or frequented by any English. The preamble to this charter, and the substance of the whole it sets forth, is, that the marquis of Winchester, then lord high-treasurer, the earl of Arundel, lord high-steward of the queen's household, the earl of Bedford, lord privy-seal, and the earl of Pembroke, the lord Howard of Effingham, lord high-admiral, &c. had already fitted out ships for discoveries northward, north-eastward, and north-westward, not as yet frequented by other Christian monarchs in friendship with us, to have one governor (the first to be Sebastian Cabot, for life), and twenty-eight of the most sad (i. e. sedate), discreet, and honest of the said fellowship, four of whom to be called Consuls, and the other twenty-

four to be called Assistants; the governor and two consuls (or three consuls in the governor's absence), and twelve assistants to be the quorum of a court. This corporation might purchase lands to the yearly value of sixty pounds thirteen shillings and four pence, to have perpetual succession, a common-seal, may plead and be impleaded, may impose mulcts, forfeitures, &c. on offenders against the company's privileges, and may admit persons from time to time to be free of the company; may make conquests of lands of infidels, so to be discovered by them. And whereas one of the said ships (i. e. Chancellor's) set forth last year (1553) arrived safe, and wintered, in the dominions of our cousin and brother, lord John Basilowitz, emperor of all Russia, who entertained them honourably, &c. and granted them letters to us, with free licence to traffick into his country, with other privileges, under his signet; wherefore we grant this corporation liberty to resort, not only to all parts of that emperor's dominions, but to all other parts not known to our subjects; none of whom but such as shall be free of, or licenced by, this company, shall frequent the parts aforesaid, under forfeiture of ship and merchandize, one half to the crown and the other half to the company."

It seems the Bristol merchants had gotten into the Russia trade soon after its discovery, being encouraged thereto by sir Sebastian Cabot.

Much the like complaints in relation to the English woollen manufacturers as have been made in the present time, were we find made above two hundred years ago, as appears by the statute of the second and third of Philip and Mary (cap. xi.) entitled, "Who shall use the trade of weaving," viz. "that whereas the rich clothiers do oppress the weavers, some by setting up and keeping in their houses divers looms, and maintaining them by journeymen and persons unskilful; some by engrossing looms into their hands, and letting them out at such unreasonable rents as the poor artificers are not able to maintain themselves by, and much less their wives and families, some again by giving much less wages for the workmanship of cloths than in times past, whereby they are forced utterly to forsake their occupations, &c. wherefore it is enacted, I. That no clothier, living out of a city, borough, or market-town, shall keep above one loom in his house, nor let out any loom for hire. II. That no woollen weaver, living out of a city, borough, or market-town, shall keep more than two looms, nor more than two apprentices. III. No weaver (whilst such) shall have a tucking-mill, nor be a tucker, fuller, nor dyer. IV. No tucker or fuller (whilst such) shall keep any loom in his house. V. That no person who hath not heretofore been a cloth-maker, shall hereafter make or weave any kind of broad white woollen cloths, but only in a city, borough, town corporate, or market-town, or else in such places where such cloths have been used to be commonly made for ten years preceding this act. [This clause was probably well intended, that the searchers might be the better enabled to see the goodness of this manufacture.] VI. No person shall set up as a weaver, unless he hath previously served an apprenticeship of seven years to that business. Lastly, that nothing in this act is to extend or be prejudicial to the inhabitants of the counties of York, Cumberland, and Westmoreland; but they

they may keep looms in their houses, and do every other matter relating to spinning, weaving, and cloth-making in the said counties as before the making this statute."

After England had held the town and port of Calais (with its dependent garrisons of Guisnes and Ham) for two hundred and eleven years (the only part of the continent of France held by England) during which time it was not only a door always open for the invasion of France, over which, for that reason, England had no small influence; but (which is more to our purpose) was extremely well situated for a staple port, to disperse, in more early times, the wool, lead, tin, and, in later times, the woollen manufactures of England, into the inland countries of the Netherlands, France, and Germany; the loss of this important place (in the year 1558) to the French, most shamefully and negligently, in the midst of winter, was undoubtedly a considerable prejudice to commerce, and not a little to the honour and influence of England. Hereupon the staple of wool, &c. was removed to Burges, to the great benefit of that city, which had been for some time declining from its ancient opulence and grandeur.

That most diligent agent for the Russian company, Mr. Anthony Jenkinson, did, in the year 1557, first set on foot a new channel of trade, through Russia into Persia, for raw silk, &c. He sailed down the great river Volga to Nisi, Novogorod, Casan, and Astracan, and thence crossed the Caspian sea to Persia. At Boghar, a goodly city, he found merchants from India, Persia, Russia, and Cathay or China, from which last-mentioned country it was nine months journey to Boghar. Jenkinson returned the same way to Colmizro, in the bay of St. Nicholas, anno 1560, and so home the same year to England. On his return he published the first map of Russia, that had ever been made. This voyage, it seems, he performed seven different times; yet so promising a prospect for that company was dropped some few years afterwards, and remained as if it had never been, until the reign of king George II. anno 1744, when it was revived by an act of parliament, enabling the Russia company to trade thence into Persia; upon which considerable quantities of raw silk were brought home by the very same way that Jenkinson took from Persia to Russia, and thence to England: yet the continual troubles and ravages in Persia have since suspended the good effects of this law.

We are now arrived (November 17, 1558) at the commencement of the most illustrious female reign, and of the longest duration, which probably ever existed in the world, viz. that of the truly great Elizabeth, queen of England, it is not now either our present province or intention to draw her character at length, which has already been done; we shall therefore, at this entrance on her glorious government, confine ourselves to this one brief remark, viz. that, to her immortal honour and her kingdom's immense benefit, her reign was supplied with more important articles for commercial history, and more beneficial to the kingdom (even whilst she was surrounded by foreign and domestic enemies) than perhaps all the preceding reigns jointly, since the time of her great predecessor king Edward III. We shall here only in general remark, that, on her now succeeding to the crown, she found the balance of power and wealth already got

into the hands of the commons, or people, she prudently conducted her measures accordingly; though now and then she would exert her prerogative as far (though with more prudence) as did some of her less wise successors.

In the year 1560, the second of Elizabeth, she by her charter confirmed all former charters of privileges to the company of merchant-adventurers of England, and likewise granted them two other ample charters, viz. one in the sixth, and the other in the twenty-eighth year of her reign, in the former of which they had first the designation of Merchant-adventurers given them.

The English Russian company which had been incorporated in the first and second of Philip and Mary, anno 1554, had now the noble sanction of an act of parliament, in the eighth year of Elizabeth's reign.

Martin (afterwards sir Martin) Frobisher or Forbisher made now his first voyage for discovering a north-west passage to the East Indies. Captain Luke Fox, in his book, in quarto, entitled *The North-west Fox*, printed anno 1535, says, "that Mr. Forbisher was fifteen years in noting and bringing up the adventure, before he did attempt the same, which was brought to pass by the help of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick." He set out with two barks, of twenty-five tons each, and one pinnace, of ten tons, and entered the streights going into the great bay (since called Hudson's Bay), which he named Forbisher's Streight; he also gave the following names to places there, viz. Queen Elizabeth's Foreland, Cape Labrador, Gabriel's Island, Prior's Sound, and sundry other islands, capes, and bays, by which names the same places are known to this day. He brought home one of the savages, and also a kind of bright stone, which being tried by the London goldsmiths, it was given out by them, that it held gold in it very richly, and are said to have promised great matters, if any quantity thereof could be obtained; which flattering hopes produced a second voyage, ten years after, although no north-west passage was found.

Mr. John Hawkins, assisted by the subscriptions of sundry gentlemen, now fitted out three ships, and having learned that Negroes were a very good commodity in Hispaniola, he sailed to the coast of Guinea, took in Negroes, and sailed with them for Hispaniola; where he sold his slaves and English commodities, and loaded his three vessels with hides, sugar, and ginger, and also many pearls, returning home anno 1563, after making a prosperous voyage. This seems to have been the very first attempt from England for establishing a Negro trade.

The English genius was not to be discouraged by former unsuccessful attempts for finding a passage to China and the East Indies, without interfering with the Portuguese by the Cape of Good Hope south-eastward, nor with the Spaniards south-westward by the Streights of Magellan: and as they had attempted in vain a passage north-eastward, there seemed now only the north-westward passage to be explored, which we have seen had been in part already attempted by Forbisher. The Portuguese and Spanish chart-makers and cosmographers were, it seems, expressly enjoined by their sovereigns, not to give any kind of light to any other nation, in this respect, because they were greatly apprehensive

left, if there were any such north-west passage, it would prove a much shorter course to India and China than theirs, either by the south-east or south-west passage. For encouraging the English in this attempt, sundry treatises were published by sir Humphrey Gilbert, Mr. Richard Wilkes, &c. built mostly upon the romantic reports of certain ancient and some more modern authors, without any solid probability: yet, upon such slight grounds, and encouragement of friends, captain Forbisher made his second attempt in 1577, with one of the queen's own ships, two barks, and one hundred and forty persons, some of whom were gentlemen. He again entered the streights he had named after himself in his former attempt, where he found store of glittering stones and sand, which he had seen in his last voyage, and with which he now loaded his vessels, returning home the same year, with his imaginary treasure, which, upon farther trial proved good for nothing. However, this served to give rise to the third and last fruitless attempt, by the same sea-commander, in the ensuing year, to find out a north-west passage to China.

In the same year, 1578, Hakluyt gives us an account of the Newfoundland fishers from Europe, in the preceding year, viz. "One hundred ships from Spain, fifty from Portugal, one hundred and fifty from France, and fifteen from England: that the English had the best ships, and therefore gave law to the rest, being in the bays, and protectors of others; for which it was then, and had been of old a custom to make them some sort of acknowledgement as admirals, such as a boat-load of salt for guarding them from pirates and other violent invaders, who frequently drove them from a good harbour," &c. He says, "the fishery of the English at Iceland was the reason that we had not then such numbers of ships at Newfoundland; that the Spaniards, next to the English, had the best ships there; that there were then also twenty or thirty ships from Biscay, to kill whales, for train-oil." (But here is no mention as yet of whale-fins, or whale-bone, of so great value in our days (which shews its use for women's stays, &c. was not then known.) His friend, in a letter from Newfoundland, is earnest for the English to settle at the island of Cape Breton, for the benefit of the fishery, and in another isle in the mouth of the great river of St. Laurence. Hakluyt was in those times a most indefatigable enquirer after new trades and discoveries, and was undoubtedly of great use to our adventurers, by giving them much light into the nature and means of discoveries, and seems to have been a public blessing to England in those days.

We have, in the former part of the history of this reign, given an account of the circumnavigation of the terraqueous globe by sir Francis Drake, and therefore have no occasion to recapitulate the particulars of that transaction in this place; we shall therefore proceed to give a short account of the first establishment of, and charter granted to, the English Turkey company.

Queen Elizabeth having settled preliminaries at Constantinople, two years before, for her subjects to trade to Turkey, she now (viz. anno 1581) judged it reasonable to incorporate a number of eminent merchants for that end, sir Edward Osborn, an alderman of London, Thomas Smith, esq. Richard Staper, and William Garrett, merchants; in which charter of corporation the queen sets forth, "that

the said sir Edward Osborn and Richard Staper, had, at their own great costs and charges, found out and opened a trade to Turkey, not heretofore, in the memory of any man living, known to be commonly used and frequented, by way of merchandize, by any merchants or other subjects of us or our progenitors, whereby many good offices may be done for the peace of Christendom; relief of Christian slaves, and good vent of the commodities of the realm, to the advancement of her honour and dignity, the increase of her revenue, and of the general wealth of the realm: her majesty therefore grants unto those four merchants, their executors and administrators, and to such Englishmen (not exceeding twelve in number) as the said sir Edward Osborn and Richard Staper shall appoint to be joined to them and the other two before-named persons, and their factors, servants, or deputies, for the space of seven years to trade to Turkey, in such manner as the said company shall agree between themselves. During which time, they may make bye-laws for their good government (not repugnant to the laws of the kingdom.) Nothing to be transacted without the consent of the governor for the time being (sir Edward Osborn being hereby appointed the first governor): the trade to Turkey to be solely to them, their factors and servants, during the said term: and any other subjects trading thither, either by sea or land, without this company's licence, to forfeit ships and goods; a moiety to the crown, the other moiety to this company. For the last six of the said seven years, this company shall export so much goods to Turkey as shall annually pay at least five hundred pounds custom to the crown (except in case of ship wreck, &c.) I. Proviso, that in case this exclusive grant shall hereafter appear to be inconvenient, the queen may revoke the same, upon one year's previous notice. II. Proviso, the queen, during the said term, may nominate two persons to be added to the said number of patentees, with the same privileges, &c. as the rest herein named. Lastly, that if, at the end of the said seven years these grantees desire it, the queen will grant other seven years to them, provided (as aforesaid) the said exclusive trade shall not appear to be unprofitable to the kingdom."

The queen's letters to the grand signor were received with much civility, being delivered to him by her ambassador, Hareborne, anno 1582, whom she empowered to settle consuls in the several ports, and to establish laws or rules to be observed by the English trading to Turkey.

With the first factor the indefatigable Hakluyt (vol. iii. p. 164, 165) sent excellent instructions for enquiring into the nature of dyeing stuffs; also what of those drugs might be produced in England; and how beneficial such new productions would have been to us, which he instances in that of saffron, first brought into England by a pilgrim; as also woad, originally from Thoulouse, in Languedoc: "that the damask-rose was first brought into England by Dr. Linacre, physician to king Henry VII. and king Henry VIII. Turkey fowls, about fifty years past (viz. about 1532): the artichoke in king Henry VIII's time; and of later times the musk-rose and several sorts of plums, by lord Cromwell, out of Italy: the apricot by king Henry VIII's French gardiner: (but there is no mentioned yet of peaches, nor of nectarines).

And now, within these four years (anno 1578) have been brought into England from Vienna, in Austria, divers kinds of flowers called tulips, and others procured thither a little before from Constantinople. And it is said, that since we traded to Zante (this must have been but lately), the plant that beareth the currant is also brought into this realm; and although it brings not fruit to perfection, yet it may serve for pleasure and for some use. (This shews it was then but just introduced.) Many other things have been brought in, that have degenerated by reason of the coldness of the climate: some things brought in, have, through negligence, been long lost; and archbishop Grindal brought the tamarisk plant from Germany, and many people have received great health by this plant."

On the commencement of the English trade to Turkey, the merchants having occasion to attend the queen and council, they had there great thanks and commendations for the ships they then built of so great burthen, with many encouragements to pursue the plan, for the kingdom's sake, says the author of Trade's Increase, who adds, that the ordinary returns of this trade, at the beginning, were three for one.

By England's entering at this time into a direct trade to Turkey, all the commodities of Greece, Syria, Egypt, Persia, and India, came home to us much cheaper. "And (says sir William Monson) when the Venetians served us with those rich eastern wares, by the way of the Red Sea, and down the Nile to Alexandria, and also by the way of caravans to Aleppo, they (i. e. the Venetians) also were then wont to take freight in their ships from port to port, whereas now (i. e. 1685) all strangers are more desirous to employ our own ships in that service."

Jacobs, in his *Lex Mercatoria*, alleges (upon what authority I know not), that the Barbary merchants were incorporated in king Henry VII's time; but that company decaying, out of their ruins arose the Levant or Turkey company, who first trading with Venice, and then with Turkey, furnished England that way with East Indian commodities, which till then were brought to us (mostly) by land, and to the Portuguese alone by long sea," &c.

The same year, 1582, the ship *Susan*, of London, mounting thirty-four guns, carried over to Turkey the English ambassador, Hareborn, who now first settled peace with Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, which piratical states had taken many ships belonging to London, Bristol, &c. and Hareborn having established all the English factories in Turkey (maugre the spite and malice of the French and Venetians) returned over-land to England.

Sir Walter Raleigh, whose great genius much inclining him to new enterprizes and discoveries, had this year formed a society of gentlemen and merchants to subscribe a considerable sum of money towards forming a settlement on the continent of North America, and on Lady-day, 1584, queen Elizabeth granted them a charter for that purpose. Amidas and Barlow, with two vessels, were accordingly sent thither: but they sailed about a thousand leagues out of their way; for the short course to the northern parts of America not being as yet known to us, they steered the wonted course of

the Spaniards, by the Canary Islands, and thence into the trade-winds to the Caribbee Islands, thence sailing through the Gulph of Florida, they anchored at a part of what is now called Virginia, where, making some insignificant trade with the natives, exchanging toys for their furs, they returned home with gain (as they said), and greatly magnified the richness of the country. For encouraging a second adventure, they brought home some pearls and tobacco (the first of that sort that had been seen in England.) The wise queen seemed fond of this design, and either she herself, or sir Walter Raleigh, gave the country the name of Virginia, which they judiciously represented to be a pleasant country, abounding in fine woods, deer, hares, wild fowl, fish, vines, currants, &c.

Raleigh therefore obtained queen Elizabeth's patent to himself, &c. for the possessing such remote heathen lands, not then inhabited by Christians, as they should discover for six years, of which they thereby had the property granted to them for ever, reserving to the crown the fifth part of all gold and silver ore found therein, with power to seize to their proper use all ships, with their merchandize, that shall, without leave, plant within two hundred leagues of this intended settlement, excepting, however, the queen's subjects and allies, fishing at Newfoundland, &c. She also grants free denization to the planters and their posterity residing there: powers are also granted to the patentees for making bye-laws there, not repugnant to those of England.

It is observable, that in this, and some other patents of those times, there were no distinct place, longitude, or latitude, fixed or limited for such plantation, although undoubtedly North America was the country intended.

In the next year, 1585, captain John Davis, with two barks from Dartmouth, first sailed into the streights since called by his name, in the country called Old Greenland, and returned home the same year, as all others have done, without making any useful discovery. At this time we find they knew the use of somewhat like the harpoon, with which they killed a porpoise; but though many whales fell in their way, they knew not yet the right method of killing them.

This same year the gallant sir Richard Grenville sailed for Virginia by the old round-about course, above described, with seven ships, laden with arms, ammunition, and provisions, and with settlers for planting a colony. He began with planting at Roanoke Island, lying about five leagues from the continent, in eighty-six degrees north latitude. There he left one hundred and eight men: it is a truly melancholy consideration, that those poor creatures were left to shift for themselves in so wild a country, for above a year; who, so eager to discover gold and silver mines (now never like to be found there), whilst they neglected to prepare their provisions in due season, and going up the country in quest of those mines (for golden dreams were then universal), most of them were either destroyed by the natives, or perished for want; and the few who survived were taken up by sir Francis Drake, coming now again upon the coast from harrassing the Spanish West Indies, who took them all home with him, even although they had sown corn there, which was very near ripe, sufficient for two years sustenance;

sustenance; and they were but just gone, when a ship, fitted out at the sole expence of sir Walter Raleigh, arrived there with all sorts of conveniences, as did sir Richard Grenville soon after, with three other ships, bringing a farther supply: but finding the places quite desolate where the English planters had settled, they all returned home. In those accounts there appears to be some confusion, with respect as well to the identical year, as to the names of persons engaged therein, which is owing to the inaccuracy of writers and transcribers in those days, which, however is of very little consequence at present.

Sir Walter Raleigh had his mind so intensely set upon a plantation in North America, that he again sent out three ships, with an hundred and fifty persons of both sexes. These planters Raleigh's superintendant settled in the isle of Roanoke, where he found the second colony had been destroyed by the natives. Here he rebuilt the fort and houses, calling it the city of Raleigh in Virginia: he left one hundred and fifteen men in this new settlement, and returned home, where he remained three years before he could obtain the necessary supplies, which he had promised to bring in the year after he had left the colony, where he arrived in 1590, with these supplies both of men and stores, in three ships. It seems, such of the colony as had remained alive had removed to a place on the continent called Croatoan, that word being carved upon the trees; to this place they intended to sail in search of the colony, but a storm unfortunately arising, the ships lost their anchors and cables, and provisions also failing, they agreed to return home, leaving that miserable colony to perish, to the shame of that age; for although Raleigh was in trouble about this time, yet surely the queen and nation ought to have shewn some compassion to the poor people left in a wilderness amongst savages.

Thus was this scheme of a plantation in Virginia quite laid aside during all the rest of queen Elizabeth's reign, and all the great expence of Raleigh and the other adventurers utterly thrown away, besides the loss of many mens lives.

It was in the year 1591 that the first voyage from England to East India was undertaken with three ships; but it was rather a privateering adventure, than a proper mercantile voyage, for they took several ships in their way to India. They had lost so many men by sickness near the cape of Good Hope, that they were obliged to send one of their ships home, and proceeded with only two to India: moreover, in a storm beyond the Cape they lost company with captain Raymond in the principal ship, which was never heard of more; so that only captain Lancaster's ship arrived in India, which also met with many grievous misfortunes; and, on her return, sailing to the West Indies, whilst the captain and the rest of the men went on shore to seek provisions on an uninhabited island, six of the sailors ran away with the ship; and at the end of three years this unfortunate officer was brought home, several of his men having perished for want at that place.

Some English ships now made a voyage to Cape Breton, at the entrance of the Bay of St. Laurence, in North America, some for morse-fishing and others for whale-fishing (says Hakluyt), which is the first mention we find of the latter fishery by any English; and although they met with no whales there,

they found on an island eight hundred whale-fins, where a Biscay ship had been lost three years before. This too is the first mention of whale fins or whale-bone by the English. How the ladies stays were made before this commodious material in them was discovered, does not appear; probably slit pieces of cane, or of some other tough and pliant wood, might have been in use before.

By the trade to Archangel the English became well acquainted with the northern seas at this time, where also they at first carried on a great fishing, or hunting rather, for morse (as the Russians call them, the English call them sea-horses, and the Dutch and French, sea-cows) on Cherry Island, beyond the North Cape, so called from alderman Cherry, but called by the Dutch Bear Island: but it seems those amphibious animals became so shy, that the moment they saw any man, they ran into the sea. The English thereupon fell into the whale-fishery, though not quite so early as this time.

Grotius tells us, that the Hollanders, about this time built two thousand ships every year; a thing almost incredible, considering their new existence as an independent state, did it not proceed from so illustrious and respectable an author, and their own countryman.

Our own Turkey merchants first, and the Dutch East India company next (for they had got the start of us in the East India trade) keeping up the price of pepper and other spices to a high rate, we being at war with Spain, and so could not get spices from Lisbon at first-hand, queen Elizabeth now determined to enter her people directly on a commerce to East India.

Accordingly, on the thirty-first of December, 1600, she granted a charter to George, earl of Cumberland, and two hundred and fifteen knights, aldermen, and merchants, "that, at their own costs and charges they may set forth one or more voyages to the East Indians, in the countries and parts of Asia and Africa, and to the islands thereabout, divers of which countries, islands, &c. have long since been discovered by others of our subjects; to be one body politic and corporate, by the name of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London, trading to the East Indies: to have succession: to purchase lands (without limitation): to have one governor, and twenty-four persons, to be elected annually, who shall be called Committees, jointly to have the direction of the voyages, the provision of the shipping, and the management of all other things belonging to the said company. Sir Thomas Smith, alderman of London, was to be the first governor: and a deputy-governor to be elected in a general court: both the governors, and all the committees to take the oath of fidelity; as also every member shall take an oath, before being admitted to traffic as a freeman of this company. The company, their sons (at twenty-one years of age), their apprentices, servants, and factors, in India or elsewhere, may, for fifteen years, from Christmas last, freely and solely trade (by such ways and passages as are already found out, or which shall hereafter be discovered) into the countries and ports of Asia and Africa, and into and from all the islands, ports, towns, and places of Asia, Africa, and America, or any of them, beyond Cape Bona Esperanza to the Streights of Magellan, where any traffic of merchandize may

may be used, and to and from every of them, in such manner as shall from time to time be limited and agreed on, at any general court of the company; any statute, usage, diversity of religion or faith, or any other matter to the contrary notwithstanding, so as it be not any country already possessed by any Christian potentate in amity with her majesty, who shall declare the same to be against his or their good liking. Either the governor or deputy governor must always be one in the general assemblies, when they may make all reasonable constitutions, &c. agreeable to the laws of England, for their good government, by plurality of voices; and may punish, by fines and imprisonment, the offenders against their laws. The queen grants the company an exemption from paying any customs for the first four voyages; and for the customs which shall afterwards be payable for merchandize from India, the company shall be allowed to give their bonds, payable one half in six months and the other half in six months after: for merchandize lost at sea, outward-bound, the customs shall be allowed to the company out of the next cargo shipped off. Indian merchandize that shall have paid the customs, may, at the end of thirteen months, be re-exported by any subjects, without paying for their customs. The company may export, in their first voyage, now preparing, thirty thousand pounds in foreign coin, or bullion, so that at least six thousand pounds thereof be first coined in the queen's mint; and the like for the subsequent voyages; provided the company first import at least so much foreign coin or bullion, in gold or silver, into this realm, of which six thousand pounds shall be coined as aforesaid. The company may send yearly to East India six good ships and six pinnaces, with five hundred mariners, unless the navy-royal goes forth. None of the queen's subjects, but the company, their servants, or assigns, shall resort to India, without being licenced by the company, upon pain of forfeiting ships and cargoes, with imprisonment till the offenders give one thousand pounds bond to the company not to trade thither again. Nevertheless, for the encouragement of merchants strangers, and others, to bring in commodities to the realm, the queen gives power to the company to grant licences to trade to East India; and she promises not to grant leave to any others to trade thither, during the company's term, without their consent. The majority of any general meeting of the company may admit apprentices, servants, factors, &c. to the fellowship or freedom of the said company. The silver to be exported shall only be shipped at the ports of London, Dartmouth, and Plymouth, and shall be duly entered by the custom-house officers, without paying any custom for the same. Gold and silver, imported by the company, shall be entered before the landing of the same. Provided, that, in case this charter shall hereafter appear not to be profitable to the crown and realm, then, upon two years notice to the company, their charter shall cease and determine: but if otherwise, then the queen promises, at the end of the said fifteen years, upon the company's suit, to grant them a new charter for fifteen years longer."

This is the very same East India company which, through many various vicissitudes, existed under the same denomination until the year 1708, when it was absorbed by the present United Company of

Merchants of England trading to the East Indies. The original shares subscribed were fifty pounds each.

To close this account of the rise and first proceedings of our East India company, we shall remark, that the company's ships in their homeward bound passage took possession of the island of St. Helena, then uninhabited; though, according to the custom of the Portuguese, well stocked with goats, hogs, and poultry, that they might be supplied therewith when obliged at any time to stop there. Here our East India company planted and fortified, and held it till the year 1673; as will be shewn in the course of this history. This island is all a high rock, whose surface is covered with about twelve inches of earth. As the winds blow constantly at south-east, from the Cape of Good Hope to this island (which is about twenty-two miles in circuit), it is sailed in about three weeks, without handling the sails, and the moderate gale renders the voyage very pleasant. On the contrary, it is extremely difficult to find this island in sailing from Europe, because of the said constant south-east wind; for which reason, when a ship is sent from England thither, they are obliged to sail directly to the Cape of Good Hope, and thence take their course to St. Helena, as already described. The great and only benefit our shipping receive from this island, is the fresh water and provisions they there meet with in their return from India, whereby above two hundred families are there supported and employed.

The very last day of the XVIth century having thus given birth and form to the first English East India company, the members thereof immediately raised seventy-two thousand pounds, though not in one joint-stock, or common capital, as in succeeding times, there having been no joint-stock in this company till the year 1613. They this year, 1601, sent out their first fleet for India, commanded in chief by captain James Lancaster, having one ship of six hundred tons, one of three hundred tons, two of two hundred each, and one of one hundred and thirty, as victualler to the whole fleet, carrying four hundred and eighty men and twenty seven thousand pounds in money and goods, the remainder of the said seventy-two thousand pounds being entirely expended in the purchase of those ships, and for artillery, ammunition, provisions, &c. But queen Elizabeth did not live to see the return of this voyage. At Acheen, in the island of Sumatra, they loaded pepper for some of their ships, but not meeting with a sufficiency, and sailing from thence for the Straights of Malacca, they completed their lading by the capture of a Portuguese ship of nine hundred tons, laden with calicoes and other goods. Sailing thence to Bantam, they delivered queen Elizabeth's letter and presents to the king, as they had before done to the king of Acheen; and from both those kings they received letters and presents for queen Elizabeth; they also obtained privileges for the company from those monarchs. Having settled factories at Bantam, they sailed homewards, and arrived in the Downs in September, 1603, having prosperously made their first voyage in two years and seven months.

In the year 1601, we have a statute of the forty-third of queen Elizabeth (cap. xii.) for awarding commissioners to hear and determine policies of assurances made among merchants, in the preamble of

of which statute are the following words: "Whereas it hath been, time out of mind, an usage amongst merchants, both of this realm and of foreign nations, when they make any great adventure (especially into remote parts, to give some consideration of money to other persons (which is commonly in no small number) to have from them assurance made of their goods, merchandizes, ships, and things adventured, or some parts thereof, at such rates, and in such sort as the party assurers and party assured can agree, which course of dealing is commonly termed a Policy of Assurance; by means of which it cometh to pass, upon the loss or perishing of any ship, there followeth not the undoing of any man, but the loss lighteth rather easily upon many, than heavily upon few, and rather upon them that adventure not, than upon those that adventure; whereby all merchants, especially of the younger sort, are allured to venture more willingly, and more freely: and whereas heretofore such assurers have used to stand so justly and precisely on their credit, as few or no controversies have arisen thereupon; and if any have grown, the same have, from time to time, been ended and ordered by certain grave and discreet merchants, appointed by the lord-mayor of London; until of late years, that divers persons have withdrawn themselves from that arbitrary course, and have sought to draw the parties assured to seek their moneys in her majesty's courts, to their great charges and delay. For remedy whereof, it is now enacted, that the lord-chancellor (or keeper) do award one general or standing yearly commission for the determining of causes on policies of assurance, such as now are, or hereafter shall be entered within the office of assurance within the city of London, this commission to consist of the judge of the admiralty, the recorder of London; two doctors of the civil law, two common lawyers, and eight discreet merchants, or to any five of them: which commission shall have authority to determine all causes concerning policies of assurance, in a summary way; who shall summon the parties, examine witnesses upon oath, and imprison disobeyers of their decrees. They shall meet weekly at the office of assurance, on the west side of the Royal Exchange, for the execution of their commission, without fee or reward. And any such as may think themselves aggrieved by their determinations, may, in two months, exhibit his bill in Chancery, for a re-examination of such decree; provided the complainant do first lay down to the said commissioners the sum awarded; and that the lord-chancellor, or keeper, may either reverse or confirm the first decree, according to equity. Lastly, no commissioner shall be an assurer, or assured."

This law sufficiently demonstrates, that at this time there was a great increase of foreign commerce in England.

Assurance, or insurance, of ships and merchandize on the seas, is of great antiquity, even as far back as the reign of the emperor Claudius Cæsar.

The sea-laws of Oleron, as far back as the year 1194, treat of it.

It seems to have been in use in England upon the revival of commerce, somewhat earlier than on the continent; and Antwerp, though in its meridian glory, learned it from England: "whereas (says Molineux's *Lex Mercatoria*, the meetings of

merchants in London were held in Lombard-street (so called because certain nations of Lombardy kept there a pawn-house, or Lombard, long before the Royal Exchange was built), all the policies of assurance at Antwerp, which then were, and now (1622) yet are made, do make mention, that it shall be in all things concerning the said assurances, as was accustomed to be done in Lombard-street in London; which is imitated also in other places of the Low Countries."

As the gradual increase of the suburbs of London does in great measure keep pace with the gradual increase of the general commerce of England, and as it is, moreover, a curious and entertaining part of history, to mark the gradual advances of both, I therefore have no need of an apology for laying before my readers whatever falls in my way of that kind, during the period now before us.

We find by an act of the fourteenth and fifteenth of Henry VIII. (cap. ii.) for limiting foreign artificers as to their journeymen and apprentices, that the jurisdiction of the London corporations was to extend two miles from the city, viz. within the town of Westminster, the parish of St. Martin in the Fields, and of Our Lady in the Strand, St. Clement Danes without Temple-bar, St. Giles in the Fields, St. Andrew in Holborn, the town and borough of Southwark, Shoreditch, White-chapel parish, St. John's street (i. e. Clerkenwell), and Clerkenwell parish, St. Botolph without Aldgate, St. Catherine's (near the Tower of London), and Bermondsey-street." This is an authentic view of the several suburbs of London in the year 1524. Nevertheless we are not to imagine that all those suburbs were contiguous to each other, or joined, as at present to the great contiguity; for there were then, and long after, sundry large breaks, or interruptions, where no buildings were; not only the street (now so well built) called the Strand, then chiefly taken up with the capital dwellings of the nobility, with their large adjoining gardens, but also a great part of St. Martin's parish, were still literally in the Fields: the like may be said of St. Giles in the Fields (then styled the town of St. Giles), and of the upper part of St. Andrew's in Holborn, much of all which, and also of Westminster, Clerkenwell, Shoreditch, White-chapel, and Southwark, was literally Fields, even so late as the reign of queen Elizabeth, as appears by a map of London and its suburbs, still extant, first published in the year 1560.

By a statute 24 Henry VIII. the streetway between Charing-cross and Strand-cross (i. e. that is near where Somerset-house is now situated) in the suburbs of London, was directed "to be sufficiently paved and maintained, at the charge of the owners of the land adjoining." This shews that the Strand was not yet built into a continued street.

In the following year, 1534, the high-street between Holborn-bridge and Holborn-bars, at the west end thereof, was directed to be paved; as were also the streets of Southwark; and that every one should maintain the said pavements before his own ground, or forfeit to the king six pence for every yard square.

In the thirty-second of the said king's reign, viz. anno 1541, the following streets or ways in London were ordered to be paved, viz. 1. The street leading from Aldgate to White-chapel church: 2. the upper part of the lane called Chancery-lane: 3.

the way leading from Holborn-bars, westward, towards St. Giles in the Fields, as far as any habitation is on both sides of the said street: 4. Gray's Inn lane: 5. Shoe-lane: and, 6. Fetter, now called Fetter-lane; the two last being thoroughfares and passages from Fleet-street into Holborn." The part of Chancery-lane now to be paved is thus described, viz. "from the bars beside the Rolls, lately set up by the lord privy-seal, into the said highway in Holborn." These passages shew the age of the Rolls-office in Chancery-lane; and also that all Holborn, above the city-bars, remained unpaved till now; nor was it at this time all built on both sides (nor a considerable time later) as appears by the map before mentioned, drawn in queen Elizabeth's reign: all these six ways now directed to be paved, are therein described as "very foul, and full of pits and sloughs, very perilous and noxious (noisome) as well for all the king's subjects on horseback as on foot and with carriages." Yet three of these, viz. Shoe-lane, Fetter-lane, and Chancery-lane, are now in the very center of the present immense contiguity; and all the rest are likewise well built and inhabited. So vast is the increase and improvement of London since those times. By a statute of 34 and 35 Henry VIII. cap. xii. the streets named White-cross-street, Chiswel-street leading from White-cross-street into the highway leading to Moor-gate; the lane called Golding-lane, and street called Grub-street, in the parish of St. Giles without Cripple-gate; the street called Goswell-street, in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldersgate; Long-lane, in the parish of St. Botolph aforesaid and of St. Sepulchre without Newgate; the street called St. John's-street, leading from the Bars of Smithfield up to the Pound at the corner of the wall extending along the high way to Islington; and also the street leading from the said Bars to Cow-cross: the lane called Water-lane, in Fleet-street, leading down to the Thames; the way leading without Temple-bar, westward, by and unto St. Clement's Inn gates and New Inn gates to Drury-place, in the county of Middlesex (this shews that this way was not built on); and also one little lane stretching from the said way to the sign of the Bell at Drury-lane end; and the common way leading through a certain place called Petit France, from the bars at the west end of Tottenham-street, Westminster, unto the uttermost part of the west end of the said place called Petit France: the street or highway leading from Bishopsgate-street to and above Shoreditch-church; and the bridge called Strand-bridge, and the way leading from the said bridge towards Temple-bar, and the lane called Foskue-lane from the garden and tenement of the bishop of Lichfield, and the garden and tenement called the Bell and Proctors, down to Strand-bridge (those names are now unknown), be very foul and full of pits and sloughs, very perilous and noxious, and very necessary to be kept clear, for the avoiding of corrupt favours, and avoiding of pestilence: for the amendment and reformation whereof, all who have any lands or tenements adjoining to the aforesaid streets, lanes, and ways, unto the midst of them, in length and breadth as his land and tenement do lie or extend, in like manner and form as the streets in the city of London be paved, with causeys or channels in the midst of the same streets, and shall yearly maintain the same."

James Howel, in his *Londinopolis*, published in folio, anno 1657, gives us many particulars of the vast increase of the suburbs of London towards the close of queen Elizabeth's reign, which more plainly points out the vast increase of England's commerce, than a whole volume of speculative reasoning could do alone. It was not material to make different sections thereof, and therefore we have brought them altogether, whether a little before or after this year.

"It seems, that about this time the ground called Spital-fields, began gradually to be built upon for weavers; as had also Hog-lane, in that part which had (within sixty years from the date of his said book) had fair rows of elm-trees all along, now turned into houses on both sides, from Hound-ditch to White-chapel church.

"As to Wapping (says Howel), it is yet within the memory of man, that there was never a house from St. Catherine's to Wapping: but now (i. e. anno 1657) there is a continued street towards a mile from the Tower, all along the river, almost as far as Radcliffe; which proceeded from the increase of navigation, mariners, and traffick." This shews that Wapping was originally a village, or place detached from London, though now part of the great contiguity thereof. "Radcliffe also (continues he) is much increased in buildings, and also Nightingale-lane.

"Northward, London's suburbs have been less increased than on the east and west sides; yet there was an increase, about this time, on that side also. Where the buildings on the west side of Smithfield stand, was formerly a very large pond of water; and where the place called the Sheep-pens is, was a field with growing elms, and the place of execution for criminals. Afterwards (in king Henry VI's reign) they began to build the space between the said pond and river of Wells (now Turnmill-brook) which runs into Fleet-ditch; and afterwards that pond was drained, and built upon, and so down that street now called Cow-lane; and also Chick-lane and Hosier-lane, &c. So that the buildings there are so increased, that now remaineth not one tree there."

Some other additions were made about Clerkenwell, about or near this time, where the fields, gardens, and avenues of the great priory of St. John of Jerusalem, and also the convent on the north side of Clerkenwell-green, stood.

Westward, without Newgate, the great street named Holborn, and its contiguity, have been gradually built quite up to the village of St. Giles in the Fields: but as the greatest increase thereabout was chiefly in the next century, we must refer thereto.

From the year 1512, the fourth of Henry VIII. we may properly date the commencement of what may be called an English royal navy. i. e. a number of stout ships of war, actually belonging to, and permanently kept on foot by, the English crown, for national defence, king Henry VIII. being the first English monarch who effectually pursued this plan, and for that end established a royal navy-office, with commissioners, &c. nearly as at present. He must indeed be allowed (amidst all his wild dissipations) to have employed great sums of money on his marine affairs, as well for the construction of ships for war, as of dock-yards, wharfs, store-houses, &c. Before his time there was no fixed permanent

manent royal navy; but, on ordinary occasions, the Cinque Ports (as already fully seen) supplied the crown with a determined number of sorry ships as they had in those old times; and on great emergencies we also have seen that all the maritime towns of the kingdom were bound, or reasonable notice to send their quota of ships and mariners, for a determined time; commanded either by the king or his admiral; such as was the fleet of king Edward III. at the siege of Calais, anno 1347, and other capital expeditions.

Moreover (bishop Gibson, in his *Additions to Camden's Britannia*) observes that king Henry VIII. in the said fourth year of his reign, for the advancement and benefit of navigation and commerce, erected a corporation for the business of examining, licencing, and regulating of pilots; for ordering and erecting of beacons, light-houses, buoys, &c. which is styled the Corporation of the Trinity-house of Deptford Strand, and has proved of great benefit for accomplishing the ends of its founder. Another society, for the like good purposes, he also erected at Hull, by the name of the Trinity-house at Hull; and also another at Newcastle upon Tyne (anno 1537): "Which three establishments (says Hakluyt) were in imitation of that which the emperor Charles V. had erected at Seville, in Spain; who, observing the many shipwrecks in voyages to and from the West Indies, occasioned by the ignorance of seamen, established, at the Contraction-house, lectures upon navigation; and a pilot major, for the examination of other pilots and mariners: he also directed books to be published on that subject, for the use of his mariners." The king, by his charter, confirmed to the Deptford Trinity-house society, all the ancient rights, privileges, &c. of the shipmen and mariners of England, and their several possessions at Deptford: whereby it appears plainly, that they had been a society long before, though nowhere recorded how long. This corporation (whose powers, &c. have been since confirmed and augmented by succeeding kings) have also the power of appointing pilots for the king's ships, and for examining and fixing their wages, and certifying their qualifications, and those of the masters of the ships of war; also of clearing and deepening the Thames by ballast hoys, with which ballast they supply the shipping. They have also the examination of the forty mathematical boys of Christ's Hospital. They have likewise power to hear and determine complaints of officers and sailors in the merchants service: so that this corporation more especially is eminently of great utility to the nation.

Henry also made Deptford, near London, a magazine to the royal navy, which has gradually increased to the flourishing state we now see it in. And, considering how far the river of Thames was exposed to insults from foreign enemies, he caused a fortification to be erected at Gravesend, and another opposite to it on the Essex shore, where Tilbury fort now stands. And having lost his fine ship *Regent*, of one thousand tons, he caused another to be built; such a one (says Hall) as had never been seen in England, and named it the *Henry Grace de Dieu*.

We have in a treaty of peace between Henry VIII. and Lewis XII. of France, made anno 1514, a recital of implements for a naval war, such as

cannon, gunpowder, stones (for they had not yet the use of iron bullets), darts, &c. And in the same year the *Chronicon Pretiosum* makes a master shipwright's daily pay, with his diet, five pence, and without diet seven pence per diem; an hewer, with diet four pence, without diet six pence; and an able clencher the same. Note, that living was then twice as cheap as in our days.

In the year 1523, according to lord Herbert's *History of Henry VIII.* in the attempts of the English and French courts to gain Scotland to their respective interests, at the death of king James V. the English ministers, among other arguments, asserted "that the English were masters of the seas, and thereby were able to stop and interclude all succour that should come to them (the Scots) from any other place." And as in the replication of the partizans of France that assertion is not contradicted, the point seems to have been admitted.

The reigns of Edward VI. and Mary furnish no improvements in navigation worthy our notice; but Elizabeth, very early in her reign, put naval affairs upon a better footing than they had been under her predecessor, both by building some ships of her own, and by encouraging the merchants to build large trading vessels, which on occasion, were converted into ships of war. In 1582, the seamen of England were computed at fourteen thousand two hundred and ninety-five, and the number of vessels twelve-hundred and thirty-two, of which there were not above two hundred and seventeen above eighty tons. Monson computes that, though the navigation decreased in the first year of James I. by the practices of the merchants, who carried on their trade in foreign bottoms, yet before 1640, the number of seamen was treble in England.

The navy which the queen left at her decease appears considerable, when we consider only the number of vessels, which were forty-two; but when we reflect, that none of these ships carried above forty guns, that four only came up to that number, that there were but two ships of a thousand tons, and twenty-three below five hundred, some of fifty, and some even of twenty tons; that the whole number of guns belonging to the fleet were seven hundred and seventy-four; we must entertain a very contemptible idea of the English navy, compared with the force it hath now attained. In the year 1588 there were not above five vessels equipped by the noblemen and sea-ports, which exceeded two hundred tons.

In this famous year (1588) what is called the *Chest at Chatham* was first erected, being a contribution for the benefit and relief of maimed and superannuated English mariners (out of which pensions are paid to such for their lives) by the advice of sir Francis Drake, sir John Hawkins, &c. It was first only a voluntary monthly contribution of the mariners out of their pay, for the succour of their then wounded brethren, but was afterwards made perpetual by queen Elizabeth. By an act of the rump-parliament, anno 1649 (cap. xxiv.) for abolishing deans and chapters, and of their lands, we find this chest had been usually kept at what is called the *Hill House*, at Chatham, which, with its gardens, &c. belonged to the dean and chapter of Rochester. Until the foundation of Greenwich hospital by king William III. this was the only charity of that kind for distressed sailors.

PUBLIC REVENUE.

It is difficult to compute exactly queen Elizabeth's ordinary revenue, but it certainly fell much short of five thousand pounds a year. In 1590 she raised the customs from fourteen thousand pounds a year to fifty thousand pounds, and obliged sir Thomas Smith, who had farmed them, to refund some of his former profits. This improvement of the revenue was owing to the suggestions of one Caemarden, and was extremely opposed by Burleigh, Leicester, and Walsingham: but the queen's perseverance overcame all their opposition. The great undertakings which she executed with so narrow a revenue, and with such small supplies from her people, prove the mighty effects of prudence and œconomy. She received from the parliament, during her whole reign, only twenty subsidies and thirty-nine fifteenths. It is not easy to compute the amount of those supplies, because the value of a subsidy was continually falling; and in the end of her reign it amounted only to eighty thousand pounds, which in the beginning had been an hundred and twenty thousand. If we suppose that the whole supplies granted to Elizabeth, during a reign of forty-five years, amounted to three millions, we shall not probably be much wide of the truth. This sum makes only sixty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds a year; and it is supprising that while the queen's demands were so moderate, and her expences so well regulated, she should ever have found any difficulty of getting a supply from the parliament, or be reduced to make sale of the crown-lands: but such was the extreme, I had almost said absurd, parsimony of the parliaments during that period; they valued nothing in comparison of their money. The members had no connection with the court, and the very idea which they conceived of the trust committed to them, was to refuse the demands of the crown, and to grant as few supplies as possible. The crown, on the other hand, considered the parliament in no other light than a means of supply. Queen Elizabeth made a merit to her people of seldom assembling parliaments: no redress of grievances was expected from these assemblies; they were supposed to meet for no other purpose than to impose taxes.

Before queen Elizabeth's reign, the English princes had always recourse to the city of Antwerp for voluntary loans; and their credit was so low, that besides the exorbitant interest of ten or twelve per cent. they were obliged to make the city of London join in the security. Sir Thomas Gresham, that great and enterprizing merchant, one of the

chief ornaments of this reign, engaged the company of Merchant-adventurers to grant the queen a loan; and as the money was regularly paid, her credit by degrees established itself in the city, and she shook off this dependence on foreigners.

In 1559, the queen employed Gresham to borrow two hundred thousand pounds at Antwerp, in order to enable her to reform the coinage, which was at that time extremely debased. She was so impolitic as to make herself an innovation in the coin, by dividing a pound of silver into sixty-two shillings, instead of sixty, the former standard. This is the last time that the coin has been tampered with in England.

The splendor of a court was, during this age, a great part of the public charge; and as Elizabeth was a single woman, and expensive in no species of magnificence, except cloaths, this circumstance enabled her to perform great things by her narrow revenue. She is said to have paid four millions of debt left on the crown by her father, brother, and sister; an incredible sum for that age*. The states of the United Provinces, at the time of her decease, owed her about eight hundred thousand pounds; and the king of France four hundred and fifty thousand: though that prince was extremely frugal, and, after the peace of Vervins, was continually amassing treasure, the queen never could, by the most pressing remonstrances, prevail on him to make payment of those sums which she had so generously advanced him during his greatest distresses; one payment of twenty thousand crowns, and another of fifty thousand, were all she could obtain by the strongest representations she could make of the difficulties to which the rebellion in Ireland had reduced her. The queen expended in the war with Spain, between the years 1589 and 1593, the sum of one million three hundred thousand pounds, besides the double subsidy, amounting to two hundred and eighty thousand pounds, granted to her by parliament. In the year 1599, she spent six hundred thousand pounds in six months, in the service of Ireland. Sir Robert Cecil affirmed, that in the space of ten years Ireland cost her three millions four hundred thousand pounds. She made the earl of Essex a present of thirty thousand pounds, upon his departure to take upon him the government of that kingdom. Lord Burleigh computed, that the value of the gifts conferred on that favourite, amounted to three hundred thousand pounds; a proof of her strong affection to him. It was a common saying during this reign, that the queen paid bountifully, though she rewarded sparingly.

* D'Ewes, p. 473. I think it is impossible to reconcile this account of the public debts with that given by Strype, Eccles Mem. vol. ii. p. 344. that in the year 1553, the crown owed above three hundred thousand pounds. I own that this last sum appears

a great deal more likely. The whole revenue of queen Elizabeth would not in ten years have paid four millions. Hume's History of the Tudors, vol. ii. p. 729.

An Historical Deduction of the VALUE of our ENGLISH SILVER and GOLD COIN, but particularly those of the former, from the CONQUEST. Extracted from Mr. Anderson, Bishop Fleetwood, and others; together with some Observations on the Present State of our SILVER MONEY.

WE shall close our remarks upon this period with a view of the state of our coinage, from the accession of William the Norman to that of Elizabeth inclusive, when the value of our money was nearly settled on the same footing as at present. This is a matter very necessary to be properly understood, for by this alone we shall be enabled to form a suitable judgment of the true rate in cheapness of provisions and all other necessities of life through their different variations and periods, the pay of artificers, labourers, soldiers, sailors, &c. a subject frequently brought into conversation, and as frequently misunderstood.

The ancient Britons, when first invaded by the Romans, had no other kind of money but iron and tin plates and rings (copper not being then, nor long after, found in our island); these might well enough answer, with barter, the purposes of the inconsiderable transactions in those rude times, when they had neither arts nor manufactures of any kind. The necessity, however, of an universal medium in commerce, which we call Money, was in much earlier times discovered in the more eastern parts of the world, and both gold and silver money were thence soon after introduced into Carthage and Greece; from Greece it was brought to Rome, and thence gradually westward into all the Roman provinces.

Silver, on account of its cleanness and moderate plenty, was, by the general consent of all civilized nations, deemed the most proper for an universal medium of commerce, though at first, and for many ages, by weight only, till at length, for greater convenience, princes and states fell upon the expedient of coins, by stamping pieces of the metal of a determined weight and fineness, to pass current by their authority.

Gold had, indeed, all the properties of silver for such a general medium, even in a higher degree; it was less diminishable by fire, more ductile, more beautiful; but its much greater scarcity, more especially in Europe, rendered it unfit for an universal medium of commerce.

On the other hand, copper, by reason of its fouler and baser nature, and its great plenty, could not be so well used in large transactions, though extremely useful in small ones.

Whilst the Romans held Britain, they coined here gold, silver, and copper; of all which coins, as well as of those brought from Rome itself, many have been dug up, in various parts of this island.

When the Saxons first conquered a part of England, in the middle of the Vth century, they were little better than savages, and probably had no sort of coins in their own country of Germany; but when they became more civilized, they coined silver money, of which some pieces are still to be found in the cabinets of the curious.

As far as certainly appears, the largest silver coin in England, not only before, but for some cen-

turies after the Norman ingression, was denominated a Penny; which, till the reign of king Edward III. contained as much silver as about three pence of our money; and as this penny was, in their manner of coining, cut almost through cross-wise, it could with ease be divided into half-pence and farthings, or fourthlings. Thus in England, from the time of our first Norman king, William I. called the Conqueror, the silver coins were thrice the value of the modern, till the eighteenth year of king Edward III. A. D. 1344; and from thence to the time of king Henry VIII. it was not only farther lessened, but in his reign, and in the first five years of his son, Edward VI. shamefully debased; but in the last year of that hopeful young monarch its purity was restored, and its weight reduced to the state it is in at this present time. But to be more particular:

From the before-mentioned year, 1344, to the eighth year of Henry V. anno 1420, the English silver penny, on an average, weighed very near two pence half-penny of our money.

From the ninth year of Henry V. anno 1421, to the first year of Henry VIII. anno 1509, the silver penny, on an average, was worth near two pence of our modern money.

From the second year of king Henry VIII. anno 1510, to his thirty-third year, anno 1542, a pound of fine silver was coined into forty-five shillings, being three shillings and nine pence per ounce; so that their nine pence was equal to our shilling. But,

In the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth years of Henry VIII, annis 1543, 1544, the silver coin began to be debased to ten ounces of fine silver and two ounces allay per pound, troy weight, out of which pound they coined forty-eight shillings; yet still four pence of their coin was equal to five pence of our money.

But in the following year, 1545, that king suffered his silver coin to be debased so far as to six ounces fine and six ounces allay, in such sort that eight pence of their money was but equal to five pence of our's.

And in the three following years, 1546, 1547, 1548, the coin was still farther debased to four ounces fine and eight ounces allay, and they coined forty-eight shillings of this base metal in the pound; so that their shilling, or twelve pence, was worth but five pence of our modern money, whereby they made the people pay after the rate of twelve shillings for an ounce of pure silver.

In the third year of Edward VI. anno 1549, the coin was brought back to the fineness of the year 1545, viz. six ounces fine and six ounces allay, so that their eight pence (as above) was equal to our five pence.

Yet they still remained infatuated, as if foreigners as well as our own people would, in bills of exchange, and other money transactions with us,

put any greater value on our said coins than they actually contained of fine silver; for out of a pound of silver of the last-named fineness, they coined seventy-two shillings in the year 1550; whereby an ounce of fine silver was valued at twelve of their shillings, as in the years 1546, 1547, and 1548.

And, most scandalously for the nation (says bishop Fleetwood, in his *Chronicon Pretiosum*) in the fifth year of king Edward VI. anno 1551, the silver coin was debased so low as three ounces fine and nine ounces allay; and out of a pound thereof they coined seventy-two shillings of their coin per ounce: so that twelve pence of their money was not worth three pence of our's.

In the following year, 1552, Edward's ministers at length saw this their great error: wherefore they now restored the fineness of the silver coin to eleven ounces and one penny-weight fine; and coined sixty shillings out of the pound; nearly the same as in our days.

In the first year of queen Mary, anno 1553, they coined a pound of silver into sixty shillings, and a pound of gold into thirty-six pounds in silver, being sovereigns, of thirty shillings; and angels, of ten shillings; also half-sovereigns and half-angels: and so it continued to the second year of queen Elizabeth, when that princess coined sixty shillings out of a pound of silver, of eleven ounces and two penny-weight fine; and thus it has continued till now (i. e. 1706, when the bishop wrote.) So that the variation of the value of our silver coin, from the year 1552, down to the present time, has been so inconsiderable as not to be worth regarding.

In the last year of king Edward VI. anno 1553, silver crowns, half-crowns, shillings, and six-pences, were first coined in England (excepting only some few shillings which had been coined in 1504.) "I have weighed those crowns (says bishop Fleetwood) and found them of the same weight, and much the same fineness, as our's."

In the year 1561, queen Elizabeth coined six-pences, four-pences, three-pences, two-pences, pennies, three-farthings, and half-pence, all of silver (for there were then no national copper coins.) She at the same time called in all the base coin, and set our coin on the noble footing it now stands. There have been no silver farthings coined since the thirty-sixth year of Henry VIII. which were very bad, or otherwise they must have been too small for currency.

Queen Elizabeth coined in her whole reign, viz. from 1558 to 1602, in sterling silver money,

And in base money for Ireland (of three ounces fine)

And in gold

Total of silver and gold

In king Charles the II'd's reign, when milled money came first in use amongst us, and at which time I suppose standard silver all over Europe to be at or near five shillings and two pence per ounce, it was thought necessary to encourage the subject to bring his silver to the mint, that the coinage, which before was paid for, should be free (the

crown being reimbursed that expence by a duty on foreign spirits), and to bring it as near as possible to that price of five shillings and two pence per ounce, the following prices, and the following weights, were what was to be returned them in lieu.

For every twelve ounces of silver, allowed by the assay-master of the mint, to contain twelve ounces two penny weights of fine silver and eighteen penny weights of base metal (or allay) and called standard; if in sixpences, one hundred and twenty-four of one penny-weight, twenty-two grains one half, each, (abating six grains upon the whole) which is the twelve ounces, and at five shillings per ounce, comes to the same at the tale, viz. three pounds two shillings.

If in shillings, sixty-two of three penny-weights twenty-one grains each, (abating six grains upon the whole) which is the twelve ounces, and at five shillings and two pence per ounce, comes to the same at the tale, viz three pounds two shillings.

If in half crowns, they had of them, at nine penny-weights fifteen grains one half, and shillings, &c. to make them up (for no certain number will weigh the twelve ounces), in the same proportion.

If in crowns also the same, nineteen penny-weights seven grains each, and in the same proportion.

This was executing the thing in as equal a proportion as human foresight could well distribute it; for years so it continued, and our coin answered the purpose intended; but as commerce extended her wings, and as silver became a main article in one of her very extensive flights, its value increased; yet we attended not to it; we still continued, and do still, to coin silver after the above rate. A nation so great in commerce and calculation to continue this error, nothing but the characteristic we are by foreigners stamped with, of mixing the greatest absurdities with the greatest good sense, can account for it. It is very clear from the above, that five shillings and two pence per ounce is the price our silver is coined at; which silver, to melt for these thirty years, except upon very particular occasions, hath been worth from five shillings and four pence, to five shillings and nine pence, to carry to India, or to work up into utensils, and the last fifteen years nearer the latter than the former. Surely could we, from the same circumstance, get at our neighbours silver to go to the market, at five shillings and two pence, instead of five shillings and four pence, five shillings and six pence, and five and ninepence per ounce, we should not miss the opportunity; and we have the greatest reason in the world, supported by our coin's disappearing, to assert we have not.

The consideration of this led a gentleman, who appeared to be perfectly master of his subject, to propose in the public papers, some few years ago, that, for the future, the subject should receive from the mint, for every twelve ounces of standard, one hundred and thirty-two six-pences of one penny-weight nineteen grains $\frac{2}{3}$ each, which is the twelve ounces, and at five shillings and six pence per ounce comes to the same as by tale, three pounds six shillings.

Sixty-six shillings of three penny-weights fifteen grains $\frac{2}{3}$ each, which is the twelve ounces, and at five shillings and six pence per ounces comes to the same as by tale, three pounds six shillings.

Crowns

Crowns and half crowns in proportion; the first eighteen penny-weights four grains $\frac{2}{3}$ each; the other nine penny-weights two grains $\frac{1}{3}$ each.

Which, if carried into execution, would bid fair to secure coin for our use at all times, for what shall be melted down above five shillings and six pence per ounce, would be recoin'd when silver is below; but we must guard against the ill use that may be made by persons coining large quantities, if silver should be under five shillings and six pence per ounce; to do which it need only be enacted, that no person should be obliged to take in payment above ten pounds in silver.

With respect to our gold coins, the standard of them in ancient times was twenty-three carats and three grains and an half of fine gold, and half a grain of allay (the allay being either silver or copper); the pound of gold being divided into twenty-four carats, and each carat into four grains.

The proportional values of gold and silver, in England, have always kept pace pretty nearly with each other; for the pound of gold, which in the year 1344, when gold was first coined in this kingdom, was worth thirteen, fourteen, to fifteen pounds in silver, is by degrees risen to forty-four pounds ten shillings, and the gold at present not so fine as then: now as a silver penny was then worth our three-pence, and twenty shillings then were worth sixty shillings, therefore gold and silver have kept pretty near the same proportion to each other. But as silver has always been more current in buying and selling than gold, because always more plenty and easy to come at, so the quantity of coin in our ounce of silver is more immediately for our purpose in estimating the different rates of living, than is that of gold coin.

The present proportion of gold to silver was not exactly effected till the reign of king James I. when a pound weight of gold was coined into forty-four pounds ten shillings by tale, viz. into pieces of five pounds value, of two pounds one shilling, and of ten shillings: and the pound weight of silver was coined into sixty-two shillings, viz. into pieces of five shillings, two shillings and six pence, one shilling, six pence, four pence, two pence, and one penny.

Whereas we meet with obolus, farthing, or farling of gold, in our old histories, it has always a reference to the integer, or higher denomination of some gold coin, as an angel, a noble, &c. so when, in the reign of king Edward III. nobles, oboluses (or half-pence), and farthings of gold were coined, the obolus is here half a noble, and the farthing a quarter of a noble; and the like of other gold coins. Crowns of gold are of great antiquity. There never were any silver coins named nobles or angels, florins nor ryals (or royals) sovereigns nor units, Britain-crowns, thistle-crowns, nor double-crowns (the three last coined by king James I.) pieces of three shillings and four pence, coined by king Henry VIII. &c. all these being always gold: yet no gold coins older than Edward III's reign can be found now, excepting some very rare as far back as Edward III. though, from the minuteness of the then silver coins, it is highly probable that most of the great payments were made in gold. As for the bezant, supposed to be so named from Byzantium, or Constantinople, the value of it was forgot, even in king Richard III's time; and bishop Fleetwood thinks it never was an English coin.

A TABLE of the SUCCESSION of PRINCES in the several Kingdoms of Europe, with which England had the greatest Correspondence and Connection, from the Accession of HENRY V. A.D. 1413, to the Death of Queen ELIZABETH, 1603, comprehending a Series of One hundred and ninety Years.

EMPERORS of GERMANY. A.D.	KINGS of ENGLAND. A.D.	KINGS of FRANCE. A.D.	KINGS of SCOTLAND. A.D.	KINGS of DEN- MARK, NORWAY, and SWEDEN. A.D.	KINGS of SWEDEN. A.D.	KINGS of CASTILE or SPAIN. A.D.	KINGS of PORTUGAL. A.D.	KINGS of POLAND. A.D.	P O P E S EXALTATION. A.D.
SIGISMUND 1409	HENRY V. 1413	CHARLES VI. to 1380	JAMES I. 1406	ERIC VIII. 1413		JOHN II. 1406			MARTIN V. (by name Colonna) elected, after the great schism, by the council of Constance, 1417 He quieted the disturbances in Rome, and recovered many dominions to the holy see.
	HENRY VI. 1422	CHARLES VII. 1422							EUGENIUS IV. (by name Gondelmar) supported son of pope Greg. XII. one of the popes of the great schism 1431
ALBERT II. of Austria 1437			JAMES II. 1437				JOHN the Bastard to 1433 EDWARD 1433		
FREDERICK III. 1439				CHRISTOPHER III. 1439			ALPHONSO V. 1438		NICHOLAS V. (Sarzano) 1447 He made the concordat with the empire.
				CHRISTIAN I. 1448		HENRY IV. 1454			CALIXTUS III. (Borgia) 1455 PIUS II. (Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini) 1458
	EDWARD IV. 1461	LEWIS XI. 1462	JAMES III. 1463						PAUL II. (Barbo, a Venetian) 1464 He augmented the number of cardinals.
									SIXTUS IV. (de la Rovere) 1471

EDWARD V. murd. while a child, and ne- ver crowned.	1483	JOHN	1481	ISABELLA and FERDINAND V. of Castile, Leon, and Arragon 1474	JOHN II.	1481	INNOCENT VIII. (Cibo) 1484 Married before he was a priest, and had many children.
RICHARD III. slain in 1485.	1483	CHARLES VIII. 1483	JOHN II. to 1483				ALEXANDER VI. (Borgia) 1491 The most abandoned and profligate man of his age, living in a continu- ed scene of fornication, incest, and murder.
HENRY VII. 1485		JAMES IV. 1488			EMANUEL I. sur- named the Great 1495	ALEXANDER 1501	PIUS III. (Picolomini) 1503 JULIUS II. (de la Rovere) 1504
MAXIMILIAN I. 1493		LEWIS XII. 1498	STENO STURE & SWANTO STURE regents 1504	PHILIP I. 1504		SIGISMUND I. 1506	LEO X. (of the house of Medicis) 1513 A lover and encourager of the fine arts.
HENRY VIII. 1509		JAMES V. 1513	CHRISTIAN II. (called the Ty- rant in the Swe- dish list, and was the last who reigned over both Denmark and Sweden) 1513 to 1523				
CHARLES V. gr. son of Maximilian, and son of Philip I. king of Spain 1519		FRANCIS I. 1515		CHARLES I. (and fifth emperor of Germany of that name) 1516			

Emperors of Germany. A. D.	Kings of England. A. D.	Kings of France. A. D.	K. of Scotland. D	KINGS of DEN- MARK and NOR- WAY. A. D.	Kings of Sweden. A. D.	Kings of Spain. A. D.	Kings of Portugal. A. D.	Kings of Poland. A. D.	Popes Exaltation. A. D.
				FREDERICK I. 1524 CHRISTIAN III. 1534	CHRISTIAN II. (the Tyrant) 1520		JOHN III. 1521		ADRIAN VI. (Florentius Boyens of Utrecht) pre- ceptor to the emperor Charles V. 1521 PAUL III. (Farnese) 1534 Gave the duchies of Parma and Placentia to his bafards.
	EDWARD VI. 1546	HENRY II. 1547	Q. MARY 1542					SIGISMUND II. his son (furnam- ed Augustus) in whom ended the race of Jagello, 1548	
	Q. MARY I. 1553					PHILIP II. his son 1555 and k. of Por- tugal 1580			JULIUS III. (Ghiocci) 1550 He made a cardinal of his ape-keeper, called from thence cardinal Si- mia.
					GUSTAVUS Eric- son, or Vasa, (who entirely separated the kingd. of Swe- den from the u- nion made by Margaret and Hacquin.) ERIC XIV. 1560		SEBASTIAN I. (killed by the Moors) 1557		MARCELLUS II. (Corvi- ni) wore the papal crown but twelve days, 1555 PAUL IV. (Caraffa) elect- ed after eighty years of age, 1555
FERDINAND I. br. to Charles V. 1558	Q. ELIZABETH 1558 to 1603	FRANCIS II. 1559 CHARLES IX. 1560		FREDERICK II. 1559					PAUL V. (Medequino) 1559 PIUS V. (Gisleri Domi- nicano) 1566 He had great quarrels with Q. Eliz. of Engl.
MAXIMILIAN II. son of Ferdi- nand 1564			JAMES VI. 1567 to 1603 when he suc- ceeded to the throne of Eng- land, and thus united the two crowns.						

RODOLPH II. his son 1576 to 1603 and beyond.	HENRY III. 1574	CHRISTIAN IV. 1588 to 1603 and beyond.	JOHN III. 1568	HENRY (the cardinal) 1578 PHILIP II. (king of Spain) 1580	HENRY of France, who was elected in 1572 The fifth year of his pontificate is famous for the massacre of St. Bartholomew, for which rejoicings were made at Rome.	GREGORY XIII. (Buoncompagno) 1572
HENRY IV. 1589 to 1603 and beyond.	HENRY III. 1574	SIGISMUND (k. of Sweden) 1586 to 1603 and beyond.	SIGISMUND (and k. of Poland) 1594 to 1603 and beyond.	PHILIP III. his son, and k. of Portugal 1598 to 1603 and beyond.	SIXTUS V. son of a poor husbandman, called Peretti 1585	URBAN VII. (Cattagna) 1590 GREGORY XIV. (Sfondrati) 1590 INNOCENT IX. (Santi-quatro) 1591 CLEMENT VIII. (Aldobrandino) 1592 to 1603 and beyond.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
E N G L A N D
F R O M

The Union of the Two Crowns of ENGLAND and SCOTLAND, under JAMES I.
to the Restoration of King CHARLES II.

P A R T X.

J A M E S I. The first King of ENGLAND of the House of STUART*.
A. D. 1603.

THE line of Henry VIII. of the house of Tudor, being extinct in Elizabeth, the crown of England devolved, of indisputable right, to James VI. of Scotland, as the next lineal heir †, and he was accordingly proclaimed at the gates of Whitehall, and at the Cross of Cheapside, by secretary Cecil and the lord-mayor, with the usual pomp and ceremony.

I shall not take up the reader's time with enumerating the minute descriptions which other writers have given of the universal acclamations which resounded from all quarters upon the proclamation of James, the quick dispatch which was made to inform him of his good fortune, the dutiful letters he received, the affectionate ones he returned, his magnificent progress to England, his behaviour to his new subjects on his first entering amongst them, nor the frantic joy with which the giddy multitude hailed their new sovereign : it is sufficient

to say, that while he was upon the road he ordered the earl of Southampton, and the other prisoners on the account of Essex, to be set at liberty ; and the funeral rites of Elizabeth were performed in a most sumptuous manner : the earl of Northumberland, with the lords Thomas and Henry Howard, and the lord Montjoy, were made privy-counsellors, notwithstanding their lying under the suspicion of popery, on account of their family-sufferings for the king's mother ; the lord Egerton was at the same time created baron of Ellesmere. The king's gratitude to the Howard family, who, for the sake of the queen his mother, were in disgrace in the late reign, did not stop there ; the lord Thomas was made earl of Suffolk, and then lord-treasurer ; and the lord Henry was created, some years after, earl of Northampton : moreover, Philip, earl of Arundel, the late duke of Norfolk's eldest son, having lost his title by his condemnation, though Elizabeth gave him his life, the king created his son

* The surname of Stuart had no ignoble original. Bancho, a lord of eminency in Scotland, while Edward the Confessor governed in England, is said to have been their ancestor. This nobleman was murdered by the tyrant Macbeth ; but his son Fleance escaped, and lived for some time in exile in Wales, where he married the daughter of one of its petty princes. His son Walter resided some time at the court of Edward the Confessor ; and afterwards going over to France, he is said to have served under William the Norman, at the battle of Hastings. After various adventures, he came to Scotland, where his own and his ancestors merits procured him an honourable

establishment, and he was made hereditary great high-steward of Scotland. From this office he and his posterity, as usual, took their name, which originally signifies the Ward or Guardian of an House.

† James IV. king of Scotland, married Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII. king of England, by whom he had James V. who had only one child, Mary, queen of Scots, who had only one son, James VI. who, from James IV. had an undoubted right to the kingdom of Scotland, and from Margaret, king Henry VII's daughter (the male line being utterly extinct), an unquestionable title to the crown of England. Carte.

Engraved for
MORTIMER'S
History of England



S. Wale delin.

C. Crignon sculp.

JAMES I.

Thomas earl of Arundel and Surry †. Thus the king's regard for the duke of Norfolk's family plainly shewed what he thought of Elizabeth's treatment of that nobleman and his house. It was not in this alone that he expressed his resentment against the late queen: upon all occasions he pretended to shew it was only out of policy that he had, whilst she lived, concealed his aversion for her. The most notable mark he gave of it, was that he neither went into mourning himself, nor would admit any person to his presence in a mourning habit.

On the seventh of May, James, after creating a multitude of knights, was received in London; and on the twentieth he created Cecil lord Cecil of Essenden, sir Robert Sidney lord Sidney of Penshurst, sir William Knowles lord Knowles of Grays, and sir Edward Wotton lord Wotton of Morley. This conduct, so much the reverse of Elizabeth's frugality as to titles of honour, seems to have been owing to the grateful sense James had of the affection discovered towards his person and right by his new subjects.

These promotions were preparatory to the coronation, which was celebrated at Westminster abbey on Monday the twenty-fifth of July, being St. James's day, Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, performing the ceremonies of crowning and anointing both the king and queen; the earl of Nottingham being constituted the lord high-steward, and the earl of Worcester made earl-marshal, for that day's solemnity. The plague raging at this time in London with so much fury that thirty thousand persons died of it within the year; there was no cavalcade from the Tower through the city to the palace of Westminster, as had been usual, the day before the coronation; and a proclamation was published, forbidding all persons, except the lord-mayor, aldermen, and twelve citizens (who came in the mayor's barge by water) to resort thither, for fear of spreading the infection. To avoid the distemper, the king, after knighting all the aldermen, the next morning removed with his court to Winchester.

The public rejoicings were, however, somewhat damped by the gifts and dignities which were now lavished upon swarms of Scots, who had attended their sovereign to his new kingdom, in order to feed upon the fat of a land, so much more fertile and grateful than their own: the duke of Lenox, the earl of Marr, the lord Hume, the lord Kinloss, sir George Hume, and secretary Elphinston, were immediately admitted into the privy-council; sir George Hume was created earl of Dunbar; Hay was dignified first with the title of viscount Doncaster, then earl of Carlisle; and Ramsey was promoted to the earldom of Holderneffe.

It must be confessed, however, in justice to James, that he left almost all the chief offices in the hands of Elizabeth's ministers, and committed the management of political affairs, both foreign and domestic, to his English subjects. Among these secretary Cecil, son to the famous Burleigh, created lord Essenden, was retained by him as his prime minister and chief counsellor, to the no small surprize of all parties, who thought that his name and family must naturally be odious to James, on account of the great hand his father had in the execution of queen Mary, and that he himself had been deeply engaged against the earl of Essex, whom James had been often heard to declare he considered as a martyr to the Scottish succession: but the truth is, that Cecil, who possessed all the art and cunning of a courtier, as well as many of the qualities of a statesman, had wisely resolved, on the first approach of Elizabeth's dissolution, to reconcile himself to James, without the knowledge of either the queen or her ministers, and for this purpose had kept up a secret correspondence with the Scottish monarch, during several months, in which he fully informed him of the private as well as public disposition of the people of England in regard to his succession; the consequence of this was, that James, on his arrival at York, honoured Cecil with a most gracious reception, and created him a baron; and this cunning politician soon gained an ascendancy over the spirit of James, who, with very little experience or judgment, and an infinite conceit of his own abilities and penetration, laid himself entirely open to the arts of adulation. Thus much, however, by way of introduction.

The eyes of all the potentates of Europe were fixed in anxious expectation upon James, from the first instant of his ascending the throne of England; they saw in him the son of a mother who died a martyr to the cause of popery, which raised vast hopes in the professors of that religion, and equal apprehensions in those of the protestant communion; and ambassadors from almost all the princes and states concerned, soon appeared at the English court, in order to felicitate the king on his new-acquired dignity, and to conclude with him new treaties and alliances: besides envoys from Venice, Denmark, and the Palatinate, Henry Frederick of Nassau, assisted by the famous pensionary Barneveldt, represented the states of the United Provinces, Aremberg was sent by the archduke Albert, and Taxis was expected in a little time from Spain.

Henry IV. of France could not, without vast concern, reflect that James, in one part of his life, had been already tampering with Spain; he thought he had every thing to dread from such an union, especially if James should happen to discover an enterprizing genius. Though there was

† To avoid confusion, it will be proper to continue the account of the numerous family of Howard. Thomas Howard, the third duke of Norfolk, married, first, Anne, daughter to king Edward IV. by whom he had Thomas, who died young: his second wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, by whom he had Henry, earl of Arundel, beheaded 13 Henry VIII. and Thomas, created viscount Howard of Binden, 1. Eliz. The said Henry married Frances, daughter of John de Vere, earl of Oxford, and by her had Thomas the fourth duke of Norfolk (restored 1 Mary, and beheaded for attempting to marry Mary, queen of Scots), and Henry, made earl of Northampton, 1 James I. The last mentioned Thomas had two wives: 1. Mary, daughter and co-heir of Henry, earl of Arundel; who was mother of Philip, earl of Arundel: 2. Margaret, daughter of Thomas lord Aud-

ley, and mother of Thomas, created earl of Suffolk 1 James I. and of William, made lord Howard of Naworth-castle, 1 James I. The aforesaid Philip, earl of Arundel, had a son, named Thomas, who was restored 1 James I. This Thomas was father, 1st of Henry; 2dly of William, created viscount Stafford in 1640. The last Thomas was father of Thomas, the fifth duke of Norfolk, 13 Car. II. and of Henry, created earl of Norwich in 1683. The before-mentioned Thomas, earl of Suffolk, had seven sons: 1. Theophilus, who succeeded him; 2. Thomas, created earl of Berkshire, 1629. 7. Edward, made lord Howard of Escrick, 1629. The above-said William lord Howard of Naworth-castle, was father of Philip, and he of William, who was father of Charles, created earl of Carlisle, 1661. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii.

little likelihood of this, yet Henry, conscious how much he had provoked him, could not be very easy till he had sounded his intentions, and charged the marquis de Rosné, afterwards duke of Sully, the best political head of the French court, with that commission. This minister proposed, in his master's name, a league with James, in conjunction with Venice, the United Provinces, and the Northern crowns, in order to invade the Austrian dominions on every side, and humble the exorbitant power of that ambitious family; but the genius of the English king was little adapted to such vast enterprizes: the love of peace was his ruling passion; and Rosné found James to be master of so much dissimulation, that all his address could not sift out his real intentions, nor bring him to make any declaration farther than in general terms, of his design to live in friendship with France; and upon the whole the marquis thought that Cecil seemed rather disposed to a peace between England and Spain. At last, after numberless evasions on the part of James and his ministers, a solemn conference was held upon the state of affairs, when it was agreed, that the two kings should permit the Dutch to levy forces in their respective dominions, and should privately supply that republic with the sum of one million four hundred thousand livres a year, for the maintenance of their forces; that the whole sum should be advanced by the king of France, but that the third part should be deducted for a debt due by him to Elizabeth; and if the Spaniards attacked either of the princes, they engaged to assist each other, Henry with a force of ten thousand, James with that of six thousand men.

The court of France thought that it had gained a great point in bringing James to sign this treaty; but a very extraordinary discovery that was made, or pretended to be made, in England about this time, did not perhaps a little influence the councils of James on this occasion. The king, on his arrival in England, had given a very cold reception to Raleigh, Cobham, with all the other enemies of Essex, Cecil excepted; and they were imprudent enough to give their enemies an handle, by keeping suspicious company: while, amidst the most profound tranquility, both foreign and domestic, the nation was alarmed with a discovery of a plot to overturn the government, and to place upon the throne the lady Arabella Stuart, a near kinswoman of the king, descended equally with him from Henry VII. who had been for some time a close state-prisoner in the Tower; and sir Walter Raleigh, with his friends the lords Cobham and Grey, sir Griffith Markham, sir Edward Parham, sir George Brooke, brother to lord Cobham, Bartholomew Brooksby, and Anthony Coppely, with two priests, William Watson and William Clarke, were sent to prison. Every thing remains still mysterious in this conspiracy: though nothing could be more ridiculous than that Raleigh, who had ever distinguished himself by a kind of enthusiasm against Spain, should mingle his treasons with those of the papists, yet it is certain, that, besides the general charge, another was brought against him and Cobham in particular, for the tolerating popery by the help of six hundred thousand crowns, which were to be paid to the duke of Arenberg, and distributed among the disaffected in England. The

account of the trial, as it is come to our hands, is very imperfect and confused; the two priests and Brooke, however, were executed, but without confessing themselves guilty of any actual treason: Watson indeed, an ignorant pragmatical priest, acknowledged that he had given it as his opinion, that, as the king was not yet crowned, any attempt upon his person could not be properly deemed treason; but nothing appears to have gone farther amongst the pretended conspirators than table-talking, though such as certainly could not be defended.

On the seventeenth of November Raleigh was tried before commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, without having any witnesses brought to confront him, though he earnestly requested that privilege, allowed by the law. One Dyer, indeed, was brought to swear, that he heard a gentleman at Lisbon say, that don Raleigh and don Cobham would cut the king's throat before his coronation: and, to the reproach of all law and justice, sir Edward Coke, the attorney-general, laid very great stress upon this ridiculous evidence; and in the end the confession of Cobham was the only evidence, weak as it was, that bore hard against him. That nobleman had been weak enough to let himself be tricked into the confession to save his own life; but, after he was thrown into the Tower, being seized with a violent fit of sickness, he solemnly retracted all he had said; nevertheless Raleigh was found guilty by his jury, upon which he had sentence of death passed upon him as a traitor, as had likewise Cobham, on the twenty-ninth of the same month by his peers, the lord-chancellor Ellesmere sitting as lord high-steward. In a few days after, the lord Grey and Markham had the same judgment passed on them. James signed warrants for the execution of the two lords and sir Griffith Markham, and publicly sent them to the sheriff of Winchester: at the same time he privately sent, by one of his Scottish domestics, a warrant, written all with his own hand, directed to the sheriff likewise, superseding the execution. His last warrant was not produced till the two lords and the knight were actually making ready for the stroke. This arrant piece of king-craft in James was far from answering his expectations: it is plain he had been made to expect the prisoners, in their last moments, would have enhanced the value of his unexpected clemency, and perhaps have brought more confiscations into his coffers; but no such discovery having been made, the public was thrown into greater doubts than ever as to the truth of the conspiracy; and James afterwards acted as if he had repented of his mercy; for he suffered sir Griffith Markham to perish abroad in obscurity and oblivion; the lord Grey died in the Tower; and the lord Cobham perished through hunger, cold, and filth, in a garret in the Minories, to which he was forced to ascend by a ladder, and even for that he was indebted to the gratitude of an old woman. The natural reflection that is to be made upon this scene of blood and mystery, is, that the whole was a contrivance of Cecil, and the Spanish faction, to get rid of his and their most formidable enemies.

The papists, upon the accession of James to the crown of England, found themselves miserably deceived; for he gave them plainly enough to understand that he was determined to maintain religion

as it had been left by Elizabeth. The puritans, encouraged by this, and by some doubts concerning the worship of the church of England, which James, perhaps only to shew his polemical accomplishments, had thrown out, applied for favour and indulgence, and James appointed a disputation between the heads of both parties, in which he was to sit umpire. The disputation was held at Hampton-court, and the managers for the church were, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, Worcester, St. David's, Chichester, Carlisle, and Peterborough, the dean of the chapel, the deans of Westminster, Christ-church, St. Paul's, Worcester, Salisbury, Chester, and Windsor; to these must be added Dr. King archdeacon of Nottingham, and Dr. Field afterwards archdeacon of Gloucester. Those for the nonconformists were, Dr. John Reynolds and Dr. Thomas Sparks, of Oxford; Mr. Chaderton and Mr. Knewstubbs, of Cambridge.

In the course of this conference, which was opened on the fourteenth of January, 1604, James, in his capacity of præses, shewed uncommon talents at disputation; and it may be said with justice, that his merits would have been great, had a college, instead of a kingdom, been his province of government. Upon the whole, the reader may easily guess the nonconformists, on this occasion, were as much worsted in the dispute as the protestants had been under Mary, or the papists under Elizabeth: the king's opinion and decision went clearly against them; if they did not conform, he threatened to use more forcible arguments than disputation; and he closed up the whole with the grave aphorism of "No bishop, no king."

It being thus resolved to treat the puritans with the utmost severity, it was necessary to proceed in some sort against the papists; accordingly a proclamation was published on the twenty-second of February, commanding all Jesuits, and other papists having any orders from foreign powers, to depart the kingdom on or before the nineteenth of March. But this proclamation was so worded, that the king was extremely desirous to shew he did not banish the Jesuits in hatred to the catholic religion in general, but only on account of their attachment to the pope's unlimited power over crowned heads: as to the other doctrines, he was willing to allow his popish subjects to believe what they pleased, which gave occasion to suspect him to be inclined to the Roman catholic religion; and bishop Burnet says, that, from the year 1606, he was always writing and talking against popery, though he acted for it. But what made James more suspected by the zealous protestants, was the great partiality he shewed in his proceedings against the puritans; for, in his proclamation against them, he paid no regard to the tender consciences of such as could not comply with the doctrines of the church of England, but in the whole condemned them as a set of obstinate people deserving no favour.

These proclamations were followed by a great many more against certain monopolies, protections, salt-petre men, and against some other grievances complained of by the people, hoping to gain the concurrence of the public to establish those royal mandates as so many laws, and so to enable him to govern without a parliament; and though he did submit to call one, to meet him at West-

minster, on the nineteenth of March, 1604, he words the writs, and proclamation for summoning the same, in such terms of command, and under such restrictions, that he reserved the power of rejecting all those who did not come ready to submit to his will and direction; as most plainly appears in the words themselves, where it is said:

"We notify by these presents, that all returns and certificates of knights, citizens, and burgeses, ought and are to be brought to the Chancery, and there to be filed on record; and if any should be found to be made contrary to this proclamation, the same is to be rejected as unlawful and insufficient, and the city or borough to be fined for the same: if it be found that they have committed any gross or wilful default and contempt in their election, return, or certificate, than their liberties, according to the law, are to be seized into our hands as forfeited. And if any person take upon him the place of a knight, citizen, or burges, not being duly elected, returned, and sworn, according to the laws and statutes in that behalf provided, and according to the purport, effect, and true meaning of this our proclamation, then every person so offending to be fined and imprisoned for the same." By which the king assumed the power to judge the validity of all elections, and demanded the same submission to his own proclamations as to any of the laws of the land.

James opened this his first parliament by the most extraordinary speech that ever was pronounced from a throne: it contained excellent matter, but is blameable for its vanity, its prolixity, and many improprieties. His general propositions, however, are very just; and the following noble passage demands the admiration and praise of every lover of English liberty, and contains a glorious lesson for a crowned head. "When, (says he,) I have done all that I can for you, I do nothing but that which I am bound to do, and am accountable to God, should I do the contrary; for I acknowledge, that the greatest and most essential difference between a rightful king and an usurping tyrant, is this; that whereas the proud and ambitious tyrant doth think, that his kingdom and people are only ordained for the gratification of his desires and unreasonable appetites; the righteous and just king doth, on the contrary, acknowledge, that he himself is only ordained for promoting the wealth and prosperity of his people, and that his greatest and principal happiness must consist in their prosperity. If you be rich, I cannot be poor; if you be happy, I cannot be unfortunate: and I protest, that your welfare shall be the constant object of my study and attention. That I am a servant is most true; and that as I am head and governor of all the people in my dominions, considering them in number, and in different ranks; so if we will take the people as one body and mass, then, as the head is ordained for the body, and not the body for the head, so must a righteous king acknowledge himself to be ordained for the people, and not his people for him: for although a king and people be relative, yet can he be no king if he want people and subjects. But there be many people in the world, that want a king: wherefore I will never be ashamed to confess it my principal honour to be the great servant of the commonwealth, and ever think the prosperity there

thereof to be my greatest felicity, as I have already observed*." The rest of this speech was calculated to persuade a union between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland; and he took occasion to compliment the Roman catholics, by owning the church of Rome for the mother-church, "although defiled with some deformities and corruptions:" he even offered to meet them half way in their doctrines, &c. and dropped some severe expressions against the puritans, which rendered that sect and their friends very diffident of his intentions all the subsequent part of his reign.

This speech was so far from meeting with the general applause he expected, that it drew upon him the ill-will of all but the most zealous partizans of the church of England, whose chief point was to ruin the puritans. The nobility and gentry could not bear the disappointments they met with in the numerous advancements of the Scots to places of honour and profit, and to titles and dignities, which the English expected as their birth-right; the presbyterians were enraged to hear the king profess himself their open enemy; and all the protestants in general were grieved at the advances he made to the papists.

This laid the foundation of all the misfortunes experienced by the established church afterwards; and so far contributed to the present dislike to his majesty, that the parliament could not be persuaded to agree to his favourite scheme of uniting the two kingdoms, though he had ordered himself to be proclaimed king of Great Britain, and quartered the cross of St. Andrew with that of St. George in the English flag.

The case of sir Francis Goodwin was another cause of discontent to the people; for he being declared duly elected knight of the shire for the county of Bucks by the committee of elections, after a full hearing on a petition of sir John Fortescue, the king commanded the commons to proceed to re-consider the case, and to have a conference with the judges, after they had refused to confer with the lords thereupon; which in all probability must have ended in a quarrel between the king and his commons, had not Goodwin's moderation disengaged him with honour in so nice an affair, and convinced him of what little signification that clause in his proclamation was, by which he intended to be master of the elections; and which convinced the parliament of the necessity of obviating such pernicious incidents for the future. Wherefore they addressed his majesty, on the fifteenth of June, and amongst other grievances, took occasion to represent their privileges, of which they supposed him not yet fully informed. But this so displeased the king, that he prorogued the parliament, on the seventh of July, to the seventh of February following, after they had granted him a large rate on tonnage and poundage, and passed several good acts for the peace and good government of the kingdom; such as an act for the due execution of the laws against Jesuits, seminary priests, and recusants; a continuation of queen Elizabeth's vagrant-act, by which the people who go about the country to sell glasses are adjudged rogues and vagabonds: an act to restrain the inordinate haunting and tippling in inns, alehouses, &c. one against conjuration, witchcraft, and dealing with evil spirits;

one for relief of creditors against bankrupts; and another against brokers, &c.

Soon after the prorogation of the parliament, a treaty of peace with Spain was set on foot at London, and the commissioners for the king of England were Thomas Sackville, lately created earl of Dorset; Charles Howard, earl of Nottingham, lord high-admiral; Henry Howard, earl of Northampton; Charles Blount, earl of Devonshire; and Robert lord Cecil, baron of Essenden, lately created viscount Cranburn, and soon after earl of Salisbury: on the part of the king of Spain, John de Velasco, constable of Castile; John Baptista de Taxis, count de Villa Medina, the Spanish ambassador: for the archduke Albert, Charles, count d'Arenberg; John Richardot, president of the privy council; and Ludovic Wareiker, principal secretary of state. On the eighteenth of August, 1604, the several articles were finally agreed upon, the most remarkable of which imported, "that James should fix a day, before the expiration of which the states of the United Provinces should make peace with the archduke; and in case of a refusal, the king of England should deem himself absolved from all engagements with that confederacy." Nevertheless, he never fixed the time, or withdrew his troops from their service; nay he even restored the places they had mortgaged, for a much smaller sum than that for which they were deposited. It was after the conclusion of this treaty that the town of Ostend capitulated, having been three years besieged by the Spaniards, who found nothing in the place but heaps of ruins in recompence for the vast sums of money and incredible numbers of lives which had been expended in the conquest. James, without concerning himself about the fate of this fortress, resolved to improve his new connexion with Spain, and the earl of Nottingham, the lord high-admiral, was appointed ambassador extraordinary to that court, for which he took his departure, with a very numerous and magnificent retinue, while the earl of Hertford was dispatched to Brussels.

At the same time that the above treaty was concluded, another was also made, relating entirely to commerce, and the king granted a monopoly of the trade with Spain and Italy to a company of merchants, exclusive of all his other subjects. But this was so generally complained of, as destructive to trade, that it was thought proper by the government to revoke the patent in the next session of parliament.

The remainder of this year was spent at court in flatteries by those who sought for preferment, and in a lavish disposal of the royal favour to the king's minions, which bred great discontent in those who had no share in it, and thought themselves not less worthy than the others who monopolized the king's graces. Queen Elizabeth took a different method, but king James did not think fit to be her imitator in this, more than in other matters. Never were honours bestowed with less discretion and more profusion than in this reign; accordingly they were no longer considered as the reward of merit, but only of adulation.

Before we conclude the year 1604, it is proper to observe, that his majesty, who was a great enemy to tobacco, as appears in his writings against it,

† Journal of the House of Commons, March 22, 1604.

ordered, by proclamation, dated the seventh of October, that, besides the custom of two pence per pound charged upon it by an act of parliament of the late reign, there should be an additional duty of six shillings and eight pence on every pound imported into this realm: and as a farther token of his intention to exert his power and rule without parliaments, he, by privy-seal, borrowed several sums of money from the wealthiest citizens of London.

Cardinal d'Osset, the great French minister at Rome, died on the thirteenth of March this year, and was succeeded by cardinal Perron. By this time the few years of peace which France had enjoyed, had put that king and kingdom in an excellent situation: but there still remained many great men in France who favoured the Huguenots. Though the duke of Bouillon had taken refuge at the elector Palatine's court, yet his friends were very strong and numerous: the dukes de la Tremouille and Rohan were known to favour the same interest; and Plessis Mornay, with those Huguenots who had stood most firmly to Henry, accused him of ingratitude to their party. All these considerations made Henry extremely solicitous to keep well with James, lest he should be drawn either to the Spanish or the Huguenot party; he was fortified in this resolution by the marquis de Rosné.

Henry was at this time daily alarmed with discoveries of conspiracies of the Spaniards against his person and government; and he had not only the good fortune to defeat and disappoint them all, but, by a seasonable mixture of severity and clemency, came a to distinct knowledge of all the connexions between the disaffected party and the Spanish ambassadors in France and England. The marchioness de Verneuil, his beloved mistress, had drawn from him a promise of marriage in writing, which the court of Spain endeavoured to get into their hands, hoping thereby to rear up a pretender to the crown of France against Henry's lawful issue, in the son or posterity of the marchioness; but her indiscretion and insolence, upon the strength of this promise, drove the king from all his tenderness to her; he suffered her and her father, with one Morgan, who managed the correspondence with the Spanish ambassador in England, to be arrested, and tried them, with the count d'Auvergne, who was engaged in the same conspiracy. They were found guilty: upon the strength, however, of the discoveries which all of them, especially the marchioness, made, the king mitigated their punishments, and crushed a conspiracy for betraying Marseilles. At the same time his ministers at Rome became entire masters of all the intrigues of that court, where this year three popes succeeded one another.

On the twenty-third of April, 1605, being St. George's day, the king kept the feast of the order of the Garter at Greenwich, when two new knights companions were admitted, viz. Ulric, duke of Norway, eldest son to the king of Denmark, and brother to James's queen, and Henry Howard, earl of Northampton: and upon the Saturday following, in the hall at Greenwich, being richly ornamented for the purpose, his majesty created three earls, one viscount, and four barons, namely, sir Robert Cecil, viscount Cranburn, he created earl of Salisbury; Thomas Cecil, lord Burleigh, his lordship's eldest

brother, earl of Exeter; and sir Philip Herbert, younger brother to the earl of Pembroke, he created earl of Montgomery; Robert Sidney, baron of Penshurst, lord-chamberlain to the queen, was created viscount Lisle; sir John Stanhope, his vice-chamberlain, he made lord Stanhope of Harrington; sir George Carew, vice-chamberlain to the queen, was made lord Carew of Clopton; Mr. Thomas Arundel, of Devonshire, lord Arundel of Wardour; and Mr. William Cavendish, lord Cavendish of Hardwicke: Charles, duke of Albany, the king's second son, then an infant of four years old, had, in the preceding year, been created duke of York with great solemnity, and admitted into the order of the Bath.

About this time one Thomas Douglas, a Scot, who had lately been sent in the character of envoy from the count palatine of the Rhine, was committed close prisoner to the Tower, for having counterfeited the king's privy-seal to divers princes of Germany; and being, upon due trial, fully convicted of the same, he was drawn upon a hurdle to Smithfield, and there hanged and quartered.

We are now to attend the discovery of a plot, the most daring and impious that occurs in the annals of mankind. This is no other than the Gunpowder Treason, by which the conspirators proposed to blow up the king, the royal family, and both houses of parliament, while in full sessions, and thus involve them all in utter and inevitable ruin. This most diabolical design was set on foot by several Roman catholics, who were enraged to hear that James was firmly resolved to put in force the laws against them. Their infernal cabal consisted of Henry Garnet, an Englishman, who, about the year 1586, had been sent over here as superior of the English Jesuits; Catesby, an English gentleman; Telford, a Jesuit; Thomas Wright; two gentlemen of the name of Winter; Thomas Piercy, a near relation of the earl of Northumberland; Guido Fawkes, a bold and enterprising soldier of fortune; sir Edward Digby; John Grant, esq. Francis Tresham, esq. with Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, gentlemen. Most of these were both men of birth and fortune; and Catesby, who had a large estate, had already expended two thousand pounds in several voyages to the court of Spain, in order to introduce an army of Spaniards into England, for overturning the present government, and restoring the Roman catholic religion; but, being disappointed in his project of an invasion, took an opportunity of disclosing to Piercy, who was his intimate friend, and who, in a sudden fit of passion, had hinted a design of assassinating the king as he was riding a-hunting, a nobler and more extensive plan of treason, such as would include a sure execution of vengeance, and, at one blow, consign over to destruction all their enemies. Piercy approved of this project of Catesby, and they resolved to impart the matter to a few more, and, by degrees, to all the rest of their cabal, every man being bound by an oath and taking the sacrament, the most sacred rite of their religion, not to disclose the least syllable of the matter, or to withdraw from the association, without consent of all concerned. These consultations were held in the spring and summer of the year 1604, and it was towards the beginning of that year they began their operations; the manner of which, and the discovery, I shall give the reader from authentic papers of the earl of Salis-

bury (Cecil), with all the brevity that is consistent with perspicuity.

It had been agreed, that a few of the conspirators should run a mine below the room in which the parliament was to assemble, and chose the very moment when the king delivered his speech to both houses, and then, by one blow, to cut off the king, the royal family, lords, commons, and all the other enemies of the catholic religion, in that very spot where that religion had been most oppressed. For this purpose Piercy, who was at that time a gentleman-pensioner, undertook to hire an house adjoining to the upper house of parliament, with all diligence: and the others, expecting the parliament would meet on the seventeenth of February following, began, on the eleventh of December, to dig in the cellar, through the wall of partition, which was three yards thick. There were seven in number joined in this labour: they went in by night, never after appeared in sight, and, having provided themselves with baked meat, had no occasion to send out; and, in case of discovery, they had provided themselves with powder, shot, and fire-arms, with a resolution rather to die than yield or be taken. On Candlemas-day, 1605, they had dug so far through the wall, as to be able to hear a noise on the other side: upon which unexpected event, fearing a discovery, Guido Fawkes (who personated Piercy's footman) was dispatched to know the occasion, and returned with the favourable report, that the place from whence the noise came was a large cellar, under the upper-house of parliament, full of sea-coal, which was now on sale, and the cellar offered to be lett. Piercy immediately hired the cellar, and bought the remainder of the coals; then he sent for thirty barrels of gunpowder from Holland, and landing them at Lambeth, conveyed them gradually, by night, to this cellar, covered them with stones, iron bars, a thousand bullets, and five hundred faggots; all which they did at their leisure, the parliament being farther prorogued to the third of October, and again to the fifth of November.

The conspirators consulted, in the next place, how they should secure the duke of York, who was too young to be expected at the parliament-house; and his sister, the princess Elizabeth, educated at lord Harrington's, in Warwickshire. It was resolved, that Piercy, and another gentleman, should enter into the duke's chamber without suspicion, and a dozen more, properly disposed at several doors, and two or three on horseback at the court-gate to receive him, should carry him safe away as soon as the parliament-house was blown up: or, if that could not be effected, to kill him, and to declare the princess Elizabeth queen, having secured her, under colour of a hunting match that day.

Some moved for foreign aid beforehand, but were over-ruled; and it was agreed only to apply to France, Spain, and the archduke, for assistance after the plot had taken effect: they also resolved to save the princess Elizabeth, and proclaim her queen, and to spread a report after the blow was given, that the puritans were the perpetrators of so inhuman an action.

Every thing being now prepared by the conspirators, they, without the least remorse of conscience, and with the utmost impatience, expected the fifth of November. But all their counsels were blasted, and brought on their own heads, by the

all-seeing eye of Providence: one of the conspirators, with a desire to save William Parker, lord Monteagle, son to lord Morley, wrote the following letter.

"My Lord,

"Out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care for your preservation; therefore, I advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this parliament; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time: and think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event with safety; for though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say they shall receive a terrible blow, this parliament, yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it can do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is past so soon (or as quickly) as you burn this letter; and I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it, to whose holy protection I commend you."

Monteagle was for a good while at a loss what judgment to form of this letter, and unresolved whether he should slight the advertisement or not; and fancying it a trick of his enemies to frighten him into an absence from parliament, would have taken the first party, had his own safety been only in question; but apprehending the king's life might be in danger, he carried it at midnight to the earl of Salisbury, who was full as much puzzled about the meaning of the letter, and, though he inclined to think it a wild and waggish contrivance to alarm Monteagle, thought proper to consult about it with the earl of Suffolk, lord-chamberlain. The expressions, "that the blow should come without knowing who hurt them," made them imagine that it would not be more proper than the time of parliament, nor by any other way like to be attempted than by gunpowder, while the king was sitting in that assembly: the lord-chamberlain thought this the more probable, because there was a great cellar under the parliament-chamber, never used for any thing but some wood or coal, belonging to Whineyard, the keeper of the palace; and having communicated the letter to the earls of Nottingham, Worcester, and Northampton, proceeded no farther till the king came from Royston, on the first of November, to Westminster.

His majesty being shewed the letter, and acquainted with their suspicions, was of opinion that either nothing should be done, or else enough to prevent the danger; and that a search should be deferred till the day designed for the execution of the diabolical enterprize. Thus on Monday the fourth of November, in the afternoon, the lord-chamberlain, whose office it was to see all put in readiness for the king's coming, taking Monteagle with him, went to visit all places about the parliament-house, and taking a slight occasion to see the cellar, observed only piles of billets and faggots, but in greater number than he thought Whineyard could want for his own use: asking him who owned the wood, and being told it belonged to one Mr. Piercy, he began to have some suspicions, knowing him to be a rigid papist, and so seldom there that he had no occasion for such a quantity of fuel; and Monteagle confirmed him therein, by taking notice



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The seizing of Guy Fawkes.



Mato del.

Chignion sc.

*To His Grace
Duke of
This Plate is most*



*John Manners,
Rutland.
humbly Inscribed.*

notice that Piercy had made him great professions of friendship, though he was not come out of the North when the letter was received. There were no other materials visible, yet Suffolk thought it absolutely necessary to make a farther search; and upon his return to the king, a resolution was taken that it should be made in such a manner as should be effectual, without scandalizing any body, or giving any alarm. Sir Thomas Knevet, steward of Westminster, was accordingly ordered, under the pretext of searching for stolen tapestry hangings in that place, and other houses thereabouts, to remove the wood and see if any thing was concealed underneath. This gentleman going at midnight, unlooked-for, to the cellar, met Fawkes just coming out of it, booted and spurred, with a tinder-box and three matches in his pockets, and seizing him without any ceremony or asking him any questions, caused him to be bound as soon as the removal of the wood discovered the barrels of gunpowder. Fawkes, an hardened and intrepid villain, made no difficulty of avowing the design, and that it would have been executed on the morrow. He made the same acknowledgement at his examination before a committee of the council; and though he did not deny having some associates in this conspiracy, yet no threats of torture could make him discover any of them, declaring "he was ready to die, and had rather suffer ten thousand deaths, than willingly accuse his master, or any other." It was however drawn from him by repeated examinations, and assurances of his master's being apprehended, "that whilst he was abroad, Piercy had kept the keys of the cellar, had been in it since the powder had been laid there, and in effect that he was one of the principal actors in the intended tragedy." In the mean time it was found out, "that Piercy had come post out of the North on Saturday night, the second of November, and had dined on Monday at Sion House, with the earl of Northumberland; that Fawkes had met him on the road; that, after the lord-chamberlain had been that evening in the cellar, he went, about six o'clock to his master, who had fled immediately, apprehending that all was discovered." Salisbury, in his account of this matter, ascribes the thorough search that was made entirely to the lord-chamberlain, owning for his own part, that though he had been sufficiently apprized of the recusants designing some stir during the parliament, yet he could not possibly conceive it was of such a nature as had never entered before into the hearts of any conspirators mentioned in history.

The news of the discovery spreading as quick as lightning, the conspirators fled different ways, but mostly into Warwickshire, where sir Everard Digby had appointed a hunting match, near Dunchurch, to get a number of recusants together, sufficient to seize the princess Elizabeth; but this design was prevented by her taking refuge in Coventry, and their whole party, making about one hundred horse, retired to Holbeach, the seat of sir Stephen Littleton, on the edge of Staffordshire, having broke open stables and taken horses thence, in the adjoining counties. Sir Richard Walsh, high-sheriff of Worcestershire, pursuing them to Holbeach, invested them there, and summoned them to surrender. In preparing them for their defence, they put some moist powder before a fire to dry, and a spark from the coals setting it on fire, some of the conspirators were so burned in their

faces, thighs, and arms, that they were scarce capable of handling their weapons. Their case was desperate, and no means of escape appearing, unless by forcing their way through the assailants, they made a desperate sally for that purpose: Catesby (who first proposed the manner of the plot), Piercy and the two Winters, were killed; Thomas Winter, Grant, Digby, Rookwood, and Bates, were taken and carried to London, where the first made a full discovery of the conspiracy. Tresham, lurking in that city, and frequently moving his quarters, was apprehended not long after, and, having confessed the whole matter, died of the stranguary in the Tower. The earl of Northumberland, suspected by reason of his being related to Thomas Piercy, was, by way of precaution, committed to the custody of the archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth, and was afterwards fined thirty thousand pounds and sent to the Tower, for admitting Piercy into the band of pensioners without tendering him the oath of supremacy. Robert Winter and Littleton wandering through woods in the country, were at last seized and sent to the Tower. Hugh Owen and Baldwin the Jesuit being demanded of the archduke, the former was imprisoned and his papers seized, but, under the pretence of his being naturalized, and of the privilege of the latter's order, neither of them was sent to England. Some escaped to Calais, and coming thither with others who fled only to avoid a persecution, as they apprehended on this occasion, were kindly received by M. de Vic, the governor; but one declaring before him, that he was not so much concerned at his exile, as that the powder-plot did not take effect, de Vic was so much incensed at this man's glorying in such an execrable iniquity, that he had like to have thrown him into the sea. Eight of the conspirators being tried on the twenty-seventh of January, and convicted, sir Everard Digby being the only one that pleaded guilty to the indictment, though all the rest had confessed their guilt before; he was executed on the thirtieth of that month, with Robert Winter, Grant, and Bates, at the west end of St. Paul's Church-yard; as Thomas Winter, Keyes, Rookwood, and Fawkes were in Old Palace-yard, the day following. The earls of Nottingham, Worcester, Suffolk, Devonshire, Northampton, and Salisbury, were in the commission for hearing their trials, and took occasion to vindicate the king from having ever promised the Roman catholics a toleration for their religion, the breach whereof had been alleged as the chief ground of their discontent. Garnet had been mentioned in Tresham's confession; and being tried on the twenty-eighth of March, "for his knowledge and concealment of the conspiracy; for administering an oath of secrecy to conspirators; for the persuading them of the lawfulness of their treason; and for praying for the success of the great action in hand at the beginning of the parliament," was condemned, notwithstanding his false plea, of having known of the plot only in confession, which he was not to reveal. The sentence was not executed till the third of May, when, confessing his own guilt, and the iniquity of the enterprize, he exhorted all Roman catholics to abstain from the like treasonable practices. Gerard and Hall, Jesuits, got abroad; Littleton, and others were put to death in the country. The lord Monteagle had a grant of two hundred pounds a year in land, and a pension of five hundred pounds

for life, as a reward for discovering the letter which gave the first hint of the conspiracy.

The reader will readily perceive that I have, in this account, advanced pretty far into the year 1606; but I thought it would be more satisfactory to preserve the narrative of this unexampled villany and its progress entire to its final subversion: I shall now resume the thread of the history.

The session of parliament which was fixed for the fifth of November, 1605, was postponed to the ninth, when the king, in an elaborate speech opened it, and, as much as possible, endeavoured to clear the professors of the catholic religion of the detestable principles and practices of the late conspirators; he then very earnestly recommended it to both houses, that they should not believe that any foreign prince was concerned in the conspiracy, and that they should reverently judge and speak of them in that case. The truth is, that James was under a thousand perplexities; peace was the ruling passion of his soul, and the discoveries he had made of the archduke's hand in this conspiracy, made him afraid, that, if he prosecuted the matter with too keen a resentment against the catholic professors and princes, the court of Spain itself might have been found a party; in which case it would not have been in his power to have prevented a general war all over Europe, in which he himself must have been a principal. From the same spirit of caution James published several proclamations to prevent any public apprehension that the conspirators had been promised assistance from foreign princes; "we do declare (said he) that we cannot admit so inhumane a thought, as to conceive that any prince, of what religion soever, could give ear to so savage and barbarous an imagination; and that by such examinations as hitherto had been taken, we find them all and their ministers clear from any suspicion or privy thereunto; whereof an infallible argument to us is, that all the ministers of foreign princes, who are now here, made earnest suit to be present in the place that day: charging and commanding all his subjects not to speak of any of his neighbour princes, or their ambassadors, but reverently." The parliament was now adjourned to the twenty-first of January, 1606.

Early in which year the court of Spain sent John de Mendoza to congratulate James upon his deliverance, and accompanied its congratulations with many rich presents. But their actions gave their professions the lie in the strongest manner; for when sir Thomas Edmonds, the English resident with the archduke, demanded that Owen and Baldwin the Jesuit, who had both of them been great promoters of the late conspiracy, should be sent to England, the archduke flatly refused to give them up, upon pretext that Baldwin was a Jesuit, and was to be punished by his superiors; and Owen a servant to the king of Spain, and therefore only subject to him. The French king behaved with much more frankness, for he ordered all who were only suspected of the conspiracy to be seized at Calais, and sent over to England.

The parliament met to do business agreeable to their prorogation, when they confirmed the attainders of the conspirators, and seriously applied themselves to prevent the designs of such popish recusants as refused to acknowledge the king's independent authority; and the form of an oath for that purpose, in the nature of a test, was drawn up

and agreed to by the two houses; which oath, as it contained nothing repugnant to the essential articles of the Romish faith, and concerned only the unlimited power which by some is given, and by others denied, to the pope, was said to have been devised by the principal catholics of the secular faction, that is, by the secular priests, so called in contradistinction to friars, monks, and Jesuits, who take an oath to the pope, wherein they swear unlimited allegiance to his holiness. Hence we find, that most of the English catholics, not infected with Jesuitism, even their archpriest himself, their superior Blackwell, made no scruple to take it. But pope Urban VIII. dreading the consequences of such a coalition between those members of his church and the church of England, was determined, at all events, to prevent it, so far as in his power; and for that end, by a brief, dated on the tenth of the calends of October, 1606, forbade them to take the said oath: and, upon information that this brief was disregarded, he, the next year, in another brief, told them plainly, that they who took the said oath did forfeit all hopes of salvation. This wrought upon some weak minds, but some of the more learned and judicious despised such unscriptural proceedings of the court of Rome, and the archpriest Blackwell, and others, did not fear to defend the reasonableness and lawfulness of taking the oath of allegiance.

The parliament also passed an act for the better discovering and repressing popish recusants: another to prevent the dangers which may grow by popish recusants. At the same time the practice of the law being found intolerable to the subject, they passed an act to reform the multitudes and misdemeanors of attorneys and solicitors, and to avoid unnecessary suits and charges of the law; and another for the recovery of small debts, and the relieving of debtors in London: and then without regarding the disputes which arose in the first sessions of parliament, and as if they resolved to buy the king's good-will, they granted him one of the largest subsidies that had ever been given to any one of his predecessors on the most urgent occasions of the state, though he was then in profound peace, and wanted money only to enrich his favourites. This aid consisted of three whole subsidies and six fifteenths and tenths, besides four subsidies of four shillings in the pound, granted at the same time by the clergy: the whole was payable at eleven separate payments, and amounted to the sum of four hundred and fifty-three thousand pounds.

The passing this grant was quickened by as arant a state-trick as ever was practiced; for, on the twenty-second of March, a time when the passions of the people were warmed with the recent guilt and obstinacy of the conspirators, and while the commons were in all the heat of their debates against the prerogative, all London and the neighbourhood was fill with a report that James and some of his principal favourites were murdered at Oking, about twenty miles westward of London. This report was very circumstantial, the better to gain credit, for it mentioned James to have been stabbed with an envenomed knife, and the murderers were composed of English Jesuits, Scots in disguise, Frenchmen and Spaniards. In an instant the court and city gates were shut, and the guards upon both doubled: the citizens were put under arms by the lord-mayor; and sir William Wade,

lieutenant of the Tower, made all dispositions for preventing a surprize and standing a siege. The commons were sitting when, about eight in the morning, this alarm reached their house, and put a stop to all their business: sir Edwin Sandys, however, during this consternation gravely intimated to the house, that the king's murder might have been prevented, had the archbishop of Canterbury listened to his advice, to banish the papists twenty miles from London, during the session of parliament. In an hour or two after the report became less strong, and then doubtful; and sir Maurice Berkley and two other persons were dispatched immediately to know the truth. While this was passing within doors, the privy-council had assembled, and soon understanding the report to be groundless, published a proclamation to disabuse the people, and to prohibit all riotous assemblies. In a few hours James himself sent a message, that he was to be in London about two in the afternoon; and he was received at Hyde-park by the speaker of the house of commons, preceded by the mace, and all the members attending him. The city of London followed the example of the parliament; and, amongst other foreign ambassadors, the Spanish was so extravagantly joyful, that he presented sir Lewis Leucknor, master of the ceremonies, with a chain of gold worth six score pounds. Then James, having got all he wanted for the present, prorogued his parliament on the twenty-seventh of May to the eighteenth of November following.

The court cormorants rejoiced greatly at this large subsidy, sure of having it to divide among themselves; but they were miserably disappointed at seeing it consumed soon after in the court-entertainments made for the reception of Christian, king of Denmark, who came to England on the seventeenth of July, to visit the queen his sister and the king his brother-in-law; and for the prince of Vaudemont, the duke of Lorraine's third son, attended by seven earls, ten barons, forty gentlemen, and one hundred and twenty domestics.

The parliament meeting on the eighteenth of November, continued sitting till late in the summer of the following year, 1607. In this parliament king James renewed with more earnestness than ever, his solicitations with the two houses to agree to a union of England and Scotland; but the parliament was composed of members who were so little influenced by the court, that no arguments could prevail for it. The king finding them thus refractory, sent for both houses to attend him at Whitehall, and endeavoured, in a long speech, by far the best he ever made, to shew the necessity of the union, and the common advantage it would procure to both nations. However, this had no effect farther than to obtain a repeal of the hostile laws on the borders: and James was so exasperated at the opposition made to his favourite project, that he could not forbear loading those who were against the union with the epithets of blind, ignorant, restless, and disaffected; and from thenceforward shewed a great aversion to parliaments, and even tampered with his judges to countenance and determine actions in the King's Bench upon the authority of his proclamations only: and towards the end of June, 1607, he prorogued the parliament. The business of the commons was now become so complicated and important, that, in consequence of a proposal of sir Edwin Sandys, a member of

great influence, the house entered, for the first time, an order for the regular keeping of their journals.

The puritans exerted themselves, as usual, in this session, in bringing in bills against pluralities, and for restraining the execution of ecclesiastical canons not confirmed by parliament; and moving for a toleration of the conventuous opposers of ceremonies, but without any effect. In the mean time an insurrection happened in the counties of Northampton, Warwick, and Leicester, the country-people pretending they were deprived of their rights of commoning, and gathering three or four thousand together, and sometimes double the number in a body, in order to demolish parks and inclosures; such were their feats for about a month that they roved about the country. A puritan minister, lately deprived, was said to be one of their chiefs; four or five of them went masqued, and otherwise disguised; but the principal ring-leader was one John Reynolds, called captain by his followers, which he boasted would enable him to defend them against all assailants. Proclamations were issued, ordering them to disperse; the high-sheriffs raised the posse of their counties against them, and broke them in some encounters, taking care to shed as little blood as possible. The king at last, by a proclamation on the twenty-eighth of June, expressing his unwillingness to proceed against them by martial law, and giving them hopes of mercy as well as redress of their grievances, they dispersed; and special commissions being issued for their trials, captain Pouch, and others of their ring-leaders, were convicted of high treason, and executed. This commotion was scarce quelled, when James, though no supply had been granted him in the late session, paid on the third of July, a debt of sixty thousand pounds, contracted by queen Elizabeth, who had borrowed that sum on the third of February, 1598, of the citizens of London, and had left it undischarged at her decease.

The disturbances in the middle of England were nothing in comparison of one that was going to break out in Ireland, where the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, weary of a quiet and inactive life, had conspired to seize the castle of Dublin, and to make a general massacre of the English families settled in that realm; and had employed some Romish priests to treat with foreign princes for succours. Their design being discovered, a relation of the former was put upon commencing a suit against him for part of his estate; and the council of Ireland pretending the cause was too weighty or difficult for their decision, remitted it to that of England, in hopes that Tyrone might be drawn thither and clapped up in the Tower: the parties had notice to attend there with their title-deeds; but Tyrone excusing himself from the journey, offered to send his papers by a knight, who knew all his affairs. In the mean time, having secured a foreign vessel that had put into a port belonging to him, he got over to France; and procuring a pass from the government of Normandy, posted away for Brussels; but finding this place at that time not a proper asylum, he retired to Rome, where not long after he died.

In the beginning of this year, 1607, was begun a new translation of the Bible, which was published in 1611, and is the same that is now in common use.

The next year, 1608, began with the execution of George Jarvis, a seminary priest of Rheims, who

was hanged for treason at Tyburn, on the eleventh of April; and Thomas Garret, a Jesuit, had the same fate on the twenty third of June, for refusing to take the oath of allegiance. This year also died Thomas Sackville, earl of Dorset, and was succeeded in his post of lord-treasurer by Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury, a nobleman of great genius, and a fit instrument for the king's urgent occasions for money, who was extremely prodigal of the English money to his Scottish favourites. Amongst other means devised by the ministry to procure the necessary sums, they granted many monopolies, to the incredible loss of our woollen and other manufactures; they moreover obliged the Dutch to pay an annual acknowledgement for fishing on the coasts of Great Britain.

In the spring of the year 1609, after a long negociation, was concluded, by a truce of twelve years, under the guarantee of France and England, that war, which, for near half a century, had been prosecuted between Spain and the states of the United Provinces; that haughty monarchy, finding her trade entirely ruined, and her provinces exposed to the most imminent danger from the maritime forces of the states, at last consented to acknowledge them for a free people, whom she had so long treated as rebellious subjects, and solemnly to relinquish all pretensions to sovereignty over them.

This event proved a source of great mortification and dissatisfaction to James, who, on all occasions, condemned the Hollanders as rebels, it being his avowed maxim, in all debates concerning his prerogative, that subjects ought not to withdraw their allegiance from their prince upon any account whatever; he therefore considered this treaty as a dangerous precedent, and prejudicial to the sovereign authority of kings: this appeared more evidently at present by his licensing two books, which maintained most extravagant maxims of arbitrary power. The first, written by Dr. Cowel, of Cambridge, professor of the civil law and vicar-general to archbishop Bancroft, laid down these three principles: "1. That the king was not bound by the laws or his coronation-oath. 2. That the king is not obliged to call a parliament to make laws, but might do it alone by his absolute power. 3. That it was a great favour to admit the consent of the subject in giving subsidies." The other, wrote by Dr. Blackwood, a clergyman, laboured to prove that the English were all slaves by right of the Norman conquest.

By this time the immoderate expences of the court had emptied the Exchequer; and James, to recruit it, was obliged to have recourse to raising an aid from his subjects upon the stale pretence of an act of the twenty-fifth year of Edward III. for giving the king a reasonable aid upon making his eldest son a knight. But the money he raised in this manner being soon dissipated, and the household of prince Henry, who was now fifteen years of age, increasing, James was obliged to assemble his parliament on the ninth of February, 1610. The earl of Salisbury was ordered to demand the supply: in order to conciliate all their affections, he began with assuring them that his majesty was resolved to redress all their grievances; he then proceeded to explain the causes of the king's indigence, by observing that he had paid the debts of the late queen; that he had maintained an army of nineteen thousand men in Ireland; that he had expended great

sums in the funeral of Elizabeth, in his own journey, and that of his queen and children, from Edinburgh to London; in entertaining the king of Denmark and the foreign ambassadors; in maintaining three courts, for himself, his consort, and the prince of Wales; in sending envoys to the different countries on the continent, and in liberalities to his officers and dependents; he launched out into extravagant encomiums upon the king's wisdom and probity, and declared that his majesty, far from intending to rule despotically, was ready to hear the remonstrances of his parliament, provided they would confine themselves within proper bounds, without deviating from that respect which was due to such a great and generous sovereign. Notwithstanding these professions, the members of the house of commons loudly complained of the king's prodigality and excessive profusion towards his own countrymen: others ventured to affirm, that his intention was to sap the privileges of the subject by gradual usurpation. He had been heard to declare at his own table, that the civil law of the Roman emperors ought to be substituted in the room of the common law of England; and approved of the treatise called the Interpreter, written by Dr. Cowel, on that subject; but the chief cause of their complaint was the high-commission court, which had exercised great severities against the puritans, whose party was espoused by a majority of the commons.

James being informed of these proceedings, had recourse to his own eloquence, which he thought irresistible, and required the attendance of the two houses at Whitehall on the twenty-first of March, where he talked to them, in a very high strain, of prerogative, a subject the reader will best understand by the following short extract: "As it is blasphemy (says he) to dispute what God may do, so it is seditious in subjects to dispute what a king may do in the height of his power." Then he tells them not to meddle with the main points of government; "for (says he) that is my craft, and it would be lessening me, who have been thirty years at the trade in Scotland, and served an apprenticeship of seven years here in England;" so that there did not want much penetration to perceive how distant the king's maxims of government, how artfully so ever palliated, were from the established constitutions of the land: if the whole speech should be examined, there is scarce a word but what tends, either plainly or ambiguously, to establish in the king an absolute despotic power. The English had not been used to hear their kings speak in such a style; and indeed the whole of this curious harangue was very ill calculated to sooth the animosity of the people.

The commons, however, though highly disgusted at some of the maxims he had broached, thought proper to dissemble their resentment, and express their willingness to comply with the king's desires. The earl of Salisbury moved for a conference with the commons, in order to obtain an adequate supply for his majesty's present occasions; as well as a grant for two hundred thousand pounds a year, for the future support of his royal dignity. The commons fired at this proposal, and voted only one subsidy and one fifteenth, which did not amount to the sixth part of what had been asked for the king's present occasions: they refused to settle any standing revenue, unless the king would

would purchase it with some valuable consideration. They complained of respites of homages, and consented to settle an annual revenue of two hundred thousand pounds, provided wardships should be suppressed, purveyances should be abolished, and some farther privileges granted to the subject: but they afterwards rose in their demands, and insisted upon a redress of their grievances. They complained of the king's pretending that his proclamations ought to have the force of laws, and of the power arrogated by the high-commission court; and of his majesty's having altered the Book of Rates, and imposed new customs on certain species of merchandize; they petitioned, that nobody should lend money to the king, or give reason for his refusal: and having received divers messages, forbidding them to debate of his right of laying imposts, they represented, that it was their fundamental right to debate freely upon all matters that concerned the subject. They afterwards passed a bill against taxes and impositions on merchants and merchandize, but it was thrown out of the house of lords at the first reading. James, had he not been bound down by his wants, would have resented the proceedings of this parliament very highly; but he found he could not, without it, either pay his immense debts, or obtain a perpetual independent revenue, both which he earnestly desired, that he might be set free from the tutelage of parliaments, those obstacles to his immense profusion and boundless partiality.

Amongst the other occurrences which fell out in the course of this parliament, the creating the king's eldest son, Henry, prince of Wales, made a great noise. It appears, that several difficulties were started against this creation; and that, by the profusions of late reigns, the revenues of that principality were greatly diminished*. The debts of the crown were urged as so many reasons why the expences of the king ought not to be increased; and it was strongly insinuated to James, that by creating his son prince of Wales, and putting him in possession of a great independent state, the glory of the crown would be eclipsed; it was farther urged,

that the jurisdiction of a prince of Wales, when exercised by him in person, would clash with that of the crown of England. What effect those objections had upon the mind of James, does not appear; but it is certain he created his son prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester; and that the sum of his revenues arising from thence, besides the vast privileges annexed to his dignities, amounted to fifty one thousand four hundred and fifteen pounds seventeen shillings and ten pence, besides two thousand pounds a year allowed him for collection, that the revenue might come clear into his own pocket; and seven thousand pounds given him by James, to purchase the great barony of Killingworth from sir Robert Dudley, son of the earl of Leicester.

Henry was a youth of very promising talents and an amiable character, by which he acquired the love and esteem of the English people: he spent his time in studies becoming a prince, and exercised himself in the most manly diversions. He possessed the advantage of a fine person, and there was a martial turn in his disposition that could not but be agreeable to a warlike nation. He kept his court at St. James's, while his mother resided at Somerset-house, where she lived at a great expence; so that James was obliged to maintain three separate households.

Differences now daily increasing between the king and his parliament, the latter was at length, on the twenty-third of July, prorogued to the sixteenth of October, parting equally dissatisfied with each other.

James had shut the temple of Janus in England, and was at peace with all the world. The eyes of all Europe were now fixed upon Henry IV. of France, who by his experience and good sense, was become one of the greatest politicians as well as generals of the age: he saw that while the house of Austria, through its widely-extended branches, was ever ready to embrace all opportunities of aggrandizing itself, France had every thing to fear from its ambition; and he had formed a noble project

* As this part of the English History, which relates to the constitution of the principality of Wales, appears to be very little known to the generality of our historiographers, we shall, from an original manuscript, written by prince Henry's order, give some account of it in this note.

Edward I. had, in his father's life-time, a jurisdiction in Wales; and when he came himself to the crown, in the twelfth year of his reign he obliged the barons, and other great men of that country, to do homage to his son, after making the policy of the country more analogous to that of England. Whether, in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, he created Wales into a principality by charter, is justly doubted; but it is certain, from the summonses to parliament, that Edward II. was earl of Chester. Edward III. in the seventeenth year of his reign, created his son, the famous Black Prince, prince of Wales; and with the principality, he gave him its revenues, together with the lands of Rice ap Marydick, who had been attainted. The same prince was likewise created duke of Cornwall, upon the death of his uncle, John of Eltham; and when he was no more than three years of age, he was made earl of Chester. Thus the whole revenue of the principality, the duchy, and the earldom, amounted to nine thousand nine hundred and eighty-two pounds twelve shillings and seven pence; as appears by a survey taken upon the death of this prince, in order to ascertain the jointure of his princess, which was to be one third of the whole. This was in those days an immense revenue, when we consider that the prince was at the same time duke of Aquitain; and descended to his son, afterwards Richard II. who died without issue. Henry IV. in the first year of his reign, created his son prince of Wales; and he had an especial seat in parliament on account of that principality: the prince, beside the dukedom of Cornwall and the earldom

of Chester, had many additional lands granted him, besides those possessed by the Black Prince, and was duke of Lancaster besides. Henry VI. never was prince of Wales; but, in the thirty-second year of his reign, he made his eldest son prince of Wales, and earl of Chester; and next year duke of Cornwall. By act of parliament, the rents and profits of these lands were to accrue to the king, until the prince was fourteen years of age; but he was to enjoy one thousand pounds a year, for his necessary expences, till he was eight years of age; and two thousand marks a year after that, till he was fourteen. But, upon the claim of the house of York to the crown, that duke was, in Henry VI's time, created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester, as being heir to the crown. Edward IV. was never prince of Wales; but, in the eleventh year of his reign, he created his son prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, earl of Chester, and earl of Pembroke, and appointed a council to manage his revenues till the prince was fourteen. The next prince of Wales was the son of Richard III. who died before his father: and Henry VII. in the fifth year of his reign, created his son Arthur prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester. It appears that the revenues of this prince were very great, and yearly increased by his father, who assigned him a council, for the better management of his principality, of which Dr. William Smith was the first president. Upon the death of Arthur, his brother Henry, afterwards Henry VIII. was made prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester; and the crown resumed the revenues of the duchy of York, upon his obtaining those of the dukedom of Cornwall. Dr. Powel, a great Welsh author, is of opinion, that Edward VI. never was created prince of Wales; but admits that his sister Mary was princess of Wales, and that the king made the bishop of Exeter president of her council.

for humbling that house. The succession to the duchies of Cleves and Juliers offered a fair opportunity of putting in practice what Henry appears to have long meditated, a general league amongst all the princes of Europe. The duke of Cleves dying on the twenty-fifth of March, 1609, his four sisters, or their heirs, claimed his inheritance, containing the duchies of Cleves and Juliers, the earldoms of la Mark, Bergh, Ravensburg, and Ravenstein. The chief competitors were, Wolfgang William, son to the duke of Newburg; John, duke of Deux Ponts; both of the Palatine family: John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg; Christian II. elector of Saxony; and Charles of Austria, marquis of Burgaw. Whilst these princes contended for the succession, the emperor Rodolphus II. pretended it was to be committed to his trust till the affair should be decided: to that purpose he sent his letters to Leopold of Austria, bishop of Strasburg, who, entering the duchy of Juliers, at the head of an army, took the capital city, and placed a garrison in it. This proceeding convinced the elector of Brandenburg and the duke of Newburg, that, whilst they were contending about the succession to the duke of Cleves, they both ran the risk of losing it; they therefore joined in a league, and, taking possession of the deceased duke's dominions, implored the aid of France and Holland to support them. Henry IV. who had now made great preparations against the house of Austria, promised to assist them in person, and at the same time ordered the troops he had in Holland to be ready to join him in the duchy of Cleves, and desired the states to send thither prince Maurice, with part of their own forces. But all the great designs of Henry were blasted by his untimely death; for as he was preparing to follow his army, he was, after repeated warnings given him of his fate, stabbed in his coach by Ravallac, a desperate popish enthusiast†. This villain, on his examination, boldly confessed he did it because the king did not take arms against the Huguenots, and that his making war against the pope was the same as making war against God, "seeing the pope was God, and God was the pope." This discovery of the principles on which this regicide had been committed, was extremely disagreeable to James; and as the Jesuits were universally believed to be concerned in it, James, thinking it greatly behoved him to remove from his person men who held so detestable a doctrine, issued out a proclamation commanding all Jesuits and priests to depart the kingdom, and all recusants to keep themselves at the distance of ten miles from the court: then he

caused the justices of peace in all the counties to administer the oath of allegiance which had passed in the third year of this reign, and which, without any regard to any particular religion, established the independency of the crown against the court of Rome and all other powers.

The best informed historians have not proved that any prince or state was privy to the design of the murderer, who took the whole upon himself; but it is certain that the zealots of the Roman catholic religion had ever looked upon Henry's conversion to it as a matter of policy and convenience in him; and when he came to declare so highly as he did in favour of the protestant interest in Germany, they were confirmed in their suppositions that he still remained in his heart an Huguenot. By a letter from Mr. Beecher, secretary to the English resident at Paris, we learn that the assassin had, some time before the murder, resided at Brussels, and this augmented the general opinion that the court of Spain was privy to Henry's death. James, however, did not believe it, or thought it adviseable to dissemble his real sentiments, being willing to gain the friendship of an house so formidable to the protestants, and sent sir Charles Cornwallis his ambassador, to negotiate a marriage between the prince of Wales and the king of Spain's eldest daughter.

The death of Henry, which happened on the third of May, deferred for a time, but did not prevent, the siege of Juliers, which was invested in the beginning of July by prince Christian of Anhalt, general of the army of the claimants and confederate princes, assisted by a body of Dutch troops under prince Maurice, four thousand English under the command of sir Edward Cecil, the earl of Salisbury's nephew, eight thousand French foot and two thousand horse commanded by the marshal de la Chatre: Rulenburg, the governor, surrendered it on the thirteenth of September; and the castle of Braidebant being also taken, the two claimants gained possession of the whole country.

About this time the protestant princes of Germany thought it necessary to enter into a more strict union, and a project was drawn up for that purpose by the duke of Wirtemberg. As the death of the king of France had entirely altered their system, they threw their eyes upon James as their chief protector, and sent to him the duke of Wirtemberg's project, both for his approbation and to try how far he would espouse their cause. Before this paper arrived in England, the queen-regent of France, Mary de Medicis, who had been so appointed during the minority of her son

† This infamous miscreant had for some time followed the king in his excursions, in quest of an opportunity of perpetrating his horrid purpose. That very morning he intended to stab him at the Feuillans, where he went to hear mass; but was hindered by the interposition of the duke de Vendôme. After dinner the king appeared extremely uneasy, and, leaning his head upon his hand, was heard to say "My God! what is this that will not suffer me to be at quiet!" About four in the afternoon he went into his own coach, with the duke d'Epemon, the duke de Monbazon, the marquis de la Force, marquis de Mirebeau, messieurs de Lavardin, Roquelaur, and Liancourt, and ordered the coachman to drive to the cross of Tiroy; from thence it proceeded to the church-yard of St. Innocent; then turning into the Rue de la Ferroniere, which was very narrow, there was a stop, occasioned by two loaded carts: the king had sent away his guards, and ordered the coach to be opened, that he might see the preparations for the queen's entry; all the pages had gone round another way, except two, one of whom

went before to clear the way, while the other stepped behind to tie his garter: Ravallac, who had followed the carriage, took this opportunity to perpetrate his shocking purpose; he mounted on the coach-wheel, and, with a long knife, sharp on both sides, struck the king over the shoulder of the duke d'Epemon. Henry exclaimed, "I am wounded!" The assassin repeated the blow with greater violence, and the knife, penetrating the thorax, divided the vena cava, so that the king expired immediately. Ravallac was not seen by any person while he perpetrated this atrocious murder; and if he had thrown down the knife under the coach, might have escaped unnoticed: but he stood on the wheel like a statue, with the bloody knife in his hand. A gentleman coming up, would have put him to death immediately, but the duke d'Epemon called aloud, "Save him, on your life!" and the miscreant was taken alive. Every body knows the nature of the torments to which this desperate fanatic was subjected. See Smollett's Notes to Voltaire, vol. v. p. 113.

Lewis XIII. had intimated, by the French ambassador at London, the state of her affairs, and that the interest of her son's crown did not permit her to engage farther in the German war than was absolutely necessary, and therefore she wished that means might be found to prevent any farther hostilities. Though this declaration startled James, yet, in answer to the duke of Wirtemberg's project, he offered to enter into a league with the princes for six years, and to lend them four thousand men, or money to pay them, they promising to furnish him two thousand in case he was attacked. The court of France seems to have had no concern in this transaction, and found it their interest to court James to renew all his alliances with them: James, in consequence of this request, which was made by Boderie, the French ambassador, gave a commission to the earls of Salisbury, Northampton, Nottingham, and others, to treat with Boderie; and upon his paying to James sixty thousand pounds, a treaty was concluded ratifying all the former leagues, and stipulating particularly the quantity, the number, and the pay of the troops which each one was to send to the other's assistance. The lord Wotton was then appointed by James ambassador extraordinary to Paris, where he made a most magnificent entry, and received the queen's oath in confirmation of the late treaty.

But the magnificent embassies and splendid court of James demanded a farther supply of money than his revenues could furnish, and it was necessary that he should give leave for his parliament to meet on the sixteenth of October, when the great affair of the annual standing revenue was again brought upon the carpet, but neither party were able to finish the business on which they were so intent, and in which they were so deeply interested. The journals of that session are lost, so that we are at a loss to know the reason of this miscarriage: it only appears that James was highly displeased with the conduct of the parliament, and soon after dissolved it by a proclamation, dated the last day of December, 1610. This was his first parliament, and it lasted almost seven years.

We cannot in justice to James omit to mention, that he this year exerted a laudable care for the navigation and trade of the kingdom. Several useful discoveries were by him encouraged, large storehouses were erected, and naval architecture brought, under the king's direction, to greater perfection than it had ever been known in England, or perhaps in Europe. His care for the East India company deserves likewise the eternal gratitude of the English nation: this company, which had been incorporated by queen Elizabeth, had hitherto subsisted under great disadvantages, through the difficulty and length of their voyages, and the barbarous disposition of the inhabitants of those countries they had discovered; but the great profits of a fortunate voyage made it worth their trouble to apply to James for an enlargement of their charter, by which they proposed to increase the trade, the shipping, the mariners, the strength and wealth of the kingdom, and to deprive the Turks and Persians of the East Indian commerce. James entered into all these considerations with an attention becoming the father of his people, and granted them a perpetual charter, enlarging their patent, and enabling them to be a body corporate and politic: he also prohibited the importation of pepper by

foreigners and by all but the East India company, and ordered that no retailer should sell pepper at above two shillings and six pence the pound at most. But James did not think it sufficient to advance the interest without adding to the dignity of trade; he graced the meetings of the company with his own presence, and that of his family; he attended at the launching of the largest ship that had ever been known in England, of the burden of twelve hundred tons, built by the same company; and he made a present to sir Thomas Smith, its governor, of a gold chain with his own picture, with many encomiums upon their laudable spirit, and exhortations to persevere in it. This condescension, in which James successfully imitated his illustrious predecessor, gave great encouragement to the company, and we find this year the great ship, with four others, sent out under sir Hugh Middleton, at the charge of one hundred thousand two hundred pounds; besides three other ships fitted out a few months after, at the expence of sixty thousand pounds more, under captain Sayres. The next spring, which was 1611, the same company fitted out four other ships, the largest of which was one thousand tons burden, and sent them under the command of captain Best, who established a very advantageous English settlement on the coast of Surat, and obtained a patent for holding it from the mogul himself.

The king having freed himself from the encumbrance of the parliament, and being determined never to call another, the courtiers highly applauded his design, as an absolute government was much more for their advantage than a government bounded by the laws, where the king depends in some measure upon the people: the whole court was overjoyed at the king's shaking off this troublesome yoke, and nothing was now heard there, but mirth and diversion. As the king, during his reign in Scotland, was hardly ever without a favourite, both the English and the Scots did all in their power to give him one in England, but hitherto all their endeavours had proved abortive: James's taste was very different from that of most other princes; neither virtue, merit, nor eminent qualities had any charms for him; something external and dazzling, as youth, gracefulness of person, elegance of dress, were the only things to captivate him. At last, however, the lord Hay introduced to him Robert Carr, a young Scottish gentleman, of an ancient family, who had formerly been a page of honour to him in Scotland; and now James's remembrance of him was renewed by his happening to break his leg by a fall from an unruly horse, as he was presenting his majesty with his shield at a tournament. James conceived an unusual pity at this accident; he visited the unfortunate youth while he lay ill of his fracture; and so rapid was the progress of his passion, that, upon his recovery, he became the growing favourite at court. It is hard to say, whether those who introduced him at the tournament did it by accident or design, but they could hardly have employed a more fit person than Carr was, for engaging the affection of James. His person was handsome, and his years not above twenty; he was extremely ambitious, but profoundly ignorant; his passions were strong enough, though his dissimulation was deep; and the rest of his character was compounded of ill applied capacity, excessive insolence, inhuman ingratitude,

itude, and every species of wickedness. The first distinction that James bestowed upon him was knighthood; honours and riches were then heaped upon him, and he quickly became the channel through which all favours passed between the king and his subjects. On the ninth of April, 1611, he was made viscount Rochester; on the eighteenth of May following he was, with the duke of York and the earl of Arundel, installed knight of the Garter; upon the death of the earl of Dunbar, he became the unrivalled favourite of James, to the no small distaste of the English nobility.

But we are now to behold all James's attention engrossed by another favourite subject, of a very different nature, and the most absurd and the most foreign to the character of a king that can be imagined; of which it is necessary to give some account, because it gave rise to some of the most considerable events in Europe. The famous preacher Arminius, at Amsterdam, had been chosen divinity-professor at Leyden, and had been accused by the Calvinists with teaching absurd doctrines concerning free-will and predestination. Before his death, which happened in 1608, his party remained possessed of the field of disputation, and his chair was filled by Vorstius, who had published several treatises in defence of the Arminian principles; and as he differed from his Britannic majesty in some abstruse points concerning the intimate essence and secret decrees of God, he was regarded as a dangerous rival in scholastic fame, and was, at last, compelled to yield to the legions of that royal doctor, whose syllogism he might have refuted or eluded. If James wanted vigour in other incidents of his reign, he behaved here even with arrogance and presumption; and the states were forced, after several remonstrances, to deprive Vorstius of his office, and to expel him from their dominions.

The king desisted from any farther persecution against that professor; though he very charitably hinted to the states, "that, as to the burning of Vorstius for his blasphemies and atheism, he left it entirely to their own Christian wisdom; but never surely did heretic better deserve the flames." The states, however, had too much sense and humanity to understand his majesty's hint; and they even procured for the ejected professor a chair in another university. All this exertion in James, a prince of remarkable indolence, who had already treated transubstantiation and the number of the sacraments as scholastic questions of little consequence to salvation, is not to be accounted for but from his vanity and self-conceit: he thought himself the most able theologian in the world; and after he had signified his sentiments on this dispute, he could not brook the last opposition. Perhaps too he was influenced by motives of resentment against pensionary Barnevelt, the patron of Vorstius, whom he treated as a rank republican.

No transaction of this reign reflected so much honour on the sovereign as did the settlement of Ireland, in which James had been seriously engaged ever since his accession to the crown of England. He began with passing an act of oblivion, to quiet the minds of the people; he took them into his protection, and indulged them with the benefit of the English laws; and caused justice to be administered to them with the utmost impartiality: Wexford, Tyrone, Tyrconnel, the northern parts of Ulster, half Connaught, and all Munster, were

divided into counties, supplied with sheriffs and justices of the peace, and the judges made their circuits regularly twice every year. The lords chieftains made a surrender of their lands to the crown; and, before they were re-granted, all oppressive exactions were abolished. The Irish duties, rents, and services, were valued, and reduced to certain sums of money, on payment of which the tenants possessed their lands in security, so that the most miserable slavery was succeeded by wealth and independence. Tyrone, Tyrconnel, O'Dogharty, and other rebellious chieftains having forfeited their possessions, together with Ardmagh, Cavan, Derry, Donnegal, and Fermanagh, which had been escheated to the crown, were granted out in different portions to English, Scottish, and Irish adventurers, in order to be properly cultivated. These undertakers obliged themselves to make certain improvements; and, in a word, such measures were taken, that Ulster, the wildest part of Ireland, became one of the best cultivated countries in Europe.

During the great tranquility enjoyed by James, he caused the body of his mother, Mary late queen of Scots, to be removed, in the spring of 1612, to Henry VII's chapel at Westminster, from Peterborough, where it was interred after her decapitation, and had lain ever since.

About the middle of the same year James had an opportunity to exhibit an agreeable specimen of impartiality, in the execution of Robert Creighton, lord Sanquhar, a Scottish nobleman, who had basely assassinated one Turner, his fencing-master. In vain did Abbot, then archbishop of Canterbury, and other gentlemen, intercede for him; the king observing how much the English were provoked at his attachment to his countrymen, prudently sacrificed him to their resentment.

Shortly after a very extraordinary embassy arrived in England. Sir Robert Shirley, an Englishman, who had served the king of Persia many years in his army, desiring to see his native country, obtained of that monarch the character of ambassador, and a letter of credit to the king. His instructions were only to pay his compliments to the king, with the offer of a free trade to the English throughout the Persian dominions. The ambassador had passed through the Hague, where he demanded audience of the states, to propose to them a treaty with the king of Persia; but because he came from Spain, where he had made some stay, the states suspected he had some other design, demanded to see his instructions, and upon his scrupling to produce them, he was desired to withdraw. As he had been also at other courts, it was believed he had put the king of Persia in hopes of engaging all the Christian princes in a war with the Turks, who were preparing to invade him. He had married a Persian lady, who was delivered of a son in England, to whom the queen stood god-mother, and prince Henry god-father. After a year's stay in England, he returned to Persia.

The great noise made by the arrival of this ambassador was, however, far exceeded by that of Frederic V. elector Palatine, who, in consequence of a treaty of marriage which had been some time negotiating between him and the princess Elizabeth, James's daughter, came over to England on the sixteenth of October this year. He was received with the greatest respect, and for some time nothing was seen at court but entertainments and diversions

sions on his account. But amidst the universal joy which this marriage occasioned, the prince of Wales was attacked with a distemper which at first was not thought dangerous: he was seized with it a few days before the elector's arrival, but believed it of so little consequence, that he accompanied him every where for some time, and was not confined to his bed till the twenty-fifth of the same month. He died on the sixth of November, being eighteen years eight months and seventeen days old, and was buried at Westminster on the seventh of December following. His funeral charges amounted to sixteen thousand and sixteen pounds.

Some authors would insinuate that the king caused him to be poisoned; but as there are no clear proofs of this, or, indeed, hardly the slightest presumptions, it probably proceeded entirely from malice. Others are content with accusing the viscount Rochester of this crime, but without any manner of proof. However, as a proof of this nature was spread immediately after the prince's death, his head and body were ordered to be opened, in presence of many physicians and surgeons, who gave their opinion, upon oath, that no signs of poison appeared: but what reflected most upon the king, was his commanding that no person should appear at court in mourning; probably he was willing to remove from his sight all melancholy objects that might renew his grief, or determined not to interrupt the preparations for his daughter's marriage; decency, however, obliged him, to defer the nuptials for a few weeks.

The great application which Salisbury gave to business had such an effect on his health, that, in the beginning of this year, he was seized with a disorder that finished his days on the fourteenth of May. His death proved a great misfortune to James, who in him lost a very able minister, and one perfectly well acquainted with the affairs of state and the genius of the English nation. He was a check to the rest of the ministers, and hindered them from running upon precipices, the danger whereof they were not so well acquainted with: he had also a wonderful talent of diverting the king himself from dangerous resolutions; though it must be granted that he did not always succeed. According to Weldon, he was a man of great parts, very wise, full of honour and bounty, a great rewarder and lover of virtue and merit in others, if they did not aspire at too great places.

The beginning of the year 1613 was wholly spent in preparations for the princess's marriage, which was solemnized on the fourteenth of February, the elector having been, on the seventh, installed knight of the Garter. Nothing was spared to render the entertainments on these occasions as magnificent as possible: in order to this the king demanded an aid of money from his subjects, in conformity to a custom anciently observed, when the king married his eldest daughter, though an hundred years had elapsed since this custom had been used, there having been no occasion since the reign of Henry VII. However, few or none dared to refuse complying with the king's command: by this means twenty thousand five hundred pounds were raised, and all expended in the marriage.

During the stay of the elector and his consort in England, which was till April, there was nothing but entertainments, balls, masquerades, and other diversions: the city of London entertained the new-

married couple at a splendid feast, after which the lord-mayor and aldermen presented the bride with a chain of oriental pearl, worthy the grandeur and riches of that metropolis: Stowe says it cost upwards of two thousand pounds.

Soon after the elector and his spouse embarked at Margate, and in four days landed at Flushing. He behaved during his stay in England, so nobly and discreetly, in all respects, that he gained the general applause and love of all men, and gave away to the full value of one hundred and twenty thousand French crowns. The king was not behind the Palatine in magnificence, and the total of the marriage, including the princess's portion, cost him ninety-three thousand two hundred and seventy-eight pounds. The nation, however, was so well pleased with the match, which promised the greatest advantages to the protestant interest in Europe, that all impositions to defray this immense expence were cheerfully bore by the public; and in the spring of this year the old earl of Nottingham, lord high-admiral, attended the princess to Germany, with a gallant train of English nobility and gentry. At the departure of the elector and electress, the court was rendered more quiet, with regard to public rejoicings, which had continued several months without interruption; but at the same time a private scene was acting, the plots whereof began this year to open: I mean the annulling the marriage of the earl of Essex with his countess, that lady's second marriage with Robert Carr, viscount Rochester, the king's favourite, and the violent death of sir Thomas Overbury. In order to set these incidents in a clear light, it will be requisite to relate some things already passed, which we purposely deferred, that the thread of this extraordinary story might not be interrupted.

The late earl of Essex, to whom Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury, was a mortal enemy, and one of the chief instruments of his ruin, left a son, who, being but nine years old, gave Cecil little uneasiness, though the king, on his coming to England, had restored him to his paternal honours and estates. However, the sharp-sighted Cecil was apprehensive that some time or other he might be called to an account for his proceedings against that nobleman; therefore, in order to preserve the king's favour, he judged it necessary to unite closely with the Howard family, by marrying his own son, Edward Cecil, viscount Cranburn, to the lady Catherine, third and youngest daughter to the earl of Suffolk; and as the young earl of Essex began to grow towards man's estate, he looked upon it as necessary for him to be reconciled to that young lord; with which view he completed a match between him and the lady Frances Howard, the earl of Suffolk's second daughter: thus the three families of Cecil, Devereux, and Howard, were united in the strictest connexion. But as the earl of Essex and his bride, at the time of their marriage, were thought too young for cohabitation, the earl was sent on his travels, and in the Low Countries he had an opportunity of completing himself in the art of war, in which he afterwards made so great a figure. Upon his return he found his countess the most finished beauty of the age, as he himself, now about twenty years old, was one of the most promising young noblemen in Europe; but he was ignorant that the lord Rochester was his rival in the heart of his lovely bride. In effect the young favourite pre-

suming

fuming on his great power, had the impudence to solicit the lady to criminal love, and she the weakness privately to yield to his addresses. The return of Essex in the preceding year interrupted the enjoyment of the two lovers; that nobleman, fired with the charms of his young consort, claimed the privilege of a husband with all the impatience of youthful ardour; but, to his inexpressible disappointment and mortification, when he approached her he met with nothing but coldness and indifference, and a flat refusal of any intimate freedoms. Provoked at this unaccountable behaviour, which he for some time exerted all his endeavours to alter, he at last abandoned the attempt, and, separating from his wife, left her to follow her own will and inclination: to this, indeed, he was particularly induced by having discovered her intrigue with Rochester, which became every day, more and more notorious.

But the countess, not satisfied with being the mistress of Rochester, eagerly wished to become his wife; and being by this time lost to all manner of shame, she prevailed on her paramour to use his influence with the king to procure for her a divorce from Essex. Rochester imparted this scheme to sir Thomas Overbury, who had for nine years been his most intimate friend and monitor. That faithful counsellor was alarmed at the proposal, and employed every argument that the nature of circumstances offered, to divert his friend from so foolish and base an attempt; and, in the warmth of his honest expostulations, went so far as to threaten Rochester that he would break off all correspondence with him, if he could so forget his honour and interest as to prosecute the intended marriage with so abandoned a woman. Rochester had the weakness to impart this conversation to the countess, who instantly vowed vengeance on this bold arraigner of her honour and conduct; and the favourite was by this time so infatuated by her charms, that he joined with her in resolving the ruin of Overbury. With this view he went to the king, and, after extolling Overbury's abilities, took occasion to insinuate that he was grown of late insupportably insolent, and therefore requested that he might be removed by some honourable employment, such as being sent ambassador to the court of France or Brussels, or, as others say, to that of Russia. James, far from suspecting the truth, instantly appointed Overbury to the embassy: this latter, on receiving notice of his appointment, consulted with Rochester how he should proceed, as he looked upon this as no better than a genteel banishment from the court, Rochester, under pretence of not being able to support his absence, persuaded him to reject the proffered mission; and then posting away to the king, represented this refusal as such an instance of insolence and disrespect, that James, who could not brook the slightest contempt of his authority or power, gave an order for committing the unhappy Overbury prisoner to the Tower, the lieutenancy of which had been lately bestowed on sir Jervaise Elwis, one of the favourite's creatures.

The troublesome counsellor being thus removed, and sequestered from all intercourse with his friends

and acquaintance, the earl of Northampton, who had been brought over to favour the designs of his niece and Rochester, solicited the king in behalf of the countess, who demanded a divorce from her husband, the pretence of which was his incapacity to fulfil the conjugal duties; and the earl, who was willing to embrace any decent opportunity of separating from so profligate a woman, readily acknowledged, upon the trial, that, with regard to the countess, he was conscious of such an infirmity, though he was not sensible of it with regard to any other woman. A jury of matrons was impanelled to inspect the countess, who reported her a virgin. In consideration of her great modesty, she obtained permission to appear before them with a veil, and it is said a young woman of her own shape and stature was substituted, and underwent the examination in her place. The confession of the husband, and the report of the matrons, were deemed sufficient reasons to declare the marriage a nullity*.

After such a trial, assisted by court-influence, and supported by the ridiculous opinion of fascination and witchcraft, the sentence of divorce was awarded between the earl of Essex and his lady; and the king not only gave his favourite leave to marry the countess, but also created him earl of Somerset, on the fourteenth of November this year, that her second husband might be of equal rank with the first. The nuptials were solemnized in the most ostentatious manner, in the beginning of the following month, and nothing was now wanting to complete their triumph but the death of Overbury, without which that implacable woman could not be satisfied; and she engaged her husband, as well as her uncle the earl of Northampton, in the atrocious design of taking him off secretly by poison. Many attempts were made for this purpose, but the strength of Overbury's constitution as often rendered them abortive, till at last nature gave way to the repeated attacks, and the unhappy gentleman died in the Tower by an envenomed clyster. He was buried in the place of his confinement with the greatest dispatch and secrecy, under pretence that he died of such a loathsome disease as rendered his corpse unfit to be seen; and although it occasioned a strong suspicion immediately in the public, the crime was not discovered till some years after. It is but doing justice to the memory of James to say, that he was imposed upon by the artifices of Rochester and the Howard family in the whole of this black affair: he indeed had been a little too forward in the matter of the divorce between the earl of Essex and the countess; but it was no wonder if, when he saw himself supported by the opinions of his nobility, his clergy, and his lawyers, he too readily gave way to a sentence which completed the happiness of a favourite, whom he so entirely loved as he did Rochester; and that he was struck with terror when he discovered that he had been unwittingly made the promoter of such a scene of barbarity.

It was now four years since the king had called a parliament, and it was a great comfort to him to have no disputes with the house of commons, ever ready to complain of grievances, and take occasion to examine the conduct of the sovereign or his mi-

* The archbishop of Canterbury was the only person of note who was dissatisfied with the sentence of divorce. Bilson, bishop of Winchester, having strenuously supported its expediency, his

son was knighted, by the interest of Rochester, and ever after distinguished in derision by the name of sir Nullity Bilson.

nifters. He was much better satisfied with governing absolutely, though this was attended with very great inconvenience: he was continually obliged to invent new methods to raise money, which, being founded on absolute authority, produced murmurs and complaints amongst the people; neither did these methods bring in sufficient sums for the king's occasions, who loved magnificence, and was always fond of giving. Hence sprung his wants, which incessantly increased, his revenues, as well ordinary as extraordinary, not being sufficient to defray his expences.

The king being thus continually reduced to straits, he had at last recourse to a project formed by the late earl of Salisbury, namely, to create knights baronets, a kind of middle nobility between barons and knights bachelors: their number was not to exceed two hundred, but the king at first made but ninety, of whom sir Nicholas Bacon, of Redgrave in Suffolk, was the first. To purchase this honour, which was to be hereditary, every baronet was obliged to pay to the king a thousand pounds; but, in order to give some colour to this new institution, every baronet was obliged by his patent to maintain thirty foot-soldiers in Ireland for three years, at eight pence per diem each soldier; afterwards it was hinted to them, that if they would compound with the king, and pay the whole sum at once, part should be abated, and the king would maintain his troops in Ireland himself, and every one accepted this offer. There were also other methods made use of to fill the king's coffers, without being obliged to have recourse to parliament; each rank of nobility had its price affixed to it; privy-seals were issued to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds; benevolences were demanded, to the amount of fifty-two thousand pounds; and some monopolies of no great value were established.

Though the earl of Somerset looked upon it as a great advantage to have dispatched Overbury, yet he found himself much more embarrassed in the management of affairs since he was no longer assisted by that faithful counsellor. As his small experience rendered every thing difficult, he grew completely odious at the court of England; and though the king's partiality continued, yet his insolence and weakness gave his enemies such advantage, that it soon appeared he must be removed. Somerset's favour, however, with the king, appeared so great, that none durst openly attack him; and, on the death of the earl of Northampton, which happened in the following year, Thomas Howard, earl of Suffolk, his brother, was made lord high-treasurer, whilst the favourite succeeded Suffolk as lord-chamberlain. Somerset had been for some time labouring to bring about a match between Charles, now prince of Wales, and a daughter of France, and this negociation had been carried on with such great secrecy, that scarcely a lord of the English court knew any thing of it before Edmonds, the English ambassador at Paris, brought the proposal over to England in his pocket, ready to be signed. This gave infinite disgust to the lords of the council, and they made so violent an

opposition to the match, that James saw he must either break with his favourite or his council: in proportion as the favourite's interest secretly or visibly declined, the necessity of calling a parliament appeared the stronger, all the money raised by loans, benevolences, and the sale of the new order of baronetage, being now spent*.

James, who heartily hated the nonconformists, readily listened to a proposal for sending them out of the kingdom, by transporting them to the wastes of America, belonging to, but not cultivated by, the English: several ships were accordingly freighted, some by the government, and some by private persons, for carrying over adventurers or planters; and great numbers at this time entered themselves for Newfoundland and Virginia. But the clergy were not fond of those colonies, and represented them to James as so many seminaries of puritanism, which would in time form not only a separate church, but a separate state; James therefore, after several ships full had gone, ordered those who were on board other ships to be stopped, and examined concerning their principles, and, upon their not giving satisfaction, they were restrained from going abroad: but James lived long enough to see the ill effects of this caution, and, when it was too late, would gladly have retrieved his error.

On the fifth of August, 1614, the new parliament met; the ministry had exerted their utmost efforts in order to procure a majority in the house of commons; but the measures of the court were so generally disagreeable to the nation, that all their endeavours proved ineffectual, and, instead of granting a supply as desired by the king, who made them several cajoling offers of grace, they resumed the subject which had been canvassed in the last parliament, and declaimed against the regal usurpation in levying new customs and impositions by the mere authority of prerogative. To prevent, if possible, the like practice for the future, they applied to the lords for a conference on this topic, in order to concert measures for securing the liberty of the subject, and circumscribing the exorbitant and unlimited power of the crown. James, informed of this circumstance, immediately dissolved the parliament (on the seventh of June), after a session of about two months, wherein not one statute was enacted; and he even carried his resentment so far as to imprison some of the members, who had been most forward in the opposition; a step by which he exposed himself still farther to the hatred of the nation.

Soon after the dissolution of the parliament, the king of Denmark came to England on a second visit to his sister and brother-in-law; but having a mind to surprize them, he came privately and with a small company, so that he appeared before the queen at Somerset-house most unexpectedly. But James being then on a progress in Bedfordshire, and hearing of his arrival, came presently back; and, after he had entertained his royal guest with all the diversions his court could afford, prince Charles, on the first of August, conducted him on board his ship, and he returned home.

* His frantic liberality went so far as to give sir Henry Rich, afterwards earl of Holland, then a young man, distinguished by no merits or service, three thousand pounds in specie, which was carrying to the privy-purse, for no other reason but because Rich, as the money was passing by, was heard to say,

such a sum would make him very happy. James was much delighted in reporting, or hearing that others reported, those acts of his generosity; but the nation thought he had no right to be lavish at their expence.

The king of Denmark had not long departed, when an ambassador arrived from the czar of Muscovy, to desire the mediation of James in a quarrel between him and the king of Sweden.

This year is remarkable for the completion of two projects which proved of great advantage to the city of London: the one was performed by sir Hugh Middleton, citizen and goldsmith of London, a native of Denbighshire, who having the authority of parliament for his warrant, with infinite cost and indefatigable labour brought water to the city from the two great springs of Chadwell and Amwell, in Hertfordshire, having cut a channel from thence to a place near Islington, where he conveyed it to a large reservoir (now called the New River Head), and from thence in wooden pipes to all parts of the city. The other project was about this time completed on the north side of London, called Moorfields, which being before environed with stinking ditches and unhealthy common-sewers, was now not only entirely cleansed from its collection of filth, but levelled and formed into gravel-walks, adorned with handsome rows of trees, that rendered it the most healthy and pleasant place in the city. The next year also brought an addition of beauty and benefit to the capital, by the paving of Smithfield, which was before a miserable dirty place, and the separating the middle part of it by rails into a fair walking place, fit for a market, or any other use. This year also the lady Arabella Stuart, a near kinswoman to the king, who had some time before, without the king's privity, secretly married William Seymour, the earl of Hertford's youngest son, for which they were both committed to the Tower, ended her life there, and was buried in the chapel royal of Westminster.

Hitherto the earl of Somerset had been in so full possession of the king's heart, that the queen herself began to be alarmed, and conceived a violent hatred against him. Whether the king's fondness for him had been the occasion of her aversion, or that she suspected him of having been concerned in the death of her son, prince Henry, she resolved, if possible, to effect his ruin: for this purpose she interested in her resentment sir Ralph Winwood, who enjoyed the title of secretary of state, though all the functions of that office were discharged by the express direction of Somerset: Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, was also drawn in to join in the scheme for ruining the favourite: he was a well-meaning prelate, a most zealous enemy to popery, and had conceived an insuperable disgust to Somerset on account of the match which that minister had proposed between the prince of Wales and a daughter of France. After many consultations upon the means of effecting the downfall of this object of their aversion, it was concluded on all hands, that none carried so fair a prospect of success as to introduce to the king a new minion, which was George Villiers, a youth of one-and-twenty, younger brother of a good family, returned at this time from his travels, and distinguished by the advantages of an handsome person, genteel air, and elegant dress; snares which they knew the weak heart of James could never resist. Their scheme was crowned with the desired success; James beheld this gaudy object at a comedy which was acted at Cambridge, in the beginning of the year 1615, where he was placed full in the royal eye, and immediately engaged the attention, and in the same

moment the affection, of the monarch. The junto perceived that James was touched; they followed their success; even the queen and the grave primate themselves condescended to recommend the young man to the king's farther notice, who, overjoyed to receive this sanction to his wishes, no longer restrained his affections, but, calling Villiers to court, knighted him, and appointed him gentleman of the bed-chamber, into which office he was sworn on the tenth of April, and had a yearly pension of a thousand pounds assigned him. Here he daily stole the hearts of the courtiers and petitioners from his rival, by his noble and generous way of promoting their suits, and James's fondness for him was carried even to a degree of folly; but still he thought it requisite to keep up some shew of complacency for Somerset, his natural pusillanimity making him fearful of pushing things to extremity with a favourite who was master of most of his private thoughts and actions.

Somerset, however, now looked upon himself as irretrievably lost in the affections of his royal master, and thought it prudent, upon pretexts that may be easily guessed, to solicit James for pardon. James consented, and the drawing the pardon was left to the care of sir Robert Cotton; who, copying after a pardon granted by Henry VIII. to Wolsey, drew it up with the following clause, "that the king, out of his mere motion and special favour, did pardon all and all manner of treasons, misprisions of treason, murders, felonies, and outrages whatsoever, by the said Robert, earl of Somerset, committed or to be hereafter committed." This pardon, after being signed by the king, was carried to the great seal, where it stuck; for the lord-chancellor Bacon, who was Somerset's enemy, refused to pass it, and informed the queen of the contents. Upon consultation, the whole party against Somerset concluded they must now make their last push; and the plot now thickened so much, that in every company dark, though confident, surmises were heard, that Overbury had been poisoned, and by those whose greatness set them above the stroke of justice.

Winwood, the secretary of state, had come to the knowledge of Overbury's murder by the apothecary's boy, who had been employed in the affair of the poisoned clyster, and had fled to Flushing, where falling sick, he discovered all he knew of the matter to some correspondent of Winwood. This latter had for some time prudently concealed his intelligence, as a discovery, which, if unseasonably made, might have overwhelmed himself; but now he made no secret of what the boy had confessed: his discoveries were confirmed by some conversation he had with the countess of Shrewsbury, a prying intriguing lady, and then a prisoner in the Tower on account of the lady Arabella Stuart's marriage. This lady had rendered herself so intimate with sir Jervaise Elwis, that she drew from him part of the secret, which she whispered so artfully about, that, before any durst name Somerset, Elwis was charged with being an accomplice in Overbury's murder. It was not long before this reached the ears of James; and the lieutenant being questioned on the fact, could not help being visibly shocked; and acknowledged that he did indeed know of some attempts made against Overbury. James, upon this, ordered one of the privy-council to take, under the lieutenant's own hand, all he knew of the mat-

ter: which being brought to court, Weston, who had given Overbury the poison in tarts and jellies, and at last in a clyster, Mrs. Turner, who was the chief counsellor to the countess of Somerset, Franklin the apothecary, who had prepared the poison, and sir Jervaise Elwis, lieutenant of the Tower, were ordered to be apprehended: and soon after, with the king's privy, a warrant was made out for arresting Somerset and his countess; and they, with the other accomplices in Overbury's murder, were, upon the fullest evidence and most impartial trial, convicted of that dreadful act. Sir Jervaise Elwis, Weston, Turner, and the rest, suffered the punishment due to their crime; but the king granted a pardon to the principals, Somerset and his countess; and, to mitigate the severity of their fall, after some years imprisonment, he restored them to their liberty, and indulged them with a pension, upon which they retired into the country, and languished out old age in infamy and obscurity; for their guilty loves were converted into most deadly hatred, and they lived several years in the same house, without any intercourse or correspondence with each other.

Having thus finished this disagreeable subject, which has carried the narrative twelve months too forward, I now resume the thread of the history.

The marriage of the young king of France, Lewis XIII. with the princess Anne of Austria being solemnized in the year 1615, James sent ambassadors to France and Spain, to congratulate the two kings. The lord Hay, a Scotch nobleman, was made choice of for the French embassy, and the lord Rofs for the Spanish: they had both orders to sound the two courts with regard to the prince of Wales's marriage, either with the princess eldest sister of Lewis XIII. or with the infanta Maria, daughter of Philip III. The lord Hay soon discovered that his negotiation would be fruitless, because the princess of France was already promised to the prince of Piedmont, son to the duke of Savoy.

During these transactions, and before the lord Rofs arrived in Spain, sir John Digby, his majesty's ambassador to Philip III. informed the king that the duke of Lerma had made an overture of marriage between the infanta Maria and the prince of Wales, desiring private instructions on this head; accordingly he sent orders to sir John Digby to begin the negotiations with Spain. At the same time count Gondemar, the Spanish ambassador in England, received a commission to treat with the king concerning the marriage.

King James had no sooner taken this resolution than his extreme desire of accomplishing it grew too strong to be concealed; hence he gave occasion to the Spaniard, who had then no design to treat seriously of this affair, to feign that he passionately wished to conclude it to his satisfaction, in order to gain considerable advantages for the house of Austria and the catholic religion.

Whilst the king was entirely taken up with this marriage, his ministers were devising new methods to raise money; but all means seemed to be exhausted, and a parliament could not safely be called, the wound of the imprisoned members being still too fresh to hope it was yet healed. Mean while the above treaty of the prince of Wales's marriage with the infanta procured an unexpected supply: queen Elizabeth had settled with the states of the United Provinces the arrears they owed her, which amount-

ed to eight millions of florins, which sum became due to James as her successor: the states would long since have paid this debt, had they not found their account in remaining debtors to England, as they by this means engaged the kingdom to support them. But having made a truce with the king of Spain, they no longer wanted the protection of the English, and being encouraged by the present necessitous condition of James's finances, they employed Carou, their minister at London, to offer a little more than a third of the sum that was owing to England, and which amounted in the whole to eight hundred and eighteen thousand four hundred and eight pounds, on condition that the king would restore the three important fortresses of Flushing, the Brille, and Rammekins, which had been delivered by the states to Elizabeth, as pledges for the money she had advanced them; at the same time Carou intimated, that the states would do their utmost in time to discharge the whole debt: this intimation had the desired effect; the king having no money, and there being a prospect of drawing a much larger sum from the states, readily determined him to grant their request, and the cautionary towns were accordingly delivered on the fourteenth of June. From this period we may date the full liberty of the Dutch commonwealth.

This money in a short time was vanished without the least possibility of guessing what was become of it: none of the king's debts were paid, the navy was suffered to decay for want of money to repair it, and nothing had been sent to the army in Ireland, which had not received a penny for several years, and whose wants were made use of as a pretence to treat with the states.

At length it was discovered that the lord-treasurer Suffolk had converted great part of the money received from the states to his own use. As he was father-in-law to the earl of Somerset, and consequently no friend to the favourite, this opportunity was readily embraced; the lord-treasurer was therefore accused in the Star-chamber of sundry misdemeanors in the execution of his office, and particularly with having secreted part of the money recovered from the states: sir Edward Coke, who was again reconciled to the king, was his accuser; he aggravated his misdemeanors, his extortions, his mismanagement of the king's treasure, his boldness in applying it to his own use, the corruptions of his countess, who took bribes with both hands, and the artifices of his deputy Bingley, to ensnare such as had business with his master; after that, he urged many precedents of treasurers who had been punished for slighter crimes than those of the earl of Suffolk, and shewed the dangerous consequences resulting from the ill administration of the treasurer-ship when managed by corrupt persons. Had the lord-treasurer thrown himself upon the king's mercy, he would have been easily acquitted; but he endeavoured to justify himself, and not succeeding to the satisfaction of his judges, he was fined thirty thousand pounds, and condemned to imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and Bingley was fined two thousand pounds.

After the fall of Somerset the royal favour was wholly engrossed by the youthful Villiers, who began the first exertion of his influence by filling all the places about court with his own creatures, so that the dependants of the old minister were dismissed of course. It was in the beginning of Villiers's ministry

nistry that lord chief-justice Coke was divested of his office on pretence of some trivial misdemeanors, though the real cause of his disgrace was his opposing the king in bestowing a vacant bishopric in commendam. His place was filled by Montagu; and the lord-chancellor Ellesmere being seized with a dangerous illness, resigned the seals into the hands of his majesty, who kept them till the death of Ellesmere, and then they were given to Bacon, who was afterwards promoted to the dignity of chancellor. He was an able lawyer, an excellent philosopher, but abject, irresolute, and of an unguarded disposition, which was practised upon to the prejudice of his character. In the course of this year the king's only surviving son, Charles, was created prince of Wales. On the twenty-seventh of August Villiers was created baron of Whaddon and viscount Villiers; and on the first of January following earl of Buckingham; he was afterwards raised to the title of marquis and duke of Buckingham, installed knight of the Garter, appointed master of the horse, chief-justice in eyre, warden of the Cinque Ports, steward of Westminster, constable of Windsor, and lord high-admiral of England: his mother was created countess of Buckingham, his brother viscount Purbeck, and a numerous train of his needy relations were brought into places of trust and profit.

Though king James, upon the death of queen Elizabeth and his accession to the crown of England, came to reside here, yet he forgot not that Scotland was his native country; and therefore, having now spent some years among his English subjects, to acquaint himself with the state of their constitution, in March this year, 1616, he made a journey into Scotland; for though he had left very able ministers to sit at the helm there in his absence, yet, having formed a scheme of reducing the Scottish clergy to a conformity with the English church, he thought his presence absolutely necessary for that purpose. He had sent the following articles to be inserted in their canons: "I. That they should receive the communion kneeling. II. That the sacrament should be administered in private to sick persons. III. That they should keep the festivals of Christmas, Easter, Ascension, and Whitsuntide. And, IV. That children, at a certain age, should be confirmed by the bishop." He met with many difficulties, during a stay of six months in that country, to get the assembly of the Scottish kirk to comply with his views; but he at length prevailed upon them to receive his four articles, though this imposition sowed the seeds of those troubles which afterwards brought ruin upon his son and successor. Having carried his point, and made some regulation in the civil government of the kingdom, he returned to London on the fifteenth of September,

During his journey from Scotland to London, he was presented with a petition by a great number of peasants, tradesmen, and servants, requesting that they might, as usual, be allowed to take their diversions on Sundays, after divine service. James being persuaded those were puritans who forbade such diversions, and that they were Jewishly inclined, because they affected to call Sunday the Sabbath, resolved to re-establish the vulgar in the privilege which they had lost: he therefore published a performance, intitled the Book of Sports, recommending all diverting exercises after sermon; and

ordered it to be read publicly in all churches; and such ministers as refused to obey this injunction were severely punished by the high-commission court. Whatever his motives might have been for enforcing this practice, it was not a bad preservative against the desperate effects of gloomy fanaticism, which had already taken full possession of one kingdom, and made considerable progress in the other.

The year 1617 was rendered remarkable for the last expedition of sir Walter Raleigh, which produced great murmurs against the government, and ended in the death of that gallant seaman. We shall give an account of this remarkable transaction as we find it in Wilson, a cotemporary writer. Sir Walter Raleigh had been a prisoner twelve years, ever since his condemnation, during which time he had employed himself in completing his History of the World: at last he obtained his liberty, though without the king's pardon. As his estate was all forfeited, and given to the earl of Somerset, he was very much embarrassed when he came out of prison; the court, where he was entirely unknown, was like a strange country to him; for this reason he formed the project of seeking his fortune in distant climates. He had formerly traversed the seas of America, and knew all the coasts, especially that of Guiana; nay, it is said he set up marks to direct him again to a certain place, where was a gold mine, and that Keymis, his old attendant, brought him from thence a piece of ore, which made him think the mine very rich: however, as he knew not where to lay his head, he found means to inform the king that he knew of a very rich mine in America, from whence he hoped to bring immense quantities of gold, if his majesty would be pleased to grant him a private commission. The mine lying in a country belonging to the Spaniards, it could not be seized without breaking the peace with Spain; nevertheless, the king, tempted no doubt by the golden hopes inspired by Raleigh, granted him a commission, directed to "our beloved and faithful Walter Raleigh, knight," &c. It was said afterwards, the king granted the commission with this limitation, that he should not injure the subjects of Spain: but how was it possible to bring away gold from a mine belonging to the Spaniards without doing them damage?

However, Raleigh, by virtue of his commission, engaged several persons in the project. He was supplied with money to fit out twelve sail, and departed in August, 1617, in search of the mine. At his arrival on the coast of Guiana he found not the marks he had left there, neither could he know again the place he thought he had so well observed. He detached however his son and captain Keymis, with five ships, to sail up the river Oronoque as high as possible, in order to discover the mountain in which the supposed mine lay. The mountain not appearing, the English landed, and, putting the Spaniards to flight who opposed their descent, pursued them to the town of St. Thomas, which they took and plundered: sir Walter Raleigh's son was killed in the assault. Then, leaving a garrison in the place, they advanced farther into the country, without being able to find the so much desired mine. At last, weary with searching, they returned to sir Walter, who, finding himself disappointed in his hopes, threatened Keymis with the king's indignation, and some days after Keymis was found dead in his cabin. The sailors, vexed at this ill success

success loudly complained of their being drawn in to a chimerical project, and compelled sir Walter to sail back for England: when they arrived at Kinsale, in Ireland, he would have persuaded them to go with him to France; but, instead of listening to his proposal, they carried him, against his will, to Plymouth, where he was arrested by the king's orders, and conveyed to the Tower of London.

During his absence, don Diego de Sarmiento, count de Gondemar, the Spanish ambassador in England, making great complaints about sir Walter's commission, which was become public; the king found no better way to appease him than by disowning it, or at least by assuring him that Raleigh had express orders not to act against the Spaniards. Raleigh returning without gold, his cause was so much the worse; besides, the ambassador openly insisted upon his being punished, and told the king there was no other way to continue the treaty of the prince of Wales's marriage with the infanta; wherefore the king resolved at length to sacrifice Raleigh to the Spaniards: but as he could not be tried upon his late expedition, for which he had a commission in form, it was determined he should lose his head by virtue of the sentence passed upon him fourteen years before. In vain did he plead his commission, wherein the king styled him "faithful servant," and gave him power of life and death over those who were under his command, was equivalent to pardon: the judges told him, "that treason could not be pardoned but by express words;" so that, without being called to an account about his late expedition, it was ordered that the former sentence should be executed. He was not, however, executed till the twenty-ninth of October in the following year, 1618.

The English nobility and the best English patriots beheld the fate of Raleigh with silent indignation. Most certain it is, he fell a sacrifice to the mortal hatred conceived by the Spaniards against him in queen Elizabeth's time, and to the king's unhappy desire to accomplish the prince his son's marriage with the infanta of Spain. Weldon scruples not to declare, "that the Spanish faction and Spanish gold betrayed his life, as they had done the kingdom before; and it was one of Gondemar's greatest master-pieces to purchase Raleigh's head; yet (adds this writer) had not the earl of Bristol, who was possessed of Sherborn castle, formerly sir Walter's, co-operated, the king would never have consented*." All the powers of government were by this time concentrated in Buckingham, who, rather to keep James easy than to answer any ends of his own, consented to Raleigh's death.

All this while the lord Digby was negotiating the Spanish match; and Gondemar informing his court of the resolution which had been taken in England for cutting off Raleigh's head, the negotiation was carried on with greater application than ever: at last, after many formalities and scruples had been discussed by the Spanish council, certain articles were presented to Digby, to be transmitted to James for his approbation. They were as follow†:

"That the pope's dispensation be first obtained, by the mere act of the king of Spain.

"That the children of this marriage be not constrained in matters of religion, nor their titles prejudiced in case they be catholics.

"That the infanta's family, being strangers, may be catholics, and shall have a decent place appointed for all divine service according to the use of the church of Rome; and the ecclesiastics and religious persons may wear their proper habits.

"That the marriage shall be celebrated in Spain by a procurator, according to the instructions of the council of Trent; and, after the infanta's arrival in England, such a solemnization shall be used as may make the marriage valid according to the laws of this kingdom.

"That she shall have a competent number of chaplains, and a confessor, being strangers, one of whom shall have power to govern the family in religious matters."

Though these articles have been exclaimed against by some writers, yet, except that part which gives leave to the religious and ecclesiastics to wear their habits, they differ but little from the articles afterwards agreed upon by the same prince and the princess of France, which were approved of by parliament. The remarks of the king upon those articles were as follow:

"Seeing this marriage is to be with a lady of a different religion from us, it becomes us to be tender, as on the one part to give them all the satisfaction convenient, so on the other to admit nothing that may blemish our conscience, or detract from the religion here established."

Hitherto the Spaniard, in prolonging the negotiation, had in view only the succession of Cleves, but this year the affairs of Germany and Bohemia began to give occasion to fear a religious war would break out in those countries; hence the Spaniards had fresh reasons for amusing king James, in order to prevent his determining in favour of the protestants, and sending them a powerful aid. In order to understand the sequel, it will be necessary to know the situation of affairs in Germany and Bohemia.

Notions of liberty never prevailed more strongly in Europe than at this time; even Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria, were as jealous of their rights as the English themselves. This spirit had reigned in Germany ever since the time of Charles V. The example of the United Provinces was continually present with those people, who pretended to the same independence, and even thought themselves more in a condition to command it than even the Hollanders. The emperor Matthias having this year, 1618, gotten his cousin Ferdinand of Austria elected nominal king of Hungary and Bohemia, and made the other archdukes yield him Austria, the people of Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria, joined in complaining that sufficient regard had not been shewn to their privileges as states: religion made a part of the grievances of the Bohemians, who soon became furious. The protestants wanted to rebuild the churches which had been thrown down by the catholics; the council of state issued a declaration against the protestants, upon which these broke into the town-hall, and threw three of the emperor's officers out of the windows; Austria sided with the Bohemians. Matthias dying in the midst of these troubles, Ferdinand of Austria was chosen emperor in his stead: this new dignity, however, made no impression upon the protestants of Bohemia, who were at that time very considerable;

* P. 27, 28.

† Rushworth, vol. i. p. 4.

they looked upon themselves as entitled to depose the king whom they had not elected, and actually made a tender of their crown to Frederick the elector Palatine, son-in-law to the king of England, who accepted of it, and was thereupon actually elected. James complained of this proceeding in the elector as disloyal, imprudent, and dishonourable: he could not digest the maxims of elective governments, and thought that Ferdinand, by a kind of prescriptive right, had acquired a lawful title to Bohemia; he upbraided his son-in-law for putting him upon the dilemma of either deserting him, or breaking his flattering negotiation with Spain; and he complained of his double-dealing, in having sent to him for his advice concerning his accepting the crown of Bohemia, and yet accepting it before his messenger could arrive in England. Notwithstanding these reproaches, the popularity of Frederick's cause was so great in England, that James found himself under a kind of necessity of doing somewhat in his favour; nevertheless he for the present denied his son-in-law the title of king of Bohemia, and forbade him to be prayed for in the churches under that appellation.

Those disturbances abroad were attended with equal distractions in England: Buckingham continued still the king's favourite and sole minister, and the old earl of Nottingham was in a manner obliged to resign to him the office of lord high-admiral. Buckingham's insolence was as uncontrouled as his power, and an abject spirit was to him the best recommendation: hence arose that motley set of under-ministers which disgraced the remaining part of this reign. Of the two secretaries of state, Naunton was a puritan, and Calvert a papist, but in all other matters had no other contest than who should be most devoted to the will of the minister. Sir Richard Weston was about the same time introduced to court, recommended by his fine personage and portly behaviour, which he taught to stoop to Buckingham; but in his heart he was a papist, and destitute of any great natural abilities. Sir Edward Conway, a rough ignorant soldier, buffooned himself into the good graces of James and his favourite. The lord Doncaster still kept his footing by his easy manners, his magnificent way of living, and his pliant counsels. But the most rising man at this time about court was Dr. John Williams, afterwards lord-keeper of the great-seal and archbishop of York: this young man was of good parentage; with a grave demeanor he had a sprightly conversation, great learning, and sound knowledge; but it was for none of these qualities that Buckingham threw his eyes upon him: his fortune, which lay in Wales, had been but low, and he owed his education to the munificence of the lord Lumley, one of the greatest ornaments and patrons of learning in his age; this dependency had given him pliable habits, and rendered him a fit tool for Buckingham. Such was the situation of James's court when his queen died, on the first of March, 1619, in the forty-sixth year of her age. The character of this queen is variously drawn; some represent her as a vicious lewd woman, but this, upon a strict inquiry, appears to be only calumny: Wilson more justly affirms that she was possessed of many virtues, and no small share of understanding. About the beginning of this year the earl of Northumberland, who had been confined in the Tower ever since the Gunpowder-

plot, obtained his liberty by the intercession of the lord Hay, who had married one of his daughters, and had been lately created viscount Hay. James was so affected with the death of his queen, that he was seized with a dangerous illness, which brought him almost to the brink of the grave. Happy would it have been for his reputation if he had indeed died at this time; for the rest of his reign, which lasted six years longer, was not much to his honour.

The new emperor, Ferdinand II. who was endowed with greater abilities than is commonly possessed by the Austrian princes, prepared himself with great diligence for the recovery of his authority. Besides the assistance of his subjects who adhered to the catholic religion, he attached to his side a powerful combination of the neighbouring potentates; all the catholic princes of the empire had declared in his favour; even Saxony, the most powerful of the protestants, and the kingdom of Poland, had espoused his quarrel; and, above all, the Spanish monarch, considering his own interest as inseparably connected with that of the younger branch of his family, sent him powerful succours from Italy and from the Low Countries, and also furnished large sums of money for the support of Ferdinand and of the catholic religion: Gondemar was also ordered to maintain the delusion of the marriage with James, and that artful minister, by means of his insinuating manners and a large sum of money judiciously distributed, soon gained the ascendancy over the king, the favourite, and the ministers; so that, in effect, he governed the whole kingdom. James, who above all things dreaded the breaking off a match his affections were so warmly fixed upon, and, moreover, greatly affecting the title of the Pacific King, instead of taking any vigorous measures to support his son-in-law, fell again to his ruinous negotiations, and sent the lord Doncaster to mediate, in his name, a pacification in the empire; but Ferdinand would scarce favour him with an audience, and the embassy produced no effect.

It was now the year 1620, and affairs in Germany hastened toward a crisis. Ferdinand having collected a mighty force under the command of the duke of Bavaria and the count de Bucquoy, marched against Frederick in Bohemia. In the Low Countries Spinola assembled a veteran army of thirty thousand men: when Edmonds, the king's resident at Brussels, demanded of the archduke Albert the meaning of those preparations, he was told, that the orders for this armament had been sent to Spinola from Madrid, and that he alone knew the purpose for which it was intended: in the mean while the emperor put the Palatine to the ban of the empire, and the execution of it was committed to the elector of Saxony, who entered Lusatia, which he subdued. The war now raged with great fury in the bowels of Germany; and now James, unable longer to resist the solicitations of his subjects, who offered to open their purses in support of the elector Palatine's right to the crown of Bohemia, gave leave to sir Edward Cecil to command a regiment for the preservation of the Palatinate; but sir Horace Vere coming over to England, and offering his service, it was accepted, and Cecil was laid aside. The regiment, which consisted of two thousand two hundred men, was one of the finest that Europe had ever seen: it was composed mostly of volunteers, with the brave
earls

earls of Oxford and Essex at their head; the company of the latter consisted of three hundred gentlemen, fifty of whom he paid out of his own pocket: and a kind of promise was extorted from James, that he would suffer two other regiments to be sent after them. These brave volunteers were transported to Holland, passed the Rhine below the Wesel, were escorted to Frankfort by a body of troops under prince Frederick Henry of Nassau, and, on the first of October, joined the army of the Palatine and his allies, conducted by the margrave of Anspach. These gallant men, however, arrived only in time to be the melancholy witnesses of the overthrow of that cause they espoused; for the duke of Bavaria joining the count de Bucquoy, the Imperial general, in Bohemia, they advanced towards Prague, in the neighbourhood of which Frederick was posted. On the eighteenth day of November a battle was fought, and the Palatine, being totally defeated, fled, with his wife and family, to Holland; the inhabitants of Prague opened their gates to the Imperialists, and the unfortunate Frederick saw himself abandoned by all his friends and allies, except count Mansfeldt, who still preserved his fidelity. Loud were now the complaints of the people against the king's timid and pusillanimous conduct, by which he had not only deprived the Palatine of all that aid and assistance which the English were both willing and able to afford him, but had also deterred other princes from espousing his quarrel. It cannot be supposed that James did not really wish to preserve the Palatinate to his son-in-law; but his weakness was cajoled in such a manner by Gonde-mar, that he believed no expedient could be so effectual for that purpose as the match of his son with the infanta of Spain; and that this scheme would miscarry, should he attempt to take any vigorous steps in the elector's favour; besides, his aversion to war was insuperable. He never dreamed that his peaceable disposition, the more highly it was praised, exposed him only to the greater contempt and derision; he considered not that the Spanish match was itself attended with such difficulties, that all his art of negotiation could hardly be able to bring it to effect, much less that this match could be safely depended upon as the means of procuring the mighty advantages he expected from it.

James resolved, however, to seem bent on vigorous measures, in hopes that he should receive ample subsidies from the parliament, which met on the twenty-first of January, in the year 1621. The king, as usual, made a long speech to both houses, explaining the duty of parliaments, expatiating on his own merit and necessities, and demanding supplies for the relief of the Palatinate, in defence of which he declared he would hazard his crown, and even the life of his own son, should he miscarry in his endeavours to procure a reasonable pacification. The house of commons, taking into consideration the urgency of the occasion, and being extremely incensed against the house of Austria, immediately granted two subsidies, with which the king was satisfied for the present. This affair being discussed, the commons received petitions against the increase of popish recusants, monopolies, and projectors. The king had farmed to certain individuals the power of licensing taverns and public houses, and granted to sir Giles Mompeyson and

Francis Michel, an exclusive patent for the sale of gold and silver lace; by virtue of this privilege they had been guilty of such scandalous fraud and oppression, that, upon complaint to the upper house, they were committed to prison, though Mompeyson, who was Buckingham's creature, found means to escape: but he was degraded from the dignity of knight, and his estate confiscated; the other was sentenced to do public penance in the street, sitting on horseback with his face to the tail, to pay a fine of one thousand pounds, and to be imprisoned for life.

James perceiving with what eagerness the two houses proceeded against these delinquents, began to be afraid for his favourite Buckingham, who had been the author of these monopolies; he therefore went to the house of peers, and soothed the parliament with the most affectionate expressions, assuring them, upon the faith of a Christian king, that if he had known of these grievances, he would have punished the authors of his own accord; and cautioning them against giving ear to those who should accuse the innocent instead of the guilty. They understood his meaning, and forebore to trace the enormity to its fountain. James afterwards understanding that the commons had impeached chancellor Bacon, baron Verulam and viscount St. Alban's, he again harangued both houses, representing the necessity of punishing corrupt judges, and soliciting farther subsidies, as the former supplies granted by the commons were already expended for the subsistence of the Palatine and his family, who had taken refuge in Holland. He observed, that great sums would be required to defray the expence of extraordinary ambassadors to all the courts of Europe, as well as for an army to march into the Palatinate, in case his negotiations should prove ineffectual; and lastly, he protested before God, that he would not dissolve the parliament, until the affairs which were then under consideration should be fully determined.

The celebrated Bacon, created lord Verulam and viscount St. Alban's, was a man equally admired for the greatness of his genius, and beloved for his courteous and affable demeanour. His want of œconomy, and his indulgence to servants, had involved him in debt; and, in order to supply his necessities, he had been tempted to take bribes, and that in a very open manner, from suitors in Chancery.

It is affirmed, that, notwithstanding this enormous abuse, he had still, in the seat of justice, maintained the integrity of a judge, and had given such just and equitable decrees, that none of them afterwards were ever questioned or reversed. Being, however, committed to the Tower, the chancellor, conscious of guilt, implored the mercy of his judges, and endeavoured, by a general confession, to avoid the shame of a stricter enquiry. But the lords were inexorable, and insisted on a full acknowledgment of all his corruptions. He owned twenty eight articles; and was so very particular that he mentioned a dozen of gold buttons, which his servant had taken as a gift from a suitor. He was condemned to pay a fine of forty thousand pounds, to be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure, to be for ever incapable of any office, place, or employment; and never again to sit in parliament, or come within the verge of the court. This dreadful sentence he survived five years; and being in a little time restored to liberty,

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his genius, yet unbroken by calamities, supported itself amidst involved circumstances and a depressed spirit, and shone out in literary productions, which, notwithstanding all his failings, have made him be justly considered as the glory and ornament of his age and nation.

The commons still proceeded in their laudable career, and carried their scrutiny into many grievances which, though of no great consequence, could not be discussed without sensibly affecting the king and his ministers. The king's prerogative seemed each moment to be attacked; his authority, in every article, disputed; and James, who was willing to rectify the abuses of his power, would by no means suffer his power itself to be either questioned or denied. After the house, therefore, had sat near six months, without bringing any business of importance to a final conclusion, the king determined, under pretence of the advanced season, to interrupt their proceedings, and sent a message to inform them, that, in a few days, he would adjourn them till next winter. The commons, eager to complete the salutary work of redressing all the public grievances, applied to the lords, and intreated them to join in a petition for delaying the adjournment; but the upper house refused their concurrence. While these matters were in agitation, the king's commission for an adjournment came down to the house, and the speaker, in obedience to it, pronounced the house to be adjourned to the fourteenth of November.

In this parliament it was that the parties of court and country, or, as they are usually called, Tories and Whigs, were first regularly formed. All those who favoured the hierarchy of the church, and the prerogative of the crown, adhered to the former; the puritans, to a man, engaged in the latter; and as the court, in order to discourage all parliamentary opposition, affixed the name of Puritans to its antagonists, the religious puritanists readily adopted this distinction, which was so advantageous to them, and which confounded their cause with the patriots, or country party.

Soon after the breaking up of the parliament, the king published a proclamation, declaring "that as several grand affairs, debated in parliament, could not in so short a time be brought to perfection, the commons thought it convenient to continue the sessions in course of adjournment: that as for the grievances, he would reform them of himself, and had sooner done it, had he been informed of them; adding, that by his royal authority he had annulled and revoked the patent for gold and silver thread, and some others mentioned in the proclamation." A second proclamation was also published at the same time, prohibiting persons from speaking of state affairs.

Before we proceed any farther in our narrative of affairs of England, it will not be foreign to our purpose to relate briefly what passed in Bohemia and the Palatinate after the battle of Prague.

Count Tilly, the emperor's general, was making great progress in reducing the kingdom of Bohemia.

Prague had surrendered to him at discretion, and the emperor proceeded in the way of justice, with vast severity against the friends or abettors of the elector Palatine. In like manner count Bucquoy, the Imperial general, subdued all Moravia, and marched into Hungary against the party who had chosen Bethlem Gabor, prince of Transylvania,

for their king. The unfortunate king of Bohemia had retired into Breslau, in Silesia; but Bohemia, Moravia, and Lusatia, being now in the enemies hands, he retired to the marquisate of Brandenburg: the brave count Mansfeldt, however, still made a shift to keep his army together, and this summer James made a great merit with his people for having sent his son-in-law six thousand pounds. The Dutch about this time sent the king of Bohemia one hundred and fifty thousand florins, and he ordered Mansfeldt to abandon Bohemia, and march into the Upper Palatinate, into which Tilly had fallen with an army of twenty-five thousand men. All that Mansfeldt could do, was to stop the progress of Tilly, who made a treaty with him, by which Mansfeldt was to withdraw his army from the Palatinate, and to receive two hundred thousand florins: but this treaty was only made to amuse Tilly, and the war still went on, though Mansfeldt was obliged to march into the Lower Palatinate, where the progress of the Imperialists was opposed with great vigour and good conduct by Vere, Burroughs, and other officers, who still headed the small body of English in that country. But the truce between Spain and the States General being now almost expired, Spinola was obliged to lead back his army to the Netherlands; and the archduke, to give the emperor time to replace them in the Lower Palatinate, had agreed to the truce mentioned by James in his speech to the parliament. Before the expiration of this truce, which was but for five weeks, the Spanish general, don Gonsoles de Cordova, whom Spinola left to command in the Lower Palatinate, was at the head of ten thousand men: this obliged Vere to retire, first towards Worms, and next to Frankendale, while Gonsoles took Stein, Ladenburgh, and Keyfers-lautern; and in October he besieged Vere in Frankendale: Mansfeldt, however, marched time enough into the Lower Palatinate to prevent the loss of that important fortress for that time. But Tilly, as we have already mentioned, falling into the Lower Palatinate, obliged Mansfeldt to withdraw to Alsatia. Thus, at the end of the campaign, the king of Bohemia found himself stripped of all his towns in the Lower Palatinate, except Frankendale, Mannheim, and Heidelberg, which were held by three English officers, Vere, Herbert, and Burroughs. Such was the unhappy state of the king of Bohemia's affairs at this juncture; while the emperor, the archduke, and the king of Spain, availing themselves of James's weakness, entered into an infamous confederacy for abusing him, by shewing dispositions for restoring the Palatinate; but in reality to keep James from declaring himself for the States, in case they should renew the war with Spain. It would tire the reader, should I inform him of every instance of mean juggling on one part, and gross credulity on the other; it is sufficient to say, that James, finding himself bewildered in the mazes of negotiation, was at last obliged to give way to the meeting of his parliament.

Notwithstanding that the king had, during the recess of the parliament, revoked several of his oppressive patents, and remedied many other articles of grievance which had been mentioned by the commons, yet, when that house reassumed its session, on the twentieth of November, they shewed that they were far from entertaining any favourable idea of the dispositions of their sovereign; and one

of their first acts was to draw up a remonstrance, which they proposed to present to his majesty, wherein they represented, "that the power of the house of Austria threatened the liberties of Europe; that the progress of the catholic religion in England begat the most alarming apprehensions, lest it should once more gain an ascendant in the kingdom; that the king's lenity towards the professors of that religion had increased their arrogance and presumption; that the uncontroled conquests made by the Austrian family, mightily raised the expectations of the English papists; and especially that the prospect of the Spanish match inspired them with the most sanguine hopes of procuring, if not the final establishment, at least the entire toleration, of their religion." Then they proceed humbly to offer to his majesty remedies against these growing evils, which are these: "that he would immediately undertake the defence of the Palatine, and support him by force of arms; that he would declare war against Spain, whose arms and riches were the chief bulwark of the catholic interest in Europe; that he would engage in no negotiation for the marriage of his son but with a protestant princess; that the children of popish recusants should be taken from their parents, and committed to the care of protestant teachers and school-masters; and that the fines and confiscations to which the catholics were by law subject, should be exacted with the utmost rigour."

James was absent from London when this spirited petition or remonstrance was offered to him; and being highly irritated thereat, and vexed with the ill state of his affairs in which he had involved himself, in a fit of despair he resolved to menace his parliament and people.

He had imprisoned sir Edwin Sandys for being too free about affairs of state without doors; when the above petition was offered to him, he not only rejected it, but sent the following letter to the speaker of the house of commons.

"To our trusty and well-beloved sir Thomas Richardson, knight, speaker of the house of commons.

"Mr. Speaker,

"We have heard, by divers reports, to our great grief, that our distance from the house of parliament, caused by our indisposition, hath emboldened and fired the popular spirits of some of the house of commons to argue and debate publicly of matters far above their reach and capacity, tending to our high dishonour and breach of prerogative royal. These are therefore to command you to make known, in our name, to the house, that none therein shall presume henceforth to meddle with any thing concerning our government or deep matters of state; and namely, not to deal with our dearest son's match with the daughter of Spain; nor to touch the honour of that king, nor any other of our friends and confederates; and also not to meddle with any man's particulars, which have their due motion in our ordinary courts of justice. And whereas we hear they have sent a message to sir Edwin Sandys, to know the reasons of his late restraint, you shall, in our name, resolve them, that it was not for any misdemeanors in parliament; but, to put them out of doubt of any question of that nature that may arise among them hereafter, you shall resolve them, in our name, that we think

ourselves free and able to punish any man's misdemeanors in parliament, as well during their sitting as after; which we mean not to spare hereafter, upon any occasion of any man's insolent behaviour there, that shall be ministered to us; and if they have already touched any of those points which we have forbidden, in any petition of theirs which is to be sent unto us, it is our pleasure that you shall tell them, except they reform it before it comes into our hands, we will not deign the hearing nor answering it.

"Dated at Newmarket, December 3, 1621."

This letter, however, was far from producing the effects intended by it; the commons knew their own strength too well to regard James's menaces. Instead of retracting what they had done, they entered with greater freedom than ever upon the national grievances, and the dangerous state of the reformed religion at home and abroad. It would swell this work too much, should I discuss the particulars of all the debates upon these important points; the result of the whole was, that the house resolved again to present their former petition, or rather remonstrance, and to back it with another.

This new paper was conceived in very respectful words, but it was no less bold than respectful: after having reminded him of the cheerfulness with which they undertook to assist him in the defence of the Palatinate, they observed, "that their zeal for the protestant religion and the interest of his majesty's family, had induced them to represent the dangers with which both were threatened, and to point out remedies for those evils: that, by his letter to the speaker, he seemed bent upon depriving them of the parliamentary liberty to speak freely in the house, as well as of the jurisdiction which the house exercised over its own members; they therefore begged he would not violate a privilege which was their undoubted right, and which they inherited from their ancestors; a right which he himself had confirmed in his speeches to parliament, and without which it would be impossible to discuss and determine the affairs which might fall under their cognizance."

So resolute and determined a spirit shewn by the commons, roused every spark of kingly pride in the composition of James. His answer was short, peremptory, and suitable to the sentiments which he then breathed: after explaining his intentions in regard to the prerogative very clearly, without using ambiguous expressions, as he had hitherto done, he concluded his reply in regard to the rights and privileges of parliament as follows:

"And although we cannot allow the style calling it your undoubted right and inheritance, but could rather have wished you had said, that your privileges were derived from the grace and permission of our ancestors and us (for most of them grew from precedents, which rather shew toleration than inheritance); yet we are pleased to give our royal assurance, that, as long as you continue yourselves within the limits of your duty, we will be as careful to maintain and preserve your lawful liberties and privileges as any of our ancestors were, nay, as to preserve our own royal prerogative; so as your house shall only have need to beware to trench upon the prerogative of the crown, which would enforce us, or any just king, to retrench

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them of their privileges, that would pare his prerogative and the flowers of his crown. But of this we hope there will never be cause given."

This answer, which was dated at Newmarket, December 11, 1621, breathes all the spirit of despotism; and now the prerogatives of the crown and the privileges of the subject seemed to be drawn up against each other in formal array. The parliament resolved to proceed in their career, and to grant no supply till they received satisfaction from James for the breach of their privileges, and they drew up a protestation, in which they insisted on their former claims for freedom of speech, and an unbounded authority to interpose with their advice and counsel. And they affirmed, "that the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England."

James no sooner understood what had been done, than he hastened to town, and sending for the journals of the house of commons, tore out with his own hand the protestation, which he declared null and void, on account of the manner in which it had been framed, and the matter it contained. In a few days after this effort of his prerogative, he dissolved the parliament by proclamation, and then wreaked his vengeance upon those members of the house of commons who had taken freedoms with his power and administration: Cook, Philips, Selden, Pym, and Mallory, were committed to prison; Diggs, Crew, Rich, and sir James Perrot, were exiled to Ireland, on pretence of executing some commission in that country, and a pretext was found for confining the earls of Oxford and Southampton in the Tower.

James, still pestered with the itch of negotiating, continued his fruitless attempts with regard to the recovery of the Palatinate. In the beginning of the year 1622, he dispatched Digby as his ambassador to the emperor, desiring a cessation of hostilities. That minister was referred to the duke of Bavaria, who commanded the Austrian armies, and who told the English envoy very frankly, that there needed no treaty for that purpose, since hostilities were already ceased by his having got firm possession of the Palatinate, which he intended to keep till a final accommodation should be made between the contending parties. Notwithstanding this gross insult, and that every circumstance concurred to convince James that the emperor industriously eluded all his application, our weak monarch had the meanness to attend Ferdinand through all his shifts and evasions, and renew the conferences at Brussels.

In the mean time the king of Bohemia, finding all his father-in-law's pacific endeavours prove ineffectual, laid hold of some favourable circumstances, arising from the expiration of the truce between the Spaniards and the States General, and the jealousies in Germany against the house of Austria, to make a final effort for recovering his dominions. Three armies were raised under three commanders, Christian, duke of Brunswick, the prince of Baden, and count Mansfeldt; but the same ill success attended the unfortunate Frederick: the two former generals were defeated, one after the other, by count Tilly and the Imperialists; Mans-

feldt, though generally inferior in numbers, still continued the war, but with no equal supplies of money either from the Palatine or the king of England. These misfortunes, joined to the persuasions of James, who was for the king of Bohemia's laying down his arms, quite disheartened that prince, and he retired, at first, to Sedan, where he remained an unwelcome guest with his uncle the duke of Brunswick: count Mansfeldt was dismissed from the Palatine's service; and that famous general retired, with his army, into the Low Countries, where he was received into the pay of the United Provinces. It has been justly observed, that vigorous acting bids fairest to obtain good terms; and though the king of Bohemia was over-persuaded by James to disregard this maxim, yet his enemies strictly observed it; for count Tilly, after the advantages he had gained over Mansfeldt, did not lose a moment in harrassing the Palatinate; and at last he besieged and took Heidelberg, the richest town in it, and sent to Rome (where it still remains) its fine library. The castle of Heidelberg was bravely defended by Herbert, an English colonel, who was killed, after doing wonders in his own person. Tilly next blockaded and took Mannheim, notwithstanding all that sir Horace Vere could do to defend it; and then besieged Frankendale. All the concern that James took in those misfortunes, was to redouble his pacific applications; and to make them go on smoother, he extended still farther graces to the popish recusants, as appears from the following copy of a writ, sent by the lord-keeper to the judges.

"That the king having, upon deep reasons of state, and in expectation of the like indulgence from foreign princes to the professors of our religion, resolved to grant some grace to the imprisoned papists, had commanded him to pass some writs under the broad-seal for that purpose: wherefore it is his majesty's pleasure, that they make no niceness or difficulty to extend this princely favour to all such as they shall find prisoners in the jails of their circuits for any church-recusancy that shall concern religion only, and not matters of state."

The truth is, that James did not now much expect the restoration of the Palatinate from the emperor; his eyes were entirely fixed on Spain, and, if he could accomplish his son's marriage with the infanta, he fondly imagined, that, after so close an alliance, this other point might easily be settled: but, to put that matter out of dispute, the emperor, whose power in Germany was now fully confirmed, assembled a diet at Ratisbon in the following year, in which he declared, "that the elector Palatine having been guilty of high-treason, his estates, goods, and dignities, were fallen to the Imperial demaines; but that, being unwilling to diminish the number of the electors, he wills, commands, and orders Maximilian of Bavaria to be invested with the electorate Palatine." He bestowed this investiture from his throne, his vice-chancellor declaring aloud that the emperor conferred this dignity "in the plenitude of his power*."

The eyes of England were now sullenly turned towards Spain, where Digby had the whole management of the negotiation for the marriage.

* Voltaire, Gen. Hist. vol. v. p. 223.

This nobleman had been lately dignified with the title of earl of Bristol, and dispatched as James's ambassador to Philip IV. who had lately succeeded his father Philip III. on the Spanish throne. Bristol was a minister of great abilities, and had formerly disapproved of all alliance with Spain, but now appeared so convinced of the sincerity of that court, that he wrote over to James, felicitating him on the entire accomplishment of his views and projects: a daughter of Spain, whom he represents as extremely amiable, would soon, he said, be conducted into England, and would bring with her an immense fortune of two millions†, a sum four times greater than Spain had ever given with any other princess. The fact is, that the court of Spain had hitherto fed James with hopes of the marriage only to amuse him; but, as they saw that the king of England was determined at any rate to conclude this alliance, they thought this fair opportunity of restoring the catholic religion in England was not to be missed, as it was very probable it might be effected by means of the infanta, and her numerous train of popish domestics and dependants, who were to be allowed the uninterrupted exercise of their religion here: accordingly the Spanish court suddenly altered its mind, and appeared as eager to conclude, as it had been dilatory and unwilling before; the only difficulty was, to extort from the English monarch such terms as should lead to what was intended, and which the impatience of James gave great reason to expect.

The articles concerning religion were the only obstacles to the marriage. The earl of Bristol had been disputing the ground inch by inch ever since his arrival in Spain, and Philip IV. was not displeased with it, because it gave him an opportunity of gaining time. In August, 1622, the Spaniard demanded certain articles in favour of the English catholics, to which the ambassador only answered, that he would acquaint the king his master therewith: at the same time the pope put his postils, or notes, to the articles that were agreed upon. Hence it is easy to conclude that the court of Rome and Spain acted in concert, both tending to the same end. The king received about the same time the pope's postils, and the court of Madrid's demands in favour of the English catholics: he kept these last, out of ceremony, some months without giving an answer; but at length, on the fifth of January 1623, he signed all, and, after making the prince do the same, sent the articles to the earl of Bristol, who received them the twenty-fifth of the same month. Such of our readers as may be desirous of knowing what value James set upon the protestant religion, may see these articles at length in Rushworth's Collections. Among many other shameful concessions made to the catholics to the prejudice of our religion, none gave greater disgust than the article in which the king engaged that the children of the prince and the infanta should be educated by their mother till they had attained the age of ten years: this condition could only be stipulated with a view of implanting in their minds prejudices in favour of the Romish faith; and though so tender an age might seem little susceptible of any strong impressions, yet the same motives which prompted the pope to insert it, should have induced the king to reject it. Besides the public treaty, there were se-

veral private articles, to which the king and the prince of Wales both swore, and in which a promise was given to suspend the execution of the penal laws against the catholics, to procure a total repeal of them from the parliament, and to tolerate the exercise of the popish religion in private houses.

Every previous step being therefore adjusted, nought was wanting to the conclusion of the marriage but the pope's dispensation, which might be esteemed as a mere formality. The king, elated by this success, now triumphed in his pacific counsels, and consoled himself for the contempt he had incurred throughout Europe for looking on with unconcern while his son-in-law was stripped of his estate and dignity, by boasting of his superior wisdom and sagacity; when all his flattering prospects were ruined by the rashness of a man, whom he had raised from a private station to be the curse of himself, of his family, and his people.

Buckingham was now as much in favour with the prince of Wales as he was with the king, and both father and son implicitly followed his counsels, and adopted his opinions; while that artful favourite made the most of their complacency to serve the purposes of his own unbounded ambition. He had long swelled with envy at seeing the earl of Bristol have the sole management of so great an affair, and so desirable a one to the king his master, as that of the Spanish match, and was resolved to exert all his influence to procure a share of the honour of that negotiation: with this view he persuaded prince Charles to undertake a journey to the court of Madrid in person, to fetch home his mistress, the infanta, representing to him that the romantic nature of the adventure could not fail to captivate the admiration and affection of that monarch and his subjects, and introduce him to the princess under the character of a fond lover rather than of a stately husband; that, in regard to the restitution of the Palatinate, the presence of so illustrious an intercessor would do more in three days, than ambassadors would do in as many years, as it was not to be doubted that the Spanish generosity, moved by such an instance of trust and confidence, would be induced to make greater concessions than could be expected from political views and motives." In a word, he so artfully represented the project to the young prince, naturally of a warm and sanguine complexion, and who had early taken a liking to romances, where heroes break forth with double lustre out of distresses, dangers, and disguises, that he looked upon this as an adventure worthy his blood, his courage, and his passion. He immediately agreed to solicit the permission of his father, and, in concert with Buckingham, chose the time when James was in the most kind and jovial humour, and, more by their importunities than the force of their reasons, they extorted an hasty and unguarded consent to their undertaking.

Many pages would be taken up, should I attend the two adventurers from their mournful parting with James (who would fain have retracted his rash permission) to their unexpected arrival in Spain. I must therefore refer my readers to learn from other authors, the celerity of their dispatch from England; their being happily unobserved at Paris, where they had the indiscretion to venture

† These two millions, however, were only pieces of eight, amounting to about six hundred thousand pounds.

into a court-ball, where Charles saw the princess Henrietta, whom he afterwards married; their happy escape out of that country, where they had no reason to think themselves in safety; and their arrival on the sixth of March, 1623 (eleven days only from their leaving London), at Madrid, where they surprized every one by their unlooked-for presence. From the like motive of conciseness, I shall omit the particulars of the reception of the English prince at that court, which was such as might be expected from a rich, generous, and powerful monarch, who had a full sense of the confidence reposed in him, and who was studious to employ every expedient to shew the respect he had for his royal guest; and shall now hasten to the material part, the prince's conduct and negotiation there, both with regard to the marriage and the restitution of the Palatinate.

The imperious temper of Buckingham was on this occasion of service; for he bluntly broke through all the formal evasions of the conde Olivarez, by demanding at once, "whether they intended to give the infanta to the prince, and upon what terms?" The Spanish minister finding himself beaten out of his guard, frankly told him, that it was expected in Spain, that the prince should change his religion, and that it was generally supposed that he had come to Spain on that account. Buckingham cut off all hopes of this kind, and gave Olivarez a lasting hatred for his person by his impetuous manner of proceeding, and pressing for a peremptory answer, without any regard to the tergiversations and shufflings of the court of Rome or Madrid.

We find that Olivarez, and some other of the Spanish ministry, were for making the best of the prince, now they had him in their power; but the king, having more virtue, rejected this proposal, though he was not against bringing the prince to as near a conformity in religion as possible. They were encouraged in this by a kind of correspondence entered into between James, the prince, and Buckingham, on the one part, and the court of Rome on the other: in this correspondence they go hand in hand with his holiness (to use James's expression) "usque ad aras—to the very altar." But I will not venture to give, as genuine, those letters from one to the other which have been published as such by historians and collectors: certain it is, that both James and his son laboured to disguise and dress up the deformities of popery; and that it had been resolved by them, with the privacy of Buckingham, to make some farther concessions than had ever yet appeared in public. This appears from the many extracts from the letters between James, his son, and his favourite, published by Dr. Wellwood.

Mean while pope Gregory XV. who had granted the dispensation, died, and Urban VIII. succeeded in his place. Upon this event the papal nuncio at the court of Spain refused to deliver the dispensation until it should be confirmed by Urban. This was made use of as an argument for farther delay. The affair of the Palatinate was another obstacle which the Spaniards made use of for their own conveniency. The prince honestly made it an indispensable condition of this marriage; but the Spaniards sometimes pretended, that when the marriage was settled, that would follow of course; sometimes, when they saw the prince inclined to be satisfied on

that head, they pressed to have it settled before the marriage; and sometimes they offered him carte blanche, to make his own conditions.

The prince was greatly chagrined at this delay; he and Buckingham despaired of success so much, that they were thinking of privately withdrawing from Spain, when they received intelligence, that the roads to the frontiers of France and the sea-ports were beset with troops, to intercept the prince in case he should attempt to make his escape. Alarmed at this advice, Charles sent a message, by one Graham, to James, which Graham was to deliver if he should hear the prince was arrested, "that if his majesty should receive any advertisement that he was detained by that state as a prisoner, he would be pleased, for his sake, never to think on him any longer as a son, but to reflect with all his royal thoughts upon the good of his sister, and the safety of his own kingdoms." But the true design of the Spaniards was to keep the infanta in Spain till next year, in hopes of his conversion. However, it is upon all hands agreed, that the prince, by his prudence, affability, and modesty, endeared himself so much to the court and people of Spain, that he was as popular as Buckingham (who had received a patent from James, creating him duke) was odious amongst them; and this popularity wrought out his deliverance from them. Buckingham, sensible that he had incurred the hatred of the Spaniards, by his shameful and debauched pleasures, his haughty, arrogant, and overbearing temper, which he either could not or would not disguise, and which all of them were qualities that to the Spaniards were peculiarly hateful and disgusting, and dreading the influence which that nation would naturally have after the arrival of the infanta, determined to employ all his credit to defeat the marriage: but by what arguments he could persuade the prince to offer such an insult to the Spanish nation, from whom he had received such generous treatment, and, above all, by what arts he could prevail with James to relinquish a project, which, during so many years, had been the object of his wishes, and which he had now so nearly brought to a successful and happy issue; these are circumstances which have never transpired to the public. However this might be, we find that all at once, whether alarmed with the report that the court of Spain intended to detain the prince, or whether wrought upon by the insinuations of his favourite, James peremptorily wrote to Buckingham, charging him to bring home the prince immediately, and forthwith dispatched vessels to St. Andero, in Biscay, to take them on board. The duke immediately communicated this order to Philip, alleging the prince's return was absolutely necessary to quiet the fears and suspicions of the English people; but in the mean time he would leave a proxy to espouse the infanta, as soon as the confirmed dispensation should arrive. The king of Spain made no objection to his return, but offered to be the prince's proxy. A procuration was for this purpose drawn up, and signed by the prince of Wales, who delivered it to the earl of Bristol, with orders to put it into the hands of Philip ten days after receipt of the dispensation. The Spanish monarch accompanied his guest as far as the Escorial, where he was royally regaled, and erected a pillar on the spot where they parted, as a monument of their friendship. The prince,

before he embarked, dispatched one of his domestics with a letter to the earl of Bristol, at Madrid, desiring that he would not part with the procuration until he (Charles) should be satisfied that the infanta, after the ceremony, should not take the veil.

Upon this the prince and Buckingham embarked, and after escaping a dangerous storm, arrived at Portsmouth on the fifth of October, and from thence he and the duke posted immediately to James, who received them with infinite joy, which was diffused throughout the whole nation. The first deliberation in the cabinet at Royston, where the court then resided, was how to break off the match (for that was now fully resolved upon) with a good grace. Luckily, the pope's approbation came from Spain, but somewhat altered, which gave James a better pretext for his proceedings than he could have expected; but he received a more material one from the Spaniards altering the sum of the infanta's portion, which, from six hundred thousand pounds in ready money, they now brought down to eighty thousand, some jewels, and a pension of twenty thousand pounds a year. Bristol would have surmounted all these difficulties, had it not been that the Spaniards neither could nor would undertake for the restitution of the Palatinate; and Buckingham, having the prince's concurrence, made his own use of this circumstance, and drew a peremptory order from James to Bristol for breaking off all negotiations, just at the time when that minister had, to all appearance, accommodated all differences between the contracting parties, and the Spaniards were ready to deliver up the infanta. Philip perfectly well comprehended the meaning of these proceedings: he had been informed of the disgust conceived by Buckingham, and the animosity subsisting between him and Olivarez; and judging him a man capable of sacrificing to his own ungovernable passions the greatest interests of his king and country, he suspected that the unbounded ambition of that favourite would be employed to foment a quarrel between the two nations. Resolved, however, to throw the whole blame of the rupture on the English, he sent to the earl of Bristol a written promise, dated the eighth of January, 1624, by which he engaged to procure the restoration of the Palatinate, either by treaty, or by any other possible means; but when he found that this concession was utterly disregarded, he ordered the infanta to lay aside the title of princess of Wales, which she had borne ever since the arrival of the dispensation from Rome, and to drop the study of the English language, which she had been learning for a considerable time; and thinking that such precipitate counsels as now influenced the court of England, would not stop at the violation of the marriage-treaty, he ordered preparations for war to be made throughout all his dominions.

Thus terminated the affair of the Spanish match, after having employed all James's attention for upwards of six years. His resolution to break it off at last was no sooner known to the people, than they celebrated the rupture with bonfires and other demonstrations of joy. The two houses, then sitting, petitioned the king to execute the laws against Jesuits and Romish priests; to give order for seizing the arms of popish recusants, and obliging them to retire from London; to revoke all li-

cences granted to such recusants, and put a stop to the great concourse of people who resorted to mass in the chapels of ambassadors; to deprive all papists of the posts which they enjoyed; and not to relax the laws against popish recusants on any account whatever. To this petition the king sent a very complaisant answer, assuring them in general that he would comply with their demands; but he artfully avoided explaining himself touching those articles that mentioned the removal of the papists from London, and their being divested of all employments. Buckingham's mother and wife, one of the secretaries of state, and many persons possessed of very considerable offices, were either professed or reputed Roman catholics: the commons presented a list of fifty-seven to the king, but he would not signify his sentiments on this subject, and they did not insist upon satisfaction.

In the mean time the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg grew extremely uneasy at the growing greatness of the house of Bavaria, and at the untractable haughtiness of the emperor. They had protested against the translation of the electoral dignity; and James, after renewing his round of negotiation, brought matters to such a crisis, that he wrote a letter to the king of Bohemia, wherein he urged him to lay down his arms, and submit to an arbitration between him and the emperor; but Frederic would not hearken to such advice, and James now seemed inclinable to have assisted him powerfully, could he have been sure of the Dutch or the French; but, amidst these good dispositions, difficulties intervened which blasted all their efforts, for in February 1623, a cruel scene was acted at Amboyna, in the East Indies: a treaty was concluded in 1619 between England and the United Provinces, whereby, among other things, it was agreed, that in regard to the great trouble and cost pretended to have been bestowed by the Dutch in gaining the trade to the Molucca islands, Banda, and Amboyna, from the Spaniards and Portuguese, the Dutch should enjoy two thirds of that trade, and the English one third. In consequence of this agreement English factories were erected at the Moluccas, at Banda, and at Amboyna: the latter is the principal place in the East-Indies where nutmegs, mace, cinnamon, cloves, and other spices grow. Here the English had been settled about two years; when the Dutch, in order to deprive them of their share of the spice-trade, pretended a plot was formed between the English and the natives, to take possession of the Dutch fort at Amboyna; whereupon the English were tortured by the Dutch, both with fire and water, in a most cruel and barbarous manner; and, on February the twenty-seventh, captain Gabriel Towerson, and nine other Englishmen, with nine Japanese and one Portuguese, were ignominiously executed for this pretended conspiracy, though they protested their innocency to the last. For this insolent affront no reparation was obtained till the year 1654, when Cromwell made the Dutch pay three hundred thousand pounds upon that account.

Much has been blindly said concerning a paper of accusation put into James's hand by the marquis of Inviosa and don Carlos, the Spanish ambassadors; the truth is, James by this time was fully convinced that Buckingham had been the author of the failure of the marriage treaty; and

though he dissembled his resentment, he now began to estrange himself from a man, who, through his ambition or vanity, was perpetually traversing all his measures; he affected, in speaking to the prince and duke, to use broken and mysterious expressions, which shewed that something lay heavy on his mind: at last, the king going one day to Windsor, and taking coach at St. James's, ordered the duke, on some slight pretence, to stay behind; the duke looking upon this as a certain sign of his approaching disgrace, returned to his own house, overwhelmed with anxiety; but, by the advice of some of his friends, he soon followed the king to Windsor, where he found means to remove his majesty's disgust, at least to outward appearance; but in reality James only dissembled his sentiments through fear of the duke's resentment; he impatiently longed for the arrival of Bristol, and it was by the advice of that minister, whose fidelity he knew, and whose abilities he respected, that he hoped to extricate himself from those difficulties in which he was at present involved. It was the interest of Buckingham to exert his utmost endeavours to keep Bristol at a distance from the king and the prince, lest the voice of truth, enforced with that oratory which the earl possessed in an eminent manner, should disclose scenes which it was his interest to wish buried beyond the reach of their knowledge. Accordingly, he no sooner heard of the earl's arrival in England, than he made use of all that despotism he had acquired over the mind of his weak sovereign to procure an order for committing Bristol to the Tower, till he had answered certain questions which should be put to him by the council. He was, however, soon after released, but ordered to retire to his own house, and not approach the king and court. The earl wrote to James, loudly demanding an opportunity of vindicating himself, and of laying his whole conduct before his master on all occasions; he asserted his own innocence, and cast on Buckingham the blame of every miscarriage. Hereupon the favourite thought it consistent with his honour and interest to defend his transactions, and he presented, to a committee of both houses, a long narrative, which he affirmed to be full and complete, of every step taken in the treaty with Philip: but, partly by concealing some facts, and partly by misrepresenting others, the narrative was calculated to deceive the parliament, and to load the court of Spain with the reproach of artifice and insincerity.

He alleged, that, after a negotiation of many years, the king still found himself as far from his purpose as ever, and that Bristol had never brought the matter beyond general promises and professions: that the prince, suspecting the intentions of Spain, determined, at last, to go to Madrid, and put the matter to a final trial: that he there met with such artificial dealing, as convinced him that all the steps taken towards the marriage were false and deceitful: that the restoration of the Palatine, which had ever been considered by the king as an essential article, was never seriously intended by Spain: and that, after suffering much ill treatment, the prince was forced to return to England, without any hopes either of procuring the infanta, or of reinstating the Palatine in the possession of his dominions. This narrative, which, considering the importance of the subject, and the august nature

of that assembly to which it was presented, deserves great blame, was yet vouched for truth by the prince of Wales, who was present; and even the king himself seemed tacitly to approve it, by assuring the parliament that Buckingham had laid the matter before them by his express order; and notwithstanding that so many extraordinary circumstances appeared therein, yet so agreeable was it to the bent and inclination of the parliament, that they received it without hesitation, and even joined in an address to the king in favour of Buckingham, which concludes as follows: "And so, without your further trouble, we do humbly beseech your most excellent majesty to interpret fair of this our representation, which we hold ourselves bound to offer unto your majesty for the clearing of so amiable a person, who, as we verily believe, hath in his negotiation well deserved of your majesty and the commonwealth." Had Bristol been heard in parliament, he would undoubtedly have given a new complexion to affairs; for many, out of hatred to Buckingham, would gladly have laid hold of the smallest opportunity to oppose him; and had James, situated as he then was, seen but the shadow of an opposition, he would have put himself at its head, in which case it would have quickly become a majority; but Buckingham ruled the cabinet, and dictated to the inclinations of a king who now feared, if he did not hate, him. He was the idol of a parliament to whom the name of a sole minister was execrable. Though in his actions and conversation he had every mark of vice, yet he was the bosom favourite of a young prince who was the very pattern of modesty and virtue.

The parliament being prorogued on the twenty-ninth of May, it was necessary to make some preparation to oppose the warlike armament fitting out by the court of Spain, and also to assist the elector Palatine. The aid granted the king was very considerable; three fifteenths and tenths from the laity, and four intire subsidies from the clergy. Of the laity's aid, eight citizens of London were appointed to be treasurers, and ten other persons of his majesty's council for war; without whose warrant no money was to be issued out by the treasurers, nor upon any other account but for the war, and both were to be accountable to the commons in parliament. With this money it was computed that the king might send twenty-five thousand men into the Palatinate, under the command of an English general. However, only six thousand men were sent into Holland, to serve in the army of the States under the command of the prince of Orange, and other troops were levied by count Mansfeldt, who was, during the war, to open himself a passage into the Palatinate.

During these transactions, the earl of Holland, who had been dispatched into France, having sent word that Lewis XIII. was inclined to listen to an overture of marriage between the prince of Wales and his sister, the princess Henrietta Maria, the king appointed the earl of Carlisle to go and negotiate the affair, jointly with the earl of Holland. The two ambassadors repairing to Compeigne, where the court of France was, commissioners were appointed to treat with them, of whom the marquis de la Vieuville, superintendant of the finances, was the first. When these conferences began, the king, pursuant to his promise, was putting the laws in force against popish recusants,

particularly against friars and priests, some of whom were thrown into prison; but James was now become apprehensive lest his son should be altogether disappointed of a bride; and therefore, as soon as the most Christian king interposed his mediation in behalf of those of his own faith, James gave orders for the release of all the popish recusants who had been imprisoned since the parliament's petition. In short, such was the earnestness of the English monarch to terminate this affair, that by the tenth of November this year, the marriage articles were signed at Paris, and were in substance much the same as those which had been concluded with Spain; for as Lewis only required, for the honour of his crown, the same conditions which had been granted to the catholic monarch, James made no scruple to comply. And as the prince, while in Spain, had given a verbal promise to leave the infant the education of her children till the age of thirteen, this article was also inserted in the treaty; and to that imprudent concession is generally, and perhaps justly, ascribed the present distressed condition of the Stuart family.

While this affair was depending, count Mansfeldt came over to England, where he was received with extraordinary caresses, and lodged by the prince in his palace of St. James's. After some conferences, it was agreed that Mansfeldt should have twelve thousand men to carry the war into the Lower Palatinate. During the negociation with France, the ministry of that court had made mighty promises, though in general terms, not only of affording a free passage to the English troops, but also of reinforcing them with powerful succours in their march towards the Palatinate; but, on the arrival of those troops, under the command of count Mansfeldt, before Calais, they found that no orders had come for their admission. This occasioned many dispatches backward and forwards; but the French insisted that they had given no positive orders under their hands, and that the granting the count a passage through France was a matter not to be hastily resolved upon: in fine, this debate lasted so long, that a pestilential disease crept aboard the ships, and carried off great numbers of the English; and those who remained, weakened by sickness and discouraged by misfortunes, appeared too small a body to lead into the Palatinate. Such was the shameful issue of this expedition, which reflected the highest disgrace on the English ministry, who were so weak as to consider Gallic professions as solemn engagements: justice, however, obliges us to confess, that this was the only public disaster that befel England, during the quiet reign of the peaceful James.

We cannot conclude the history of this reign, which draws to its period, without taking some notice of the state of affairs in Ireland, where the Spaniards kept a constant intelligence with the disaffected papists, and put the English government under perpetual alarms. The earl of Tyrone having been received into favour by James, at the beginning of his reign, and assured of the royal protection, provided he did not relapse into his former traitorous practices, returned to his own country; but construing all the marks of liberality he had received as the effects of fear, he had the boldness, soon after, to petition the king for a toleration of the popish religion: his request being refused, he, with the earl of Tyrconnel, and other heads of

the Irish Roman catholics, began to intrigue anew against the English government, and a desperate confederacy was formed amongst the Irish of Ulster, for murdering the lord-deputy (then sir Anthony Chichester) and the council, and extirpating the English out of Ireland. This conspiracy was discovered by a letter dropped in the council-chamber, and Tyrone, Tyrconnel, M^c Guire, and other chief conspirators, fled to France; but the most Christian king not giving them any great encouragement, the rebels retired, without going to Paris or seeing the French monarch, to Brussels. The archduke was not so reserved; he gave them a noble reception, and settled upon them large pensions, by order of the court of Spain, who soon found its interest in furnishing them with money to blow up another rebellion, which Tyrone, in the year 1613, actually undertook to effect; and his design appeared so practicable, that the marquis Spinola, one of the best officers of the age, offered to head an expedition: but the design was discovered, and Tyrone's correspondents were taken and executed in the year 1615.

Sir Oliver St. John, afterwards viscount of Grandison, was sworn in lord-deputy of Ireland, in the year 1616, and acted with so much vigour against the papists, that he procured himself many enemies even at the court of England. Though he was a brave and active magistrate, and James knew him to be so, yet he made a handle of the complaints against him, to issue out the commission we have already taken notice of, to some discontented members of the house of commons; viz. sir Dudley Diggs, sir Thomas Carew, sir Nathaniel Rich, sir James Perrot, and others, "to enquire of sundry matters concerning his majesty's service in Ireland, as well in the point of government ecclesiastical and civil, as of revenue, and to inspect the state of the kingdom, propagate religion, settle the government, and improve the Exchequer." Before these commissioners arrived in Ireland, the differences between the lord-deputy and the privy-council there arose so high, that the latter demanded of James that he should be removed. James obstinately refused this for a long time; but at length the party against the lord-deputy prevailed, and lord viscount Falkland was sworn lord-deputy in his stead. In the mean time the commissioners were busied in endeavouring to improve the revenue; but, although all of them were men of experience in the genius and manners of the Irish, all their attempts were rather plausible than practicable. The papists, supported by Rome and Spain, still continued to act with great insolence, and in some churches exercised their own religion. This drew a severe proclamation from the government towards the end of this reign, ordering all the regulars to depart out of Ireland; and the famous Dr. Usher, archbishop of Armagh, was highly serviceable to the protestant interest, by his learned and vigorous sermons against popery.

In the spring of the year 1625, James was seized with a tertian ague; but though such agues are not held dangerous in that season of the year, he was so reduced by repeated fits, that he died at Theobalds, his favourite residence, on the twenty-seventh of March, 1625, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, after reigning over England twenty-two years and three days, and over Scotland almost from his cradle. Authors in general have been extremely

extremely severe on Buckingham, as if he had hastened the end of James by poison; but this rests only on the credit of ill-informed spiteful writers: it cannot, indeed, be denied that improper applications were made to James during his last illness; and perhaps even the physicians themselves mistook his disease. What confirms this suspicion is a note of bishop Laud's, entered into his Diary, and which, I think, has never been observed by any historian of this reign, in which "he fears the king's disease, though to all appearance it was a tertian ague, was the gout, and that a wrong application of medicines had driven it from his feet to his inward vital parts." The countess of Buckingham, and some other ladies, who had no opinion of regular physicians, but thought that life might be rendered immortal by the secrets of mountebanks, attended James, who, being impatient for health, fell into the same fatal mistake. Buckingham had been, some time before, ill of an ague, and had been cured by a vomit, a plaster, and a posset-drink; which James insisted should now be administered to himself: according to Buckingham's defence against the charge on this head brought against him by the commons, he did all he could to dissuade the king from taking any thing that was not prescribed by his physicians; but James obstinately sent for the plaster and the drink, which were applied in Buckingham's absence. If James (as some passionate authors pretend he did) entertained the least suspicion of Buckingham, he would not have failed to communicate it to the archbishop of Canterbury and the lord-keeper Williams, who attended him on his death-bed, nor (as both of them hated Buckingham) would they have failed to have divulged it afterwards.

The character of James has been variously handled by different historians, most of whom appear to have wrote under the influence of favourable prepossessions or extreme prejudice: some represent him as the perfect pattern of a good king; others have loaded him with reproaches by aggravating his failings. The reason of this diversity proceeds from the history of this reign being penned at a time when the animosity of parties was at a great height; therefore the character of this prince must not be formed either on the praises of the one, or the invectives of the other, but upon the manner of his governing, upon his speeches and actions; and this our readers will be perfectly able to do for themselves, by recollecting the principal circumstances of his reign: we shall therefore content ourselves with observing in general, that he was endowed with many virtues, but no one of them pure or free from the contagion of the neighbouring vices. His liberality degenerated into profusion, his learning into pedantry, his love of peace into pusillanimity, his wisdom into cunning, and his friendship into light fancy and boyish fondness. He was certainly a great dissembler; this failing accompanied him even in the most common transactions of life, and made him pass for a worse man than he really was; he frequently missed a favourite point by his duplicity, which he might have secured by openness and resolution. His too great aversion to war, which has from some got him the reproach of want of courage, was certainly a defect productive of the most happy consequences to the nation he

governed; the people were blessed with a most profound peace, which no troubles interrupted; they were enriched by an extensive commerce, which few taxes oppressed; and, freed from the care of foreign affairs, they had leisure to attend to their own concerns, and secure their liberties by many excellent and wise regulations*.

James, by his wife, Anne of Denmark, had seven children:

1. Henry, already mentioned.
2. Robert, who died in his infancy.
3. Charles, who succeeded him on the throne.
4. Elizabeth, married to the elector Palatine.
5. Margaret,
6. Mary, and
7. Sophia, who all died infants.

He had no illegitimate issue; and what may appear surprizing, though he is said to have been extremely fond of obscene and immodest language, he never discovered the least tendency towards a passion for any mistress.

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES.

What chiefly distinguishes the reign of James, is the commencement of the English colonies in America, which have now increased to such an amazing height of power and grandeur. Queen Elizabeth had done little more than given a name to the continent of Virginia; and after her planting one feeble colony, which soon decayed, that country was entirely abandoned. In 1606, Newport carried over a colony, and began a settlement; which the company, established for that purpose in London and Bristol, took care to furnish with yearly supplies of provisions, utensils, and new inhabitants. About 1609, Argal discovered a shorter and more direct passage to Virginia, than had hitherto been known, and left the tract of the ancient navigators, who had first directed their course southward to the tropic, sailed westward by means of the trade-winds, and then turned northward till they arrived at the English settlements. The same year, sir Thomas Gates and sir George Somers set sail with a company of five hundred persons for Virginia: Somers, being attacked by a storm, was driven into Bermudas, and laid the foundation of a settlement in those islands.

Lord Delawar afterwards undertook the government of the English colonies: but notwithstanding all his care, assisted by supplies from James, and by money from the first lottery ever known in England, the settlement of these countries was attended with such difficulties, that, in 1614, there were not alive above four hundred men of all that had been sent thither. After supplying themselves with provisions more immediately necessary for the support of life, the new planters began to cultivate tobacco; and James, notwithstanding his aversion to that drug, gave them leave to import it into England; and forbade, by a public proclamation, all importation from Spain. By degrees more colonies were planted on that continent, and gave names to the places where they were established, leaving that of Virginia to the province first settled. The island of Barbadoes was also planted in this reign.

In the fourth year of king James, A. D. 1607, there was so great an inundation from the river

† Carte, Hume, Smollett.

STORY OF THE

The first part of the story is the most interesting. It tells of the early days of the settlement, when the pioneers first came to the land. They found it a wild and desolate place, but they were determined to make it a home for themselves. They built their huts and cleared their fields, and in a few years a small community had grown up. The story then goes on to tell of the various adventures and hardships that the pioneers endured. There were many battles with the Indians, and the pioneers often found themselves in a desperate struggle for survival. But they were brave and determined, and they finally won out. The story ends with a description of the present state of the settlement, which is now a thriving community.

The second part of the story is also very interesting. It tells of the growth of the settlement, as more and more people came to live there. The pioneers were not content with their own little community, but they wanted to see the settlement grow into a great city. They worked hard and saved their money, and in a few years they had enough to build a large and beautiful city. The story then goes on to tell of the various adventures and hardships that the pioneers endured. There were many battles with the Indians, and the pioneers often found themselves in a desperate struggle for survival. But they were brave and determined, and they finally won out. The story ends with a description of the present state of the settlement, which is now a thriving community.

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Engraved for
MORTIMER'S
History of England.



J. Wale del.

CHARLES I.

C. Grignon sc.

Severn, in some parts of Somersetshire and Gloucestershire, that the water rose above the tops of the houses, insomuch that there perished by this fatal accident no less than eighty persons, and the damages done upon the whole amounted to upwards of twenty thousand pounds.

In his sixth year, 1609, a frost began in December, which lasted till April following, with such violence, that not only the Thames was so frozen that heavy carriages passed over it as on dry land, but many animals, especially birds, perished; and almost all the garden-herbage was destroyed.

CHARLES I. The second King of ENGLAND of the House of STUART: A. D. 1625.

THE death of James caused very little alteration in the English court, as that monarch had, before his decease, been altogether under the guidance of the prince and Buckingham: their friends were in full possession of the court and cabinet, and all the great officers of state were continued. The council meeting immediately after notice given of the king's decease, they caused Charles prince of Wales, his only son, then living, and now in the twenty-fifth year of his age, to be proclaimed king, to the universal satisfaction of the nation, as a prince of admirable endowments both of mind and body. The funeral obsequies of the deceased king were celebrated on the seventh of May, being carried from Somerset-house (to which palace it had been conveyed from Theobalds) to Westminster, where it was interred in St. Peter's church with great funeral pomp and solemnity: the young king himself performed the office of chief mourner, which, though it was contrary to the custom of crowned heads, yet he chose rather to relinquish some part of his state, than be seen wanting in filial piety.

No sooner were the funeral obsequies performed, than the king sent to hasten the coming over of the princess Henrietta Maria of France, his destined consort, to whom, on Sunday the first of May, he had, by his proxy the duke of Chevreuse, been espoused, in the church of Notre Dame, at Paris, the cardinal de Richelieu performing the nuptial ceremony. Soon after the queen began her journey towards England, being accompanied as far as Amiens by the queen her mother, the duke of Orleans her brother, and the duke and duchess of Chevreuse, and a great train of French nobility, together with the duke of Buckingham, the earls of Carlisle, Holland, Montgomery, and many of the English gentry, who were sent over for that purpose. From Amiens they proceeded to Boulogne, where a fleet of twenty-one English ships were waiting to take her on board, with the duchess of Buckingham and other English ladies of quality, to serve her as attendants. On Trinity Sunday, June 12, late at night, she arrived at Dover; which being signified to the king, then at Canterbury, he went the next morning to meet her, and that evening the marriage was consummated at Canterbury. The sixteenth of the same month, the king and queen made their entry into London; but the plague then raging in the capital, abated considerably of the pomp and solemnity. But neither that, nor any thing else could divert the king's attention from the weighty concerns of the realm; for the great assembly of the nation meeting two

days after his arrival in London, he went thither, and opened his first parliament with the following speech.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ You are not ignorant, that, at your earnest intreaty, March 23, 1623, my father (of happy memory) first took up arms for the recovery of the Palatinate; for which purpose, by your assistance, he began to form a considerable army, and to prepare a goodly armada and navy royal: but death intervening between him and the achievement, the war, with the crown, is devolved upon me; to the prosecution thereof as I am obliged both in nature and honour, so I question not but the same necessity continuing, you will cherish the action with the like affection, and further it with a ready contribution. True it is, you furnished my father with affectionate supplies, but they held no symmetry or proportion with the charge of so great an enterprize: for those your donatives are all disbursed to a penny, and I am enforced to summons you hither to tell you, that neither can the army advance, nor the fleet set forth, without farther aid. Consider, I pray you, that the eyes of all Europe are fixed upon me, to whom I shall appear ridiculous, as though I were unable to outgo muster and ostentation, if you now desert me: consider, it is my first attempt, wherein if I sustain a foil, it will blemish all my future honour. If mine cannot, let your reputation move you to deliver and expedite me fairly out of this war, wherewith you have encumbered me (let it never be said, whereinto you have betrayed me): I desire, therefore, your speedy supply. The sun you know is entering into his declining point, so it will soon be too late to set forth, when it will be rather not too soon to return. Again, I must mind you of the mortality regnant in this city, which should it (as so it may, and no breach of privilege neither) arrest any one member of either house, it would soon put a period both to the consultation and session; so that your own preservation necessitates an early resolution; in sum, three of the best rhetoricians, Honour, Opportunity, and Safety, are all of a plot, and plead, you see, for expedition. Perhaps it may be expected I should say something in way of account of my religion, as also of the temper and tenor of my future government; but as I hope I have not been guilty of any thing which may justly start the least question in either, so I desire you would repose in this assurance, that I will in neither vary from those principles wherein I have been instituted at the feet of that eminent Gamaliel, my late father.”

This speech was very well received, and though it did not produce so great a supply as the exigency of affairs required, yet the commons gave two subsidies without any condition, and the clergy three; and in the grant of the laity, the papists were to pay double. The king very graciously accepted the gift, as an earnest of the good affections of his people, in reference to greater sums which he expected to follow; but the plague increasing in London, the parliament, on the eleventh of October, was adjourned to Oxford, to be held there on the first of August.

King James, a little before his death, promised to send the king of France five or six ships, to be employed against the Genoese; but, afterwards, Lewis XIII. wanting these ships for the siege of Rochelle, prevailed with Charles I. by Buckingham's means, that he might employ them where he pleased; and, accordingly, they were sent to Dieppe, under the command of vice-admiral Pennington. The commanders of these ships discovering that they were to go against Rochelle, weighed anchor, and sailed back to England. Pennington informing the duke of Buckingham of it, received an express order, confirmed by another from the king himself, to return to Dieppe with the ships, and put them into the hands of the French; which was done accordingly: but the mariners all deserted, utterly refusing to serve against Rochelle.

This affair made a great noise at Oxford, where the parliament was to be assembled. Buckingham's ill conduct in this, and other respects, was loudly complained of, and the commons put in a very ill humour. On the day appointed, the king sent for the two houses, to attend him in Christ-church hall; where, in a short speech, he acquainted them with his wants for fitting out the fleet, and other necessary matters; adding, that the eyes of all Christendom were fixed upon his conduct.

The commons, upon their return from the king to their house, had several long debates upon the substance of his speech, and the present condition of the kingdom, all tending to arraign the measures of government. The truth is, that Charles had, in his speech, suffered those arbitrary principles which he inherited from his father, and which at length wrought his own ruin, to escape from him too clearly for any one to mistake them. While he meant to beg, he seemed to threaten; by declaring, as he did, that civil treatment would endear to him the use of parliaments, he might be supposed to insinuate, that harsh treatment would estrange him from those popular assemblies, and perhaps induce him to discontinue them intirely: a power, which, however desirous he might be to usurp, the commons were by no means willing to allow him; and their great secret was now to straiten the king, as the only way to make themselves of importance. On this occasion, sir Edward Coke took the lead: he observed, "that if the king's necessities arose through improvidence (which he proved to be the case in many instances), the parliament had no cause to give:" he then fell upon the management of the court, the frauds in the customs, the mismanagement of the treaty with Spain, large fees annexed to the new invented of-

fices, old useless offices continued, the multiplicity of offices in one man (meaning the duke of Buckingham), the vast increase of pensions, and the immoderate luxury of the courtiers. He enforced all these, and many more political abuses with so great keenness, that they resolved to appoint a committee to consider of the present state of the nation, and to invite the duke of Buckingham to it, to answer the objections against him. But it was very visible, from the spirit the house shewed, that the duke was to expect little favour there; for though they contended for an immediate declaration against the king of Spain, for the necessity of recovering the Palatinate, and of reforming the king's council, yet they absolutely refused to saddle the nation with any more subsidies, or to anticipate their grants of money. This drew a smart speech from one Clark, a member, (perhaps the same who had been employed by Buckingham in Spain), as if the speeches thrown out on that occasion had too much invective bitterness in them, and were unseasonable for the time. Though those are the only expressions charged in the Journal of the house upon Clark, yet, the friends to the freedom of speech in the parliament would have expelled him the house, had it not been for some moderate members, who prevailed to have him only committed to the serjeant at arms for two nights, and acknowledge his error at the bar of the house upon his knees. In fine, before they would agree to any answer to what the king requested of them, they proceeded to the redress of grievances, and drew up a petition against popish recusants, which was presented to his majesty by their speaker, who returned the parliament a very gracious and satisfactory answer. Nevertheless, this condescension in the king did not at all win upon them; for, when the matter of a supply came again to be debated, the same opposition was made, and the majority insisted on a redress of grievances before granting a supply. The king, seeing what course the commons were taking, was extremely offended; first, as by their slowness they broke all his measures for the present campaign; secondly, he deemed it a manifest affront and contempt of his person, to presume openly to attack his servants and ministers, or rather himself under their name: so, perceiving no likelihood of a speedy supply, which was the sole end of calling the parliament, he was determined to dissolve it, and thereupon went to the house for that purpose. The commons were resolved into a grand committee, when the usher of the black rod came to demand their presence in the lords house; but having notice of his errand, before they would admit the speaker to resume the chair, to sit as a house, Mr. Glanville, one of the members, stood up, and declared the sense of the house in these words; "That thanks be given to his majesty for his gracious answer to our petition for religion; next, for the care of our health, in giving us leave to depart at this dangerous time; lastly, we make the most dutiful declaration of our affection and loyalty, and purpose to supply his majesty in a parliamentary way in a fitting and convenient time." This being done, the usher was called in, and delivered his message; and the dissolution of the parliament immediately ensued.*

* On the twelfth of August, not having sat full three weeks to do business, both at Westminster and Oxford.

Soon after this, a proclamation was issued for putting in execution the laws against popish recusants; commanding the return, by a prefixed day, of children of noblemen, and others, sent to be educated in popish schools, or seminaries, abroad; and all of the king's subjects under the pay of the emperor, the king of Spain, and the archduke, who then governed the Spanish Netherlands, were speedily enjoined to return to their native country, to be employed in the king's service; for the refractoriness of the parliament did not hinder the king from pursuing his design of continuing, or rather of beginning, the war with Spain. For though the late king had taken some measures which tended to a war, there had not, however, been any hostilities committed since the breach of the treaty. Charles resolving therefore to undertake this war, sent the duke of Buckingham and the earl of Holland ambassadors to the United Provinces; where they met, at the Hague, the ambassadors of France and Denmark, and concluded a league with them and the States for restoring the liberties of Germany. In the mean time, to supply the want of parliamentary aids, Charles issued privy-seals for borrowing money from his subjects. The advantage derived from this expedient, was but a poor compensation for the odium with which it was attended. By means, however, of that supply, the king was at last enabled to fit out his fleet.

It consisted of eighty good ships, with the addition of some Dutch vessels; and should have been sent out early in the summer, to make an attempt upon the coast of Spain; but, through want of money, and other obstacles, it was the beginning of October before it was ready to leave the ports. Sir Edward Cecil, lately promoted to the title of viscount Wimbleton, was appointed commander: and had under him the earl of Essex as his vice-admiral.

After putting to sea, they were overtaken by a storm, which not only dispersed them, but also the English ships which blocked up Dunkirk: the fleet, however, met at the rendezvous off Cape St. Vincent, where a council of war was held; for so undetermined was the whole expedition, that the officers were yet ignorant of their destination. The brave earl of Essex naturally gave his voice for attacking Cadiz, the scene of his father's glory; and his proposal being carried by a majority of voices, they bore towards that port. But by this time all Spain was alarmed, and so dreadful to the Spaniards was the English valour under Elizabeth, that their king was ready in person to have marched down, at the head of a royal army, to the defence of his coast. When the English arrived at the place, they found every thing in readiness to give them a warm reception; and the attack of Port Puntal was, with twenty English and five Dutch ships, committed to the earl of Essex, who was so eager upon it, that he was afterwards accused by lord Wimbleton of suffering the shipping which lay under its guns, and which drew out to fight him, to escape. Whatever ground there might be for this charge, it is certain that the shipping of the Spaniards, which consisted of seventeen stout ships and eight or ten gallies, finding that they were an unequal match for the whole of the English fleet, if it should come up, retired to Port Real; and the earl of Essex, after spending a great deal of powder and shot, found it impracticable to take Puntal on that side. Up-

on this, sir John Burroughs, an old English officer, landed with his regiment, and driving some companies of Spaniards, who had opposed his landing, back to the fort, the Spanish governor surrendered it. But the taking of this fort was of no other consequence than as it opened a passage to Cadiz itself; and it commanding a large extent of villages and country round, the raw English troops could not resist the deliciousness of the Spanish wines, which proved a loss to the expedition; for when a squadron, under the command of sir Samuel Argale, was sent to attack the ships that had retired to Port Real, the design miscarried; whilst dissensions amongst the officers increasing with diseases amongst the soldiers, the lord Wimbleton abandoned the fort they had taken, and reembarked his troops, which were now greatly weakened by sickness. The fleet then, in pursuance to instructions, cruised for some days off St. Vincent, for the Spanish plate-fleet, then on its return from America; and, after narrowly missing it, Wimbleton brought back nothing but infected crews, sickly companies, a broken reputation, disheartened officers, leaky ships, and national dishonour, about the beginning of December.

Charles, having missed so rich a prize, was again obliged to have recourse to parliament, though his authority was weakened by this miscarriage of his enterprizes, and the imprudence of the Spanish war became every day more apparent: but though his growing necessities increased his dependence, and made him less liable to withstand the encroachment of the commons, he was determined to try once more that regular and constitutional method of supply; however, the solemnity of his coronation was first to be performed, which was celebrated on the second of February, 1626. To save expence, and to prevent the danger of popular concourse, as the plague, though greatly decreased, was not quite gone, the king omitted the riding in state from the Tower to Whitehall. Sir Thomas Coventry an able lawyer, who had succeeded Williams as keeper of the great-seal, officiated as such on this occasion.

Four days after the coronation, viz. on the sixth of February, the parliament met, and was opened by a very ministerial speech from the new lord-keeper, greatly extolling the piety and wisdom of the king, and acquainting the two houses, that as his majesty intended the session should be very short, he expected they would make all imaginable dispatch in granting supplies. But the commons, with their speaker, sir Heneage Finch, being returned to their house, instead of paying any regard to the lord-keeper's speech, thanked his majesty for his zeal for religion, and began, where they had left off at Oxford, with an enquiry into the national grievances, and the malversations of government. In order that the grievances might be examined with more regularity and clearness, committees were appointed; one for secret affairs, one for grievances, and one for religion. The latter, of which Mr. Pym was chairman, called in question certain books written by Mr. Montague, one of the king's chaplains, which they reported to the house to be erroneous, false, and full of papistical and Arminian opinions, contrary to the articles of the English church. The grievances, as reported by Mr. Whitby, chairman of that committee, were stated under four heads.

" I. The state of the king in the constant revenue of the crown.

" II. The condition of the subject in his freedom.

" III. The cause of the nation's good success in former times.

" IV. The present condition of the kingdom."

Under the first head was considered the great dispositions of lands and pensions, "mero motu," and other exorbitant expences. In the second, the bringing in of new impositions, the multiplying monopolies, and the levying tonnage and poundage without an act of parliament. Under the third they ascribed the great renown and reputation of the nation in former times, to the wisdom and gravity of the counsellors, when nothing was ordered but by public debate; whence arose readiness in the subject to assist their sovereign in purse and person. In the fourth was represented the loss of the nation's wonted reputation, in the expedition to Cadiz, and others, which was imputed to the want of such counsels as were heretofore used; forasmuch as men, through difference in success, were backward either to venture their persons or their purses.

From generals the house proceeded to particulars, and at last Buckingham was openly named as the source of all the national grievances and indignities. Nothing could shew the mutability of human affairs, and how little dependence is to be placed on the affections of the people, more than this conduct of the commons; for in the last parliament of king James, this very duke of Buckingham, against whom every voice was now open, was extolled as the great ornament and honour of the English nation, and the chief preserver of the kingdom from the Spanish practices; and no honour was thought great enough to requite his merits. No sooner, however, was the present dispositions of that house divulged, than informations from all the officious busy heads in the kingdom flocked in against Buckingham; and the commons proceeded with the greatest warmth and acrimony in the enquiries against the duke, who had notice sent him of what they were about. In the course of these debates, Dr. Turner, a physician, proposed the following queries against Buckingham:

" I. Whether the duke, being admiral, be not the cause of the loss of the king's royalty in the Narrow Seas?

" II. Whether the unreasonable, exorbitant, and immense gifts of money and lands bestowed upon the duke and his kindred, be not the cause of impairing the king's revenues, and impoverishing the crown?

" III. Whether the multiplicity of offices conferred upon the duke, and others depending upon him (whereof they were not capable), be not the cause of the evil government of this kingdom?

" IV. Whether recusants in general, by a kind of connivance, be not borne out and increased by reason of the duke's mother and father-in-law being known papists?

" V. Whether the sale of honours, offices, and places of judicature and ecclesiastical livings and promotions (a scandal and hurt to the kingdom), be not through the duke?

" VI. Whether the duke's staying at home, being admiral and general in the fleet of the sea and land-army, were not the cause of the bad success

and overthrow of that action; and whether he did give good direction for that design?"

In the mean while the speaker received a letter from the king, in which he represented his necessities to the house, and demanded a supply; and at the same time promised to do every thing in his power to satisfy his faithful commons, and redress the grievances they complained of. To give the more strength to this letter, sir Edward Weston, chancellor of the Exchequer, delivered to the house of commons a message, in which he laid before them five articles of expence to be provided for. Upon the receipt of this letter and message, the commons returned an answer full of respect, submission, expressions of zeal for his majesty's service, and even promises of assisting him in his wants; however they artfully intimated to him, that redress of grievances ought to precede the supply they intended to grant him, and that this was the only condition on which he could expect any assistance. It was the misfortune of Charles to consider this answer of the commons as the result, not of duty, but of fear; and he thought that a few additional big words in reply, would quiet all opposition; he therefore sent the speaker the following letter.

" Mr. Speaker,

" The answer of the commons, delivered by you, I like well of, and do take it for a full and satisfactory answer, and I thank them for it; and I hope you will, with all expedition, take a course for performance thereof, the which will turn to your own good as well as mine: but for your clause therein for presenting of grievances, I take that but for a parenthesis in your speech, and not a condition; and yet, for an answer for that part, I will tell you I will be as willing to hear your grievances as my predecessors have been, so that you will apply yourselves to redress grievances, and not to enquire after grievances: I must let you know, that I will not allow any of my servants to be questioned amongst you, much less such as are of eminent place, and near unto me. The old question was, What shall be done to the man the king will honour? but now it hath been the labour of some, to seek what may be done against him whom the king thinks fit to honour. I see you especially aim at the duke of Buckingham: I wonder what hath altered your affections towards him. I do well remember, that in the last parliament in my father's time, when he was an instrument to break the treaties, all of you (as yet I cannot say all, for I know some of you are changed, but yet the house of commons is always the same) did so much honour and respect him, that all the honour conferred upon him was too little; and what he hath done since to alter and change your minds, I cannot say; but can assure you he hath not meddled or done any thing concerning the public or commonwealth, but by special direction and appointment, and as my servant; and is so far from gaining or improving his estate thereby, that I verily think he hath rather impaired the same. I would you would hasten my supply, or else it will be worse for yourselves; for if any ill happen, I think I shall be the last that shall feel it."

And lest this style, which was rather that of an eastern monarch than an English sovereign, should not be sufficiently understood, he sent to demand satisfaction

satisfaction of Mr. Cook for certain words he had spoken, and of Dr. Turner for the queries he had presented. At the same time he prohibited them from touching his minister and servant, Buckingham, and commanded them to finish in a few days the subsidy-bill, otherwise they must expect to be immediately dissolved. These proceedings set the whole house in a flame; and though Buckingham, a few days afterwards, endeavoured to soften the rigour of these harsh commands by a plausible and specious oration, the impression which they made was not so easily effaced, and produced a remonstrance from the commons to this effect:

“That, with extreme joy and comfort, they acknowledged the favour of his majesty’s most gracious expression of affection to his people and this present parliament: that, concerning Mr. Cook, it is true he let fall some few words that might admit an ill construction, and that the house was displeased therewith, as they declared by a general check at the very time he spoke them; and though Mr. Cook’s explanation of his mind more clearly, did somewhat abate the offence of the house, yet were they resolved to take it into farther consideration, and so have done; the effect whereof had appeared ere this, had it not been interrupted by this his majesty’s message; and the like interruption in the business of Dr. Turner.

“As concerning the examination of the letters of his secretary of state, as also of his majesty’s own, and searching the signet-office, and other records, they had done nothing therein not warranted by the precedents of former parliaments upon the like occasions.

“That concerning the duke, they did humbly beseech his majesty to be informed, that it hath been the constant and undoubted usage of parliaments, to question and complain of any person, of what degree soever; and what they should do in relation to him, they little doubted but it would redound to the honour of the crown and safety of the kingdom.

“Lastly, as to the matter of supply, that if a petition may be made of other things, importing his service, then in consultations amongst them, they were resolved so to supply him, as might evidence the truth of their intentions, and make them safe at home and formidable abroad.”

To this the king answered briefly, that he would have them consult about matters of the greatest importance in the first place, and that they should have time enough for other matters afterwards: but this stopped not the proceedings against the duke of Buckingham, to which the earl of Bristol also contributed not a little in the house of lords.

As long as James lived, Bristol, secure of the secret favour of that monarch, behaved with great duty and submission; in hopes that an opportunity would some time occur of regaining his former credit and authority; nor did he entirely despair, even after the accession of Charles. In obedience to the king’s order he continued at his country-seat, and refrained from attending in parliament. Many attempts he made to recover the good opinion of his master; but finding them all ineffectual, and perceiving Charles to be entirely ruled by Buckingham, his inveterate enemy, he determined no longer to keep any measure with the court. When the parliament was summoned, Charles, by a stretch of prerogative, had ordered, that no writ,

as usual, should be sent to Bristol. That nobleman presented a petition to the lords; and entreated their good offices with the king for obtaining what was his due as a peer of the realm. His writ was accordingly sent him; but accompanied with a letter from the lord-keeper Coventry, forbidding him, in the king’s name, to attend in parliament. This letter Bristol transmitted to the lords; and begged their advice with regard to his conduct in so delicate a matter. The king’s prohibition was superseded, and Bristol took his seat in the house. Enraged at these repeated instances of courage, which the court called contumacy, Charles caused his attorney-general to prefer an impeachment of high-treason against Bristol. In return Bristol accused Buckingham of high-treason. The earl’s defence of himself and accusation of the duke are both extant; and, together with some original letters, which are likewise preserved, exhibit the clearest and most distinct views of all the negotiations with Spain. From the whole it appears, that the duke had been guilty of many acts of folly and presumption; but it would be difficult to collect thence any action which in the eye of the law could be held a crime; much less could convict him of high-treason.

The impeachment of the commons was still less dangerous to the duke, if it be examined by the standard of law and equity. The house, after having voted, upon the queries of Dr. Turner, “that common fame was a sufficient ground of accusation by the commons,” proceeded to draw up a set of articles against Buckingham.

They accused him “of having engrossed many offices in his person; of having bought two of them; of neglecting to guard the seas, insomuch that many merchant ships had been taken by the enemy; of furnishing ships to the French king, in order to serve against the Huguenots; of being concerned in the sale of honours and offices; of procuring extensive grants from the crown; of obtaining many titles of honour for his kindred; and of giving physic to the late king without the knowledge of his physicians.” All these articles appear, from a careful comparison of the charge and reply, to be either frivolous or false, or both.

The only article of importance was, “that he had compelled the East India company to pay him the sum of ten thousand pounds; that he had confiscated some goods belonging to French merchants, on pretence of their being the property of Spanish subjects.” The trial was never brought to full conclusion; so that it is difficult for us to form any distinct opinion with regard to these articles: but it must be acknowledged, that the duke’s answer, in these particulars, as in all the rest, is abundantly clear and satisfactory.

In the mean while Charles having ordered sir Dudley Diggs, who had introduced the impeachment against Buckingham, and sir John Elliot, who had wound it up with great violence and vehemence, to be committed to prison; the commons immediately declared that they would desist from all farther business, till satisfaction should be given them for this violation of their privileges. Charles alleged in excuse, that those members, in their accusations of the duke, had dropped some seditious expressions touching majesty itself: upon enquiry it appeared, that no such expressions had been used; the members were discharged, and the

king instead of gaining any advantage by this attempt, only exhibited a fresh instance of his arbitrary disposition, and exposed himself still more to the resentment of the commons.

The ill temper of the lower house seems to have infected the peers, though not to so great a degree. The Stuart family imitated their great predecessor Elizabeth in some of her weaknesses, and Charles, upon a suspicion that the earl of Arundel had consented to a marriage between lord Maltravers and the sister of the duke of Lenox, had ordered him, without expressing his offence in the commitment, to the Tower. The lords looking upon this as a breach of their privileges, began to consider the case, when Charles, according to his wonted but fatal policy, made the affair personal to himself, by ordering the lord-keeper to inform the house, "that the earl of Arundel was restrained for a misdemeanor which was personal to his majesty, and lay in the proper knowledge of his majesty, and had no relation to matters of parliament. Notwithstanding this message, the house continued to search for precedents, and the same message was renewed from the king by the lord-treasurer. The house still proceeded in their enquiry, and found themselves deprived of five proxies by the imprisonment of the earl of Arundel, and that there was but one precedent of a peer being committed, the parliament sitting, without trial or judgment of the peers in parliament. After some researches, the house presented a petition and remonstrance to his majesty, setting forth, "that it was their undoubted right, that no peer, sitting in parliament, is to be imprisoned without orders from the house of peers, unless it be for treason, felony, or refusing to give security for the peace." Many debates passed in the house of lords upon this petition, and upon sundry messages from the king about this privilege, which lasted from the fourteenth of March till the eighth of June: at length they voted to proceed upon no business, and even refused to hear the duke of Buckingham's defence (whose impeachment was then depending), until they were righted as to their privileges in that matter. This unusual firmness of the peers, which they seemed to have copied from the commons, at last produced the deliverance of the earl of Arundel. This was the second instance in which the spirit of the two houses had triumphed over the authority of the king; and it is hard to say, whether the unreasonable obstinacy or compliances of Charles did him most hurt.

The commons made another attack this session, which, had it succeeded, would have given a severe blow to the royal prerogative: they were forming a remonstrance against the practice of levying tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament. This article, together with the new duties laid on merchandize, composed near one half of the crown-revenue; and by stripping the king of these resources, they would have reduced him to a total dependence on his subjects. Charles being informed of these vigorous proceedings, immediately determined to dissolve the parliament. When this resolution was known, the peers, who had all along behaved with great loyalty and submission to his majesty, endeavoured to employ their good offices between him and the commons, and prepared a most excellent petition, intreating the king to allow the parliament to sit some time longer; but

Charles had such a dislike to this parliament, that he would not admit the lords into his presence to present their petition; and, on the fifteenth of June, caused the parliament to be dissolved by a commission under the great-seal. Shortly after, the king published a declaration concerning the reasons for the dissolution of this and the former parliament: and a few days after, he commanded all persons who had any copies of the commons remonstrances, to burn the same, on pain of his highest displeasure. The second proclamation contained very express commands not to preach or dispute upon the controverted points of Arminianism, either for or against them, as it only tended to breed contention.

Mean while an information was preferred, by the king's special command, in the Star-chamber against the duke of Buckingham, for applying a plaster to the late king: but it was so managed that the cause never came to a hearing.

As the king had received no aid from the parliament, he was reduced to great straits for want of money: he had a war with the house of Austria to maintain, besides supplying his allies with the promised succours, and to put his kingdom in a posture of defence; all this could not be done with the ordinary revenues, recourse was therefore to be had to expedients for raising money.

A fresh incumbrance happened from the king of Denmark, his majesty's uncle, whom he had engaged in a war with the emperor, but was entirely defeated on the twenty-seventh of August, by the Imperial troops, and lost all his baggage and train of artillery. This accident obliged Charles to support the Danish monarch, who was in a very ill situation, and could not avoid making peace with the emperor, unless speedily relieved. The method judged most proper to raise money on this urgent occasion, was by a general loan from the subject, according as every man was assessed in the rolls of the last subsidy.

The council on this occasion issued a proclamation in the king's name, wherein, among other articles, is the following very remarkable one: "If any person or persons whatsoever shall refuse to pay the duties, customs, subsidies, or imposts aforesaid, unto our farmers, collectors, or officers, in manner aforesaid, then our will and pleasure is, and we do farther grant, by these presents, unto the lords and others of our privy-council for the time being, or unto the lord-treasurer of England, or chancellor of the Exchequer, now or for the time being, full power and authority to commit all and every such person and persons to prison, who shall disobey this our order and declaration, there to continue until they, and every of them, so disobeying, shall have conformed and submitted themselves unto due obedience concerning the premises."

The reader is to observe, that this proclamation and those powers were only to be enforced "until such time as by parliament, as in former times, it might receive an absolute settling:" and in another part of the proclamation the taxes are ordered "to be received as fully as heretofore they have been levied, gathered, and renewed, by authority of parliament." From those clauses two things are fairly deducible; first, that there was no shadow of authority from parliament for levying these taxes; and secondly, that Charles expressly declared

clared his proclamation to have the force of an act of parliament.

In order to advance the loan, care was taken to publish a list of such as had freely subscribed, for a good example to others; and all the peers and gentlemen were ordered to repair to their country-seats, that their absence might cause no delay or obstacle to the subscriptions. Sir Randolph Crew, lord chief-justice, shewing no zeal for advancing this loan, was removed, and his place given to sir Nicholas Hide.

This example of the king's displeasure was not, however, sufficient for the purpose; so that the court was obliged to use violent remedies in order to force those that were obstinate. The common people who refused to subscribe to the loan were enrolled as soldiers, and ordered to serve in his majesty's troops; as for persons of birth and rank, they were summoned to appear before the council, and, upon a second refusal to lend money, were confined to places at a great distance from their habitations; and such as refused to be so confined, were committed to the several prisons in London. Sir Thomas Wentworth, who was afterwards earl of Strafford, and a most zealous adherent to the king, was among the imprisoned.

At the same time, in order to fit out a fleet, the maritime towns were commanded, by an order of council, to equip a certain number of vessels: the city of London was rated at twenty ships. This is the first instance in Charles's reign of ship-money; a taxation which had been imposed by Elizabeth, but which, after being pushed some steps higher by Charles, occasioned such violent murmurs. The court had also means from whence they expected great advantages, but which proved more detrimental than beneficial to the king; this was to cause ministers to preach, as a Scripture doctrine, that subjects were obliged to obey the king's commands without examination. Among these preachers Dr. Sibthorp and Dr. Manwaring distinguished themselves. On this occasion, the king, by a lordly stretch of prerogative, sequestered Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, from his jurisdiction, and confined him to his house at Ford, for refusing to license the printing the sermons of these tools of arbitrary power.

While these things were transacting at home, the French king, in order to improve the difference between the Dutch and the Spaniards, and promote a war between them, concluded a treaty at the Hague, by the baron de Couper, concerning the equipping a fleet of twenty ships, under the admiral Hautin, with a design to block up Genoa by sea, while the constable Lesdiguières should besiege it by land; and the French ambassador in London obtained of king Charles an English man of war and seventeen merchant ships, to be employed in the same expedition; but shortly after these English ships were received into the pay of France, monsieur de Soubise, taking advantage of the French army's advance towards Italy, invited the protestant inhabitants of Rochelle to take arms against the French government, by whom they had of late been greatly oppressed; and he, with some ships he got together, seized on the Isle of Rhé, as also on several sail of French ships lying in the harbour. Lewis XIII. was so incensed at this act, that, abandoning his design

upon Italy, he turned all his thoughts towards reducing the rebellious Rochellers: and this occasioned another treaty at the Hague, between d'Effesses, the French ambassador, and the States, which was concluded on the twelfth of April this year, whereby it was agreed, that the twenty ships under Hautin were to be employed against Rochelle and the prince de Soubise. The protestants of France, with just reason, took great offence at the Dutch, for giving their assistance against the Rochellers; but their alliance with France, and interests of state, prevailed over all other considerations with the selfish Hollanders. The French admiral, Montmorency, being thus strengthened with the Dutch fleet and the seven English ships, soon obliged Soubise to take refuge in the Isle of Oleron, and retook most of the ships from him; at the same time they formed the blockade of Rochelle by sea, whilst the French army marched to invest it on the land-side. Charles was greatly offended that the ships he had lent the court of France should be employed in this manner, having granted them upon condition only of their being used against the Spaniards; and, accordingly, sent an expostulatory message to the king of France, demanding restitution of the ships; and the French not returning a satisfactory answer, he caused a rich French ship, named the Newhaven, to be seized here in England. This occasioned great clamour in France; and that court, by way of retaliation, laid an embargo upon the English merchant ships and goods in their harbours; but in a short time matters were compromised, and the English ships were sent home: thus affairs remained upon a pacific footing for some time. But, towards the end of this year, the king, upon some disgust against the queen's chaplains and domestics, dismissed them all, after paying them their wages and salaries. The king of France, highly resenting this breach of the marriage articles, seized on all the merchant ships which lay in the river of Bourdeaux; and the English ministry laid hold of this event to engage Charles in a war with France, at a time they were sensible he hardly knew how to continue that he had begun against the house of Austria. The duke de Soubise, and Mr. St. Blancard, a gentleman of Languedoc, came over to England in the beginning of the following year, to manage this affair, and to engage Charles to assist the Rochellers with a fleet, who were now threatened with a siege.

It was not till the month of May that this fleet was fitted out: and now every thing was made ready for the expedition, it required no little art to draw up a declaration of war against France: which declaration was, however, at last, issued; and imported in substance, "That the house of Austria (conspiring the ruin of all those of the reformed religion throughout Christendom, as he said plainly appeared in the affairs of Germany) had such an influence upon the council of France, as to prevail with them to obstruct the sending of the count of Mansfeldt's army, contrary to promise, with whom the French should have joined forces, for the relief of the Palatinate and the German princes; which failure of performance in them proved the ruin of that army, the greatest part whereof perished, and was, by consequence, the loss of the whole protestant party in Germany."

"His majesty farther declared, that having, by his mediation, prevailed for a peace between the French king and his protestant subjects, and engaged his word that the protestants should observe the articles of agreement; nevertheless, the king of France, contrary to the said articles of agreement, blocked up their towns, garrisons, and forts, and had committed many spoils upon them, when they had done nothing in violation of the edict of peace. And that the king of France had committed an example of great injustice, in full peace to seize upon one hundred and twenty English ships, with all their merchandize and artillery: for which reasons, the king was resolved to send a powerful army and navy to require satisfaction."

The command of the fleet was then given to the duke of Buckingham, by whose instigation the rupture with France had been resolved upon: however, in his commission, no mention was made of France, but that the expedition was intended for the relief and restoration of the king of Bohemia and his family; and that the fleet was to be employed as well by way of offence as defence, as should be most conducive to the service of the said prince; which plainly shews its true destination was to be a secret.

This fleet, consisting of above an hundred ships, having on board seven thousand soldiers, sailed from Portsmouth the seventh of June, 1627, and on the twentieth of July appeared before Rochelle. At the duke's approach, the Rochellers shut their gates, for fear of a surprize, as having no notice an English fleet was to come so near them. Presently after arrived the duke de Soubise, with Sir William Becher, who told them, from the duke of Buckingham, that the king of England, out of compassion to their sufferings, had sent a fleet and army to their assistance; and if they refused his aid, he declared he was fully quit of his engagements of honour and conscience for their relief. The mayor replied, in the name of the inhabitants, that they most humbly thanked his majesty for his care of them, but being in strict union with all the rest of the protestants in that kingdom, they could not receive into the city the offered succours, without consulting their friends, and without the previous consent of the whole body of the Huguenots. The duke of Buckingham, finding by this answer it would be difficult to get his troops into Rochelle, directed his course to the island of Rhé, where Foiras commanded; who, at first, endeavoured to hinder the landing of the English troops; but, his forces being few, he was obliged to retreat to his citadel of St. Martin's, which was in a good state of defence. Had the duke understood the art of war, he would, without losing a moment, have marched to the fort, and by that means prevented Foiras from getting his provisions; but he spent so much time in landing his men, and in preparing to march, that Foiras had leisure to get a large quantity of provisions and ammunition into the place. At last the duke marched to St. Martin's, and besieged it in form, but with very little success; for Foiras, being a man of more experience than his antagonist, found means to keep him employed in the siege till November; he then sent the king word he should be master of it in eight days. Mean while, the French king, who had not expected this invasion, ordered his troops

to march with all expedition towards the sea, and came in person to hasten the relief of the island of Rhé. When every thing was ready, count Schomberg passed into the isle at the head of six or seven thousand men, without any opposition from the English fleet, and immediately marched to St. Martin's; the siege whereof the duke of Buckingham raised with precipitation, being vigorously pushed by the French to the sea-side; and it was with great difficulty that he re-embarked the remainder of his troops. Thus ended the expedition to the Isle of Rhé, in which it is said near five thousand men perished, and amongst the rest major-general Burroughs, the best officer in England.

The shameful miscarriage of this expedition contributed still farther to inflame the ill humour of the people. Their liberties they believed were destroyed, illegal taxes imposed, their commerce, which had suffered extremely by the Spaniards, was in a manner ruined by the French war; all these misfortunes were imputed to the obstinacy of Charles, in following the counsels of Buckingham; a man, who neither by his birth, age, services, or merit, appeared to have any title to that unbounded authority which he now possessed.

It will readily be imagined, that neither the king or the duke were desirous of convoking a parliament, while the tide of popular discontent ran so rapidly against them; but, totally unable to procure the means of executing the other military operations they had in view without a considerable aid of money, necessity compelled them to have recourse to that disagreeable expedient; and it was at length resolved that Buckingham should be the first person to propose in council the assembling a new parliament; as it was hoped that by this popular act he might be excused and pardoned former offences, and regain some part of his lost credit with the nation. His advice was followed; and the duke having acted his part, the parliament was summoned, by the unanimous resolution of the council, to meet on the seventeenth of March following. Immediately after, warrants were sent to all parts, to release the gentlemen who had been imprisoned for the affair of the loan-money; and the king had the mortification to see almost all of them, to the amount of twenty-seven, chosen to serve as representatives in the ensuing parliament. Writs of summons were also sent to the archbishop of Canterbury, who had been confined to his country-house for refusing to license Sibthorpe's sermons, and to Williams, bishop of Lincoln, late lord-keeper, who was prisoner in the Tower for having opposed the court measures; and every thing was done that could be devised, to bring the great assembly of the nation together in good humour.

The two houses being met on the seventeenth of March, 1628, were addressed by Charles in a speech, in which he pathetically sets forth the necessities of the times, and requires the assistance of his parliament; but, with the same breath, he most impolitically uses the following expressions: "Every man must now do according to his conscience; wherefore if you (which God forbid) should not do your duties, in contributing what the state at this time needs, I must, in discharge of my conscience, use those other means God hath put into my hands, to save that which the follies

of particular men may otherwise hazard to lose. Take not this as a threatening, for I scorn to threaten any but my equals, but as an admonition from him, who by nature and duty has most care of your preservation and prosperity."

When Charles had ended his speech, the lord-keeper began a long harangue upon the state of affairs in Europe, setting forth the dangerous power of the house of Austria, and the motives (which the reader has already seen in the declaration of war) of England's interposing between the French king and his protestant subjects. Having expatiated on those matters, he concludes his speech thus; "his majesty, as he has told you, hath chose this way of parliamentary supplies, not as the only way, but as the fittest; not because he is destitute of others, but because it is most agreeable to the goodness of his own gracious disposition, and to the desire and will of his people: if this be deferred, necessity, and the sword of the enemy, may make way to the other. Remember his majesty's admonition; I say, remember it."

These two speeches need no comment, since they plainly speak both the king's principles concerning the use of parliaments, and his intention in case he received not from the present parliament the satisfaction he expected; but, notwithstanding the provocation this great assembly received from this manner of treating it, the commons resolved to proceed with the utmost calmness and moderation, in redressing the grievances of the public, in restraining the exercise of arbitrary power, in fixing the limits of the royal prerogative, and in asserting the rights and privileges of the people.

But before they entered into debate, the two houses petitioned the king for a fast, which being over, the commons proceeded to business; when it soon appeared with what spirit they were met; for in settling the proper committees for the dispatch of business, great complaints were made concerning the influence of the deputy-lieutenants and some justices of the peace, particularly in Cornwall, in violating the freedom of elections by quartering soldiers, and other oppressions, upon electors who opposed the court: they then ordered all their members to lay before the house the names of the popish recusants within their several provinces of representation; and resolved to proceed upon the king's supply, but so as it should go hand in hand with the redress of grievances. The chief speakers upon this important debate were sir Francis Seymour, sir Thomas Wentworth (afterwards the famous earl of Strafford), sir Benjamin Rudyard, sir Edward Coke, Mr. Cromwell, sir Humphrey May, and Mr. secretary Cook; which two last were for postponing the redress of grievances, and immediately granting the supply. It would swell this work too much was I to insert all that was said on this great occasion; it will be sufficient to observe, that the speeches made by the gentlemen of the opposition are perhaps the finest extant in any language, and may be found in a collection intitled, "The Sovereign's Preservative and the Subjects Privilege," printed in 1657, to which Mr. Rushworth has been greatly obliged, and has copied from it great part of his Collection: it is from them that the English reader can collect the truest notion of the English constitution, and the noblest sentiments of liberty, both personal and political.

In the course of these debates, it was found that when sir John Hevingham, and some other gentlemen, imprisoned on the subject of the loan, brought their Habeas corpus, they were, notwithstanding, remanded back to prison, upon this principle, laid down by the attorney-general, that persons committed by the king and council, were never bailed till his majesty's pleasure was first known. This produced many long and warm debates upon the liberty of the subject; and on the third of April, the following resolution appears entered upon the Journals:

"First, Resolved upon question, that no freeman ought to be committed or detained in prison, or otherwise restrained, by the command of the king or the privy-council, or any other, unless some cause of the commitment, detainer, or restraint, be expressed, for which, by law, he ought to be committed, detained, or restrained: without one negative.

"Secondly, Resolved upon question, that the writ of Habeas corpus may not be denied, but ought to be granted to every man that is committed or detained in prison, or otherwise restrained, though it be by the command of the king, the privy-council, or any other, he praying the same: without one negative.

"Thirdly, Resolved upon question, that if a freeman be committed or detained in prison, or otherwise restrained, by the command of the king, the privy-council, or any other, no cause of commitment, detainer, or restraint, being expressed, for which, by law, he ought to be committed, detained, or restrained, and the same being returned upon a Habeas corpus granted for the same party, that the man ought to be delivered or bailed: without one negative.

Fourthly, Resolved upon question, that the ancient and undoubted right of every freeman is, that he hath a full and absolute property in his goods and estate, and that no tax, tallage, loan, benevolence, or other like charge, ought to be commanded or levied by the king, or any of his ministers, without common assent by act of parliament: agreed, nemine contradicente."

While these dispositions were making by the commons to defend their civil and personal liberties, they were equally zealous concerning religion, and both houses presented a petition to his majesty on the thirty-first of May, against recusants; who was pleased to return for answer, "That he recommended to them to think of a law against popery; and assures his parliament, that the lenity hitherto shewn to the English papists, was only with a view to procure suitable advantages to English protestants in popish countries, in which expectation he had been deceived; and promises, that unless he saw better fruits for the future, he would execute the laws against the papists to a greater degree of severity than was craved in that petition." This answer so pleased the commons, that they forthwith proceeded to the business of the supply; and in order to convince his majesty that they were sufficiently disposed to relieve his necessities, provided he would gratify them in their just demands, they voted him no less than five entire subsidies; whereof when secretary Cook informed the king, Charles asked him by how many voices it had been carried, "By one," replied the secretary; at which perceiving the king

change countenance, "Sir, added he, your majesty hath herein the greater cause to rejoice, for the house was so unanimous as to make but one voice;" at which the king was exceedingly pleased; and charged the secretary to tell the house, in his name, "that he would deny them nothing of their liberties which any of his predecessors had granted."

The supply, however, thus voted, was not yet passed into a law; and the commons determined to employ the interval in providing some barrier to their rights and liberties: forced loans, benevolences, taxes without consent of parliament, arbitrary imprisonments, billeting soldiers, and martial law, which were the chief grievances the nation complained of, and against which a permanent remedy was to be provided by some act that was to receive the sanction of the whole legislature. On the fourth of April therefore, the commons resolved to desire a conference with the lords, concerning certain ancient and fundamental liberties of England; and four members, each of whom was to chuse two assistants, were appointed to manage the conference. The managers were sir Dudley Diggs, who chose for his assistants sir Benjamin Rudyard and Mr. Pym; Sir Edward Coke, who made choice of Mr. Rolles and Mr. Hackwill to assist him; Mr. Selden, whose assistants were Mr. Herbert and Mr. Whitby; and Mr. Littleton, who had with him Sir Robert Philips and Mr. Charles Jones. Thus the management of this conference, which may be said to be decisive of the laws and liberties of England, was committed to men of as much spirit and learning as ever the nation produced.

The king was no sooner informed of the intention of the commons than he employed every expedient in order to divert them from their purpose; and all the time the conference was depending, endeavoured to amuse them by repeated messages, begging them to leave off talking of grievances, and to proceed upon the supplies; promising, upon his royal word, that they should then receive all due satisfaction. It would tire the reader, should I repeat the particulars of all those messages which the commons received, with a seeming deference to the king's person, but with a manifest contempt of his menaces, and an invincible distrust of his promises. The peers, who, though during the whole of these violent struggles they assumed in the main a laudable impartiality, were yet, as is natural, somewhat prejudiced in favour of monarchy, began to apprehend that the commons would go too far in their projected reform, and therefore recommended to them to consider of his majesty's assurances, and depend upon them: this occasioned several debates, and many arguments were urged on both sides of the question; but sir Thomas Wentworth

reconciled all parties, by saying, "That never house of commons, so far as concerned themselves, had greater confidence than the present in the goodness of their sovereign: but we are all ambitious, said he, that his majesty's goodness should descend to posterity, and we are accountable for a public trust. There hath been a public violation of the laws, by the king's ministers; and nothing can satisfy the nation, but a public reparation. Our desire to secure the subjects right by bill, will carry us no farther than what is contained in former laws, with some modest provision for instruction, performance, and execution." These sentiments were so agreeable to the whole house, that the secretary was desired to consider them as an answer to his message. And now the commons went upon two petitions for the king, one against billeting of soldiers, and the other, the famous Petition of Rights, which was the result of all the conferences they had held with the lords upon the point of personal liberty. As the subsidy-bill was not yet passed, Charles was greatly perplexed how to behave; but he was at last obliged to receive the petition concerning billeting of soldiers, which was drawn up in very strong and affecting terms, complaining of the miseries which the kingdom suffered by the subjects being obliged to lodge and maintain such numbers of dissolute fellows. Charles could not help expressing his discontent in pretty strong terms, upon their presenting this petition; and, instead of answering it, he exhorted them to proceed, without loss of time, upon the supplies. Their obstinacy increased in proportion to his impatience: they determined not to gratify the king till he had done them justice; and the Petition of Right being by this time finished, they sent it up to the lords for their perusal and concurrence. The upper-house, for reasons I have already given, desirous to abate the over-zeal of the commons, proposed the plan of a remonstrance more moderate, which they recommended to their consideration; but the lower-house was by no means satisfied with this plan, which they asserted would leave their liberties in a still more precarious situation than at present, and therefore absolutely rejected it; but not without giving the lords ample and satisfactory reasons for so doing: and all obstacles being finally removed, the Petition of Right passed the commons, and was sent up to the lords for their approbation, who immediately passed the same, without any material alteration. This petition, which may be called the second Great Charter of England, is of so great importance, and forms so essential a part of the English constitution, that we should deem ourselves inexcusable should we deny our readers the satisfaction of perusing it at full length, which they may do in the subjoined note*.

The

* This petition, as agreed to by both houses, stood as follows.

"I. Humbly shew unto our sovereign lord the king, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in parliament assembled, that whereas it is declared and enacted, by a statute made in the reign of king Edward I. commonly called "Statutum de Tallagio non concedendo," that no tallage or aid shall be laid or levied by the king, or his heirs in this realm, without the good-will and assent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other the freemen of the commonalty of this realm: and, by authority of parliament held in the twenty-fifth year of king Edward III. it is declared

and enacted, that, from henceforth, no person should be compelled to make any loans to the king against his will, because such loans were against reason, and the franchise of the land: and, by other laws of this realm, it is provided, that none shall be charged with any charge or imposition called a benevolence, or by such like charge: by which the statutes before-mentioned, and other the good laws and statutes of this realm, your subjects have inherited this freedom, that they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge, not set by common consent in parliament.

II. Yet, nevertheless, of late, divers commissions directed to sundry commissioners in several counties, with instructions, have

The petition was delivered on the twenty-eighth of May, and on the second of June the king gave the following answer: "The king willeth, that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm; and that the statutes be put in due execution, that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppressions, contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the performance whereof he holds himself in conscience as well obliged, as of his prerogative." This answer proved very unsatisfactory to the parliament, for, on the seventh of June, after great debates in both houses, the lords desired a conference with the commons, and it was agreed that they should join together in a petition to his majesty, "for a clear and satisfactory answer to the Petition of Right, in full parliament." While these debates subsisted, another message came to the commons, acquainting them, that his majesty designed in a few days to put an end to the session, and pressing them not to enter on any

new matter. This was occasioned by the commons vigorously prosecuting Dr. Manwaring, a favourite of the king's, whom they obliged to make an abject submission, and recant the detestable doctrines of absolute power and non-resistance, which he had preached up*: but more particularly by a motion made in the house by sir Edward Coke, for impeaching the duke of Buckingham as the author of many of those grievances under which the nation laboured. The commons, enraged at this message from the king, which they looked upon as prescribing to them their method of proceeding, immediately fell in with sir Edward's motion, and the matter was carried on so warmly, that a remonstrance was almost finished against the duke, when Charles, apprized of the storm that threatened his favourite, resolved, if possible, to divert it by gratifying their wishes with regard to the Petition of Right. Accordingly, on the seventh of June, he came to the house of peers, and

have issued; by means whereof your people have been in divers places assembled and required to lend certain sums of money unto your majesty; and many of them, upon their refusal so to do, have had an oath administered unto them, not warrantable by the laws or statutes of this realm, and have been constrained to become bound to make appearance and give attendance before your privy-council, and in other places; and others of them have been, therefore imprisoned, confined, and sundry other ways molested and disquieted: and divers other charges have been laid and levied upon your people, in several counties, by lord-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, commissioners for musters, justices of peace, and others, by command or direction from your majesty, or your privy-council, against the laws and free customs of this realm.

III. And whereas also, by the statute called "The Great Charter of the Liberties of England," it is declared and enacted, that no freeman may be taken or imprisoned, or be disseized of his freehold or liberties, or his free customs, or be out-lawed or exiled, or in any manner destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

IV. And in the eight-and-twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it was declared and enacted, by authority of parliament, that no man, of what estate or condition soever that he be, should be put out of his land or tenement, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disinherited, nor put to death, without being brought to answer by due process of law.

V. Nevertheless, against the tenour of the said statutes, and others the good laws and statutes of your realm, to that end provided, divers of your subjects have of late been imprisoned without any cause shewed: and when for their deliverance, they were brought before a justice, by your majesty's writs of Habeas Corpus, there to undergo and receive as the court should order, and their keepers commanded to certify the causes of their detainer, no cause was certified, but that they were detained by your majesty's special command, signified by the lords of your privy-council, and yet, were returned back to their several prisons, without being charged with any thing to which they might make answer according to law.

VI. And whereas of late, great companies of soldiers and mariners have been dispersed into divers counties of the realm, and the inhabitants, against their wills, have been compelled to receive them into their houses, and there to suffer them to sojourn, against the laws and customs of this realm, and to the great grievance and vexation of the people.

VII. And whereas also, by authority of parliament, in the five-and-twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it is declared and enacted, that no man should be fore-judged of life or limb, against the form of the Great Charter and the law of the land; and by the said Great Charter, and other the laws and statutes of this your realm, no man ought to be judged to death, but by the laws established in this your realm, either by the customs of this realm or by acts of parliament; and whereas no offender, of what kind soever, is exempted from the proceedings to be used, and punishments to be inflicted by the laws and statutes of this your realm: nevertheless, of late, divers commissions, under your majesty's great-seal, have issued forth, by which certain persons have been assigned and appointed commissioners, with power and authority to proceed within the land, according to the justice of martial law, against such soldiers and mariners, or other dissolute persons joining with them, as should commit any murder, robbery, felony, mutiny, or outrage or misdemeanor whatsoever, and

by such summary course and order as is agreeable to martial law, and as is used in armies in the time of war, to proceed to the trial and condemnation of such offenders, and them to cause to be executed and put to death, according to law martial.

VIII. By pretext whereof, some of your majesty's subjects have been, by some of the said commissioners, put to death: when and where, if, by the laws and statutes of the land, they had deserved death, by the same laws and statutes also they might, and by no other ought, to have been judged and executed.

IX. And also sundry grievous offenders, by colour thereof claiming exemption, have escaped the punishment due to them by the laws and statutes of this your realm, by reason that divers of your officers and ministers of justice have unjustly refused or forbore to proceed against such offenders, according to the same laws and statutes, upon pretence that the said officers were punishable only by martial law, and by authority of such commissions as aforesaid: which commissions, and all other of like nature, are wholly and directly contrary to the said laws and statutes of this your realm.

X. They, therefore, humbly pray your most excellent majesty, that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent by act of parliament: and that none be called to make an answer, or take such oath, or to give attendance, or be confined, or otherwise molested or disquieted concerning the same, or for refusal thereof: and that no freeman, in any such manner as is before mentioned, be imprisoned or detained: and that your majesty would be pleased to remove the said soldiers and mariners, and that your people may not be so burthened in time to come: and that the aforesaid commissions, for proceeding by martial law, be revoked and annulled: and that, hereafter, no commissions, of like nature, may issue forth to any person or persons whatsoever, to be executed as aforesaid; lest, by colour of them, any of your majesty's subjects be destroyed, or put to death, contrary to the laws and franchise of the land.

XI. All which they must humbly pray of your most excellent majesty, as their rights and liberties, according to the laws and statutes of this realm: and that your majesty would also vouchsafe to declare, that the awards, doings, and proceedings, to the prejudice of your people in any of the premises, shall not be drawn hereafter into consequence or example: and that your majesty would be also graciously pleased, for the further comfort and safety of your people, to declare your royal will and pleasure, that, in the things aforesaid, all your officers and ministers shall serve you according to the laws and statutes of this realm, as they tender the honour of your majesty, and the prosperity of this kingdom. Stat. 4 Car. I. cap. xiv.

* Manwaring had preached a sermon, which appeared, upon enquiry, to have been printed by the special command of his majesty; and, when examined, it was found to contain doctrines destructive of all civil liberty. It was there affirmed, "that though property was commonly lodged in the hands of the subject; yet, upon any urgent necessity, all property was transferred to the king; that the sovereign might impose taxes without consent of parliament; and that the divine law enjoined compliance with every demand, however unjust, which the prince should think proper to make upon the people."

pronouncing

pronouncing the usual form of words, "*Soit droit fait comme il est désiré*—Let it be law, as desired," gave full sanction and authority to the petition.

This concession was received with loud acclamations and public rejoicings; and the commons could no longer delay the bill of subsidies, which was immediately passed; but their ill humour did not abate: though they had granted the king this aid, yet they still retained a pledge in their hands, which, they imagined, would ensure the success of all their applications. Tonnage and poundage had not yet been granted by parliament; and the commons had artfully concealed their intention of attacking that branch of revenue, till the royal assent had been given to the Petition of Right, which they justly considered as of the utmost importance. They then boldly affirmed, that the levying tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament, was an evident violation of all the ancient privileges of the people; and they proposed to present a remonstrance to that purpose. They next resumed their censure of Buckingham's conduct, against whom they had conceived the most implacable hatred, and drew up a remonstrance of several late miscarriages in the government, in the conclusion whereof they asserted, "the exclusive power of the said duke, and the abuse of that power, to be the principal cause of all the evils and dangers therein maintained; and therefore they humbly submitted it to his majesty's wisdom, whether it can be safe for himself, or for his kingdom, that so great power, both by sea and land, as rests in him should be trusted in the hands of any one subject whatsoever."

On the seventeenth of June this address was presented to the king, with the bill of subsidies, at the Banqueting-house, at Whitehall, who received it with the most sensible chagrin, and afterwards gave the lower-house to understand, that he would shortly put an end to the session. The commons hereupon set about putting the finishing hand to the remonstrance against tonnage and poundage. Great was the indignation of Charles, when he heard of this remonstrance; and well knowing, by experience, what effects it would have, if completed by the commons and rejected by him, he resolved to cut the session short before it could be perfected: he therefore, on the twenty-second of June, while the remonstrance was reading in the lower house, suddenly came to the house of peers, and sending for the commons, prorogued the session to the twentieth of October. On this occasion he addressed himself to both houses in the following speech.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"It may seem strange that I come so suddenly to end this session, therefore, before I give my assent to the bills, I will tell you the cause (though I must avow I owe an account of my actions to none but God alone.) It is known to every one, that awhile ago the house of commons gave me a remonstrance; how acceptable every man may judge, and for the merit of it I will not call that in question, for I am sure no wise man can justify it. Now, since I am certainly informed that a second remonstrance is preparing for me, to take away my profit of tonnage and poundage (one of the chief main-

nances of the crown), by alleging that I have given away my right thereof by my answer to your petition.

"This is so prejudicial to me, as I am forced to end this session some few hours before I meant it, being willing not to receive any more remonstrances to which I must give an harsh answer.

"And since I see that even the house of commons begins already to make false constructions of what I granted in your petition; lest it be worse interpreted in the country, I now make a declaration concerning the true intent thereof.

"The professions of both houses in the time of hammering this petition, was no ways to trench upon my prerogative, saying, they had neither intention nor power to hurt it.

"Therefore it must needs be conceived, that I have granted no new, but only confirmed the ancient liberties of my subjects; yet, to shew the clearness of my intentions, that I neither repent nor mean to recede from any thing I have promised you, I do here declare, that those things which have been done, whereby men had cause to suspect the liberty of the subject to be trenched upon (which indeed was the true and first ground of their petition), shall not hereafter be drawn into example for prejudice, and in time to come (on the word of a king) you shall not have the like cause to complain.

"But as for tonnage and poundage, it is a thing I cannot want, and was never intended by you to ask, never meant (I am sure) by me to grant. To conclude: I command you all that are here, to take notice of what I have spoken at this time, to be the true meaning of what I granted you in your petition; but especially you, my lords the judges, for to you only, under me, belongs the interpretation of the laws; for none of the houses of parliament, either joint or separate (what new doctrine soever may be raised), have any power either to make or declare a law without my consent."

The reader of himself will be apt enough to make reflections upon the infatuation which possessed both the king and commons in the latter part of this session. If, on one hand, Charles has been taxed with a design to render himself absolute, it must likewise be owned that the leaders in the parliament seemed bent upon infringing and reducing his undoubted prerogative. His confirmation of their rights and privileges was so well received in all parts of the kingdom, that the violent party began to fear the king would become popular; they therefore resolved, in drawing up the remonstrance, to insert in it every shadow or suspicion of a grievance, which might help to inspire the subject with an hatred and contempt of the sovereign. In short, I can by no means think the commons are to be justified in pressing their remonstrances before they saw some fresh invasion of their national liberty, or some fresh abuses of regal power, on which they could ground their proceedings. Possibly Charles, upon such forbearance of the commons, might have followed his too great propensity to arbitrary rule, and have given them cause of complaint; but I am inclined to believe, that had they borne these remonstrances, they would then have left all the blame with Charles, nor would the public have been so much divided in their sentiments, as they afterwards were, to the deluging their country

The Duke of Buckingham Stab'd by Felton.



*To the most Noble
Marquis! of
This State is most*



*Cha. Watson Wentworth,
Rockingham,
humbly Inscribed.*

country with the blood of her own sons and the utter overthrow of the constitution.

Rochelle had been for some time besieged by the French; and it appeared, by cardinal Richelieu's taking the conduct of it upon himself, that he intended to exterminate the Huguenots, whose whole dependance lay now upon Charles. In May, this year, the presence of Buckingham being necessary in parliament, at the pressing instances of the duke of Soubise, and deputies sent from Rochelle, the earl of Denbigh was dispatched, with a fleet, to the relief of this place; but neglecting to attack the French fleet, had returned with dishonour. In order to wipe out this stain, the duke of Buckingham resolved to take the command upon himself, and repaired to Portsmouth, where the fleet and forces were rendezvoused: but before he could set out on his expedition, he met with that fate from the hand of an assassin, which, had he survived much longer, he would probably have suffered from the general resentment of the nation. This assassin was John Felton, a gentleman by birth, who had been a lieutenant of infantry, and disappointed in his expectation of a captain's commission, which Buckingham had bestowed upon another. This man was a fanatic in religion, and in this case his revenge seems to have co-operated with his enthusiasm. The duke was walking with sir Thomas Fryer, through an entry, from one apartment to another, when Felton, coming behind him, stabbed him with a knife, which he left sticking in the wound; Buckingham exclaimed, "The villain hath killed me!" and, pulling out the knife, dropped down and died on the floor. The assassin might have escaped, but seemed to glory in his crime, and surrendered himself immediately to justice.

Charles was at a gentleman's seat, within four miles of Portsmouth (whither he had come, by his presence to hasten the preparations) when his favourite was killed, and he received the news of it while he was at church; but he was so intent in his devotions, that no discomposure appeared in his action, nor alteration in his countenance, till the service was over, when he threw himself on his bed, and poured forth a flood of tears, and the most passionate expressions, for the memory of his beloved Buckingham, whom he always cherished, and shewed his regard for, by a noble train of munificent acts towards his widow and family. When the first transports of grief were a little subsided, he sent Dr. Hutchenon, one of his chaplains in ordinary, to try if he could learn from the assassin by what inducement he had committed the horrid fact. Felton strenuously denied his having been dealt with by any one for that purpose, declaring his only motive to have been, that the duke had been declared an enemy to the common-wealth in the late remonstrances tendered to the king by the parliament; and this he persisted in, both at the time of his examination before the lords of the council and at his execution: that which excited this wretch to so horrid a murder, seems likewise to have influenced the people in general, who rejoiced at the death of the duke as of the greatest enemy of their country.

Thus in the flower of life, being but thirty-six years of age, fell George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, whose rise was sudden, his promotions rapid, and his end untimely. Notwithstanding the load

of public censure heaped upon this great favourite and minister, there appears good reasons to induce us to believe that he meant well to both his master and his country; and that his chief misfortunes proceeded from jealousy in others, who thought the great and extensive power he enjoyed dangerous to the rights of a free people. It is possible, if he had lived a few years longer, he might have seen through the temptations of greatness, and have proved as great a pillar of this state as any that ever went before him. He was of a most noble and generous disposition: he seldom studied to conceal his resentments, either of love or hatred; in the former he was immoderate, in the latter he was not sanguinary; but once offended, he never could forget: his courage was great, but it sometimes transported him too far, for if he had a little yielded to the times, and withdrawn from those storms he could neither prevent nor allay, he might perhaps have found a milder fate.

The fatal event of the duke's death, which happened on the twenty-third of August, proved little or no obstacle to the proceedings of the fleet; the next day the command of the expedition was given to the earl of Lindsey; and they set sail from Portsmouth on the eighth of September; but by this time cardinal Richelieu had finished his famous Digue, or mote, which entirely blockaded Rochelle; and the English fleet being unable to force the barricadoe, or gain entrance into the harbour, were obliged to return without effecting any thing for the relief of the besieged, who, unable to hold out any longer, threw their gates open to the cardinal's army.

The ill humour this disgraceful expedition threw the nation into, made Charles think it improper to let the parliament meet according to their adjournment, in the month of October this year, and therefore he farther prorogued that assembly to the twentieth of January following; and in the mean time archbishop Abbot was admitted to kiss the king's hand, and commanded not to fail of his attendance at the council-table; which was done at this conjuncture to moderate the heats of certain ecclesiastics who made great disturbance in the church by their scholastical controversies concerning free-will, predestination, and the like. Both parties were countenanced by several bishops, and each of them would insist on their opinion being the true doctrine of the church, when in truth they were but the opinions of private men; for nothing can be called the doctrine of the church, that is not declared by the whole clergy lawfully assembled in convocation. These sectarists were distinguished by the names of Calvinists and Arminians: the Calvinists (which were the same with the Puritans) were countenanced by the commons in parliament and some few of the bishops; while the Arminians had the greater part of the episcopal order, and even the king himself, on their side, as they were zealous assertors of the prerogative royal and the court-doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance. Charles, however, would gladly have put an end to these feuds, and reconciled both parties: with this view he caused the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England to be published, with a proclamation restraining all disputes on the points controverted: he also issued an order for calling in a book written by one Montagu, in the late king's time, called an Appeal to Cæsar, for

which he had been made a bishop. At the same time Dr. Potter, a known Calvinist, was promoted to the see of Carlisle.

Not all those acts of concession on the part of the court could, however, mollify the acrimony of the opposition; for the parliament assembling on the twentieth of January, 1629, the grand committees, which are usually the first things settled at the opening of that assembly, were very busy and active in traversing whatever views they thought the council might have adopted: that of religion made great complaints of invasions upon the church, which they pretended was much endangered by the growth of popery and Arminianism. They solicited the king to proclaim a fast, and presented an address, containing a sort of apology for their preferring the affairs of religion to any other article of business in their deliberations. Buckingham, the great object of their hatred, being now removed, their resentment glowed with a double rancour against Laud, bishop of London, who, as the king's spiritual director, encouraged all his high notions of hierarchy and prerogative. He was branded as a superstitious ecclesiastic, chief of the Arminian sect, by whose interest Montagu, Cozens, Sibthorp, and Manwaring, had been pardoned, and even promoted to bishoprics, or rich benefices; and they exclaimed against him as an implacable foe, not only to the puritans, but also to the liberty of his country.

While the committee was thus employed in examining religious grievances, the rest of the house were no less active in their inquiries into the miscarriages in civil affairs. Though the remonstrance against tonnage and poundage had not been presented to the king, it was, however, public, and sufficient to shew the people what was the sense of the house of commons. Upon this foundation, three merchants, among others, refused to pay this duty to the king; one of them, by name Rolles, a merchant of London and a member of the house of commons, had refused it, as contrary to law; whereupon his warehouse had been sealed up by the officers of the customs; and Chambers and Vassal, the other two merchants, were condemned by the barons of the Exchequer, who ordered their goods to be detained. The affair of Rolles was, by the commons, adjudged a breach of the privilege of their house, for which the custom-house officers were summoned before the house, to answer their misdemeanor therein. The king, willing to support his authority, interposed in this matter, and sent a message to the house, informing them, that what had been done by the officers, was only in obedience to the orders they had received: "that as to himself, he did not mean to levy these duties as belonging to him by hereditary right, but out of a full persuasion that the house of commons, suitable to their large professions, would grant them by bill, which he desired they would dispatch, to put an end to the dispute."

The commons, however, were far from being satisfied with this acknowledgement of the king; they still insisted, as an indispensable condition, that he should entirely forbear the levying of those duties; after which they would take into consideration upon what terms they would restore to him a revenue, which he had once fairly resigned. On this occasion debates in the house ran very high, and they resolved to proceed to a remonstrance

against the subsidies of tonnage and poundage, "not being granted by act of parliament." Charles finding the commons thus refractory, immediately adjourned them to the twenty fifth of February, and afterwards to the second of March. When they met again, the same affair was brought upon the carpet; and so eager were they to vent their passion, that they locked the door of the house, and gave the key to sir Miles Hobart, one of their members, to keep, and refused to admit the usher of the black rod, whom the king had sent with a message to them; whereat he was so much offended, that he sent for the captain of the band of pensioners, and the guards, to force an entrance. In the mean time the heads of a remonstrance were offered to sir John Finch, the speaker, to be put to the question, which he refused, declaring that the king had given him an order to adjourn the house to the tenth of March, and to put no question, nor admit of any debate; upon which he rose and left the chair. The whole house was now in an uproar; the speaker was forced back into the chair, and held in it by Mr. Denzil Holles, and sir Peter Hayman, till the following protestation was drawn up and read.

"Protestation of the House of Commons.

"I. Whosoever shall bring in an innovation of religion, or by favour seek to introduce popery, or Arminianism, or other opinions disagreeing from the true and orthodox church, shall be reputed a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth.

"II. Whosoever shall counsel or advise the taking or levying, of the subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, or shall be an actor or instrument therein, shall likewise be reputed a common enemy to the commonwealth.

"III. If any man shall voluntarily yield to pay the said subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, shall be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of England, and an enemy to this commonwealth."

This being passed in a tumultuous manner, they rose before the pensioners and guards came, and the house was adjourned to the tenth of March. In the intermediate time a proclamation was drawn, but not published, for the dissolution of the parliament, and on the third of March, Denzil Holles, esq. sir Miles Hobart, sir John Elliot, sir Peter Hayman, John Seldon, esq. William Coriton, Walter Long, William Stroude, and Benjamin Valentine, were ordered next day to appear before the council. These gentlemen had distinguished their zeal through the whole session, but more particularly on the last day: and Mr. Holles, sir John Elliot, Mr. Coriton, and Mr. Valentine, attended the council, but refusing to answer out of parliament, which was still sitting, they were committed close prisoners to the Tower. Warrants were then issued for apprehending the rest, and for sealing up their studies.

On the tenth of March the king came in his robes to the house of lords, who attended in theirs; and made a speech, in which he twice called the gentlemen in the opposition "vipers," and commended his own party, and the house of in particular for their dutiful demeanor; and then dissolved the parliament.

These

These are all the proceedings of this famous parliament, that are worthy either of praise or imitation. Their heats concerning religion, their protestations relating to it, and their bitterness against all who were suspected of what they termed Arminianism, were as unjustifiable and undutiful, as the noble stand they made for the personal liberties and properties of the subject, was memorable and glorious. However, Charles, that he might not seem to exert a despotic power of punishing those who headed the opposition against his measures, and to persuade the people that he intended to conform himself to the law as much as possible, appointed the judges to assemble, on the twenty-first of April, at Serjeant's Inn, where he caused certain questions to be proposed to them; and, according to their answers, ordered the attorney general to raise a process against the imprisoned members, for their violent, unlawful, and seditious behaviour in the house of commons. Alderman Chambers was prosecuted in the Star-chamber, for having said "that the merchants were more oppressed in England than in Turkey," and was condemned to an exorbitant fine, the payment of which reduced him to extreme poverty. Long was sentenced to pay two thousand pounds for having violated his oath in sitting as a member of the lower-house, after he had been sworn sheriff of Wiltshire. The imprisoned members demanded the privilege of the Habeas corpus; they were detained in confinement from March to October; and then the court of King's Bench decreed, that they should remain in prison during the king's pleasure: Elliot was moreover cast in a fine of two thousand pounds; Valentine in one of five hundred; and Holles obliged to pay one thousand marks.

Charles, deprived of all hopes of supply from parliament, was now obliged to conclude a peace with the two crowns against whom he had hitherto carried on a war, begun without necessity, and conducted without glory. The crown of France, though victorious over its protestant subjects, was weakened by civil dissensions among the princes of the blood: it was threatened by the greatness of the house of Austria, and upon the point of being engaged in a war with Italy; in short, Lewis wanted a peace as much or more than Charles did; and it was privately agreed, that the Venetians should interpose their good offices for a peace between the two crowns. Georgi and Castarini, the two ministers employed by the republic for that purpose, had therefore very little more to settle than mere matters of form in their negotiation. At last, on the fourteenth of April, the articles were agreed on; but contain nothing in them remarkable enough to claim a place here. In Charles's present circumstances, he could not pretend to insist on any terms for the Huguenots; and they were accordingly left to the mercy of their sovereign.

Peace was soon after made with Spain. It is said that Reubens, the famous Flemish painter, who was then in England, painting a kind of apotheosis of James, for the roof of the noble banqueting-house of Whitehall, was ordered by the archduchess to sound the inclinations of Charles.

This is by no means unlikely. The war, which about two years before had broke out in Italy on account of the successions to the duchies of Mantua and Montferrat, had been unfavourable to the Spaniards; and that court, suspecting they should be deserted by the emperor, and being assured of the dispositions of Charles for peace, gave a public character to don Carlos de Colomos, for putting an end to the negotiations which Reubens had begun. It required very little dexterity to conclude this peace; the articles of which only confirmed the former treaties we have already seen, and was sworn to on the seventeenth of December, sir Francis Cottington being sent to Spain to take that sharp oath and ratification of the same.

In this peace nothing was stipulated in favour of the prince Palatine, except that Philip III. promised in general to employ his good offices for the restoration of the elector. Charles, however, did not desist from his endeavours to procure some relief to that unhappy family; he had a great affection for his sister, and had supported her husband and her in a court at the Hague, at a vast expence; and had expended large sums, as subsidies, in her service. Having settled his plan of governing without a parliament, he now imagined it would be in his power to give them effectual assistance. With this view, in the Spring of the year 1630*, in conjunction with France, he brought about a peace between the kings of Sweden and Poland, in hopes of inducing the former to undertake the cause of the protestants in Germany.

This was the famous Gustavus Adolphus, whose heroic genius, assisted by the wisest policy, rendered him, in a little time, the most celebrated monarch of the age. To encourage and support him in his intended invasion of Germany, Charles engaged to furnish him with six thousand men; but, that he might save appearances with the house of Austria, he employed the name of the marquis of Hamilton, a nobleman allied to the crown. Hamilton entered into an agreement with Gustavus; and, having levied these troops in England and Scotland, at Charles's expence, he landed them in the Elbe.

Soon after was fought the important battle of Leipzig; where the Imperial army, under count Tilly, was totally defeated by the victorious Swede. Gustavus proceeded in his conquests with such an amazing and rapid progress, as is scarce to be paralleled either in ancient or modern history; and, in a short time, made himself master of the greatest part of Germany.

Charles was all this while studying the means of raising money, and establishing his own power by making examples of those who durst oppose it. Among other methods practised by Charles to raise money, was that of appointing commissioners to compound with those who, though summoned at his coronation to come and receive the honour of knighthood, had neglected to appear. In the reign of Edward II. an old custom was enacted into a law, importing, that every man possessed of twenty pounds a year in land, should be knighted: almost all the succeeding monarchs had put this law in execution. Charles, considering the

* On the twenty-ninth day of May this year, the queen was delivered of a prince, who was baptised by the name of Charles; and was afterwards king Charles II.

difference of value in money between that reign and the present time, summoned those only whose yearly rent amounted to forty pounds; yet, even this mitigation was deemed a hardship, because the value of twenty pounds in the days of Edward, was equal to four times that sum in the reign of Charles: a great number had therefore refused to obey the mandate, and these were now fined for their disobedience. A considerable sum was likewise exacted, by way of composition, from those who declined the order.

If these proceedings caused great discontents and murmurings among the people, they were not a little encreased by Charles's giving orders for tonnage and poundage to be levied with great rigour. The custom-house officers were empowered to enter houses, and break open warehouses, chests, and closets, to search for goods which had not paid the duty: and, on this pretence of searching, they committed numberless acts of fraud and oppression. In order to prevent the popular clamours from producing insurrections, the council issued orders for arming and reviewing the militia, that the people might be intimidated by their appearance; while, on the other hand, they were amused with public orders for putting the laws in execution against papists. At the same time, the king endeavoured to fill his coffers by granting exclusive privileges for the sale of commodities and provisions; so that the whole kingdom was filled with monopolies, to the unspeakable prejudice of trade and manufactures. Presbyterianism having made great progress in England, the king, by the advice of bishop Laud, sent instructions to the prelates of the kingdom, enjoining them, among other things, to take especial care that no puritan minister should be admitted into the church; and to discover all such as should neglect the rites prescribed by the canons. The presbyterians conceived the most implacable hatred against Laud, for this, and other instances of his enmity; and he severely felt their resentment in the sequel.

In the spring of the year 1631, Mervin Touchet, lord Audley in England, and earl of Castlehaven in Ireland, was tried before his peers, for rapes and practices upon the body of his wife, which he partly forced and partly invited others to commit; which out-did the most shocking ideas of lust and infamous contrivance; and was found guilty. He was a nobleman descended from the illustrious lord Audley, the friend and companion in all his wars to Edward III. He had been ingenious enough to debauch the mind, as well as prostitute the body, of his lady; for, after his execution, she was pardoned for adultery, in terms not very advantageous to her virtue. On this occasion, Charles shewed a seasonable piece of justice, as he would grant no other favour to the criminal, than to change his punishment from hanging into beheading. But neither this exhibition of impartiality, nor the great zeal which Charles discovered in repairing and rebuilding the cathedral church of St. Paul (which had been lately burnt down), atoned, with men of sense and property, for his other impolitical and unpopular measures. Laud was so much in favour with him, that he acted as if his head had been turned, by introducing into religious worship many popish fopperies: for the particulars of which the reader may consult the common collections and histories of the times.

In giving an account of the third parliament held in this reign, we have often mentioned sir Thomas Wentworth, knight of the shire for the county of York: this gentleman several times, in the house of commons, gave proof of his zeal for the maintenance of the liberties of the people, and the privilege of parliament. By this means he became formidable to the court; though he took care not to run into any excess with regard to the king and his minister; on the contrary, he always softened his opinion with some honourable and respectful expressions, though he seldom failed to oppose the pretensions of the court. As he was one of the greatest geniuses then in England, the king soon perceived that his parts and capacity might be very serviceable to him, if he could gain him to his interest; he endeavoured it, therefore, after, or perhaps before, the dissolution of the parliament, and succeeded so well, that Wentworth became one of the most zealous promoters of the royal authority. About the same time also were gained sir John Saville, who was made a lord, and comptroller of the household; sir Dudley Diggs, who was promoted to the mastership of the Rolls, and was also made attorney-general; and sir Edward Littleton, who was made solicitor. Sir John Elliot, some time before his death, was tampered with, but he was proof against the temptation.

As sir Thomas Wentworth, since his conversion, had shewed himself a zealous defender of the prerogatives of the crown, the king thought him the fittest person to be trusted with the presidentship of the council in the North; a court of judicature established at York in the reign of Henry VIII. for the relief of poor suitors in the counties of York, Cumberland, Northumberland, Westmoreland, and the bishopric of Durham, who could not afford to bring their causes into the courts of Westminster. This council had long acted chiefly as a criminal court; but, besides some innovations introduced by James, Charles ventured, at this time, to enlarge its powers, and to invest it with a kind of civil jurisdiction, which, in some respects, was even unparliamentary. In consequence of this illegal measure, all the northern counties were deprived of the protection of the common-law, and subjected to an authority which was wholly arbitrary.

It was now the year 1632, in which the great Gustavus, continuing his victorious projects through Germany, at last brought the elector Palatine to Munich. This unfortunate prince now saw himself on the point of being restored to his palatinate, and even to the crown of Bohemia, by the hand of the conqueror; when, in the second battle near Leipzig, fought in the plains of Lutzen, on November the sixth, this year, Gustavus was slain in the midst of a victory he had already gained.

His death proved fatal to the palatine Frederic, who now despairing of any farther resource, fell into a fever, occasioned by his immoderate grief, which, in a few months, put a period to a life of continual crosses and disappointments. This year Wentworth was created viscount Wentworth, and sent over lord-lieutenant of Ireland; where affairs were still in great disorder, through the insolence of the Roman catholics, who greatly abused the royal clemency in relaxing certain penal statutes against them.

The king having now governed the nation three or four years without a parliament, began to find himself more at ease than he had ever been since his accession to the throne; and therefore chose this season of tranquility to visit his ancient kingdom of Scotland: he accordingly set out for that kingdom in the month of May, 1633, where he was received with great magnificence; and the Scottish parliament, assembled at Edinburgh, granted a larger subsidy than ever had been given to any other king of that realm. Charles inherited his father's design, of bringing religion in Scotland to a conformity with the English church; and bishop Laud accompanied him in his journey, to facilitate the execution of his scheme. As a preparatory step, he passed two acts in the Scottish parliament, the first intituled, "An act concerning the king's prerogative, and the habit of the clergy:" this was no other than the confirmation of a statute enacted in the preceding reign, empowering the king to give such directions as he should think proper, with regard to the dress of the clergy. The other ratified and improved all the statutes which had been made concerning the liberties and franchises of the true church of God, and of the religion at present professed in the kingdom. Both these acts met with opposition from the presbyterians; they looked upon the first as a prelude to the use of the surplice, which was an abomination to their eyes; and the words "at present professed," they considered as an equivocal expression, calculated to restore episcopal government. Their church was governed by provincial synods and general assemblies; but the bishops still subsisted, though without the least jurisdiction or influence. The bills were passed, but they produced heats and discontent in the nation.

The Scottish religionists were not mistaken in their conjectures; the king's purpose was really to introduce the rites of the English church, and re-establish episcopacy in its former power and splendor. Bishop Laud preached, in the royal chapel at Edinburgh, on the benefit of conformity, and the reverend ceremonies of the church. He proposed to the Scottish bishops, that the English liturgy should be received into their service. They objected to this proposal, that such a step would alarm the jealousy of the nation, which would be apt to look upon the English liturgy as the forerunner of English laws, and an encroachment upon the independency of the kingdom: they therefore desired that another might be composed for the use of the Scottish church, that should be the same in substance, but different in some immaterial particulars. The king embraced this advice, though contrary to the inclination of Laud: he was himself jealous of the independency of his native kingdom, and appointed a select number of the Scottish bishops to form a new liturgy for their own service. He erected Edinburgh into a bishopric, created the archbishop of St. Andrew's chancellor of the kingdom, and he admitted several other prelates to seats in the privy council, and in the college of justice; a very unseasonable mark of his regard for the hierarchy; for the bishops, by this promotion, incurred the hatred and envy of the noblemen, who, though they respected them in their ecclesiastical capacities, could not bear to see them in civil stations, to which they thought themselves better entitled.

Charles returning to England in the autumn of this year, bestowed the dignity of archbishop of archbishop of Canterbury (vacant by the death of Abbot in his absence) on his favourite Laud; who, by this accession of authority, was now enabled to support ecclesiastical discipline with great rigor: and to inflame the general discontent of the nation, the Book of Sports to be used on Sundays after evening prayers, was again ordered to be read in churches; and many ministers, for refusing to read it, were either suspended, deprived, or prosecuted, before the high-commission. The articles of visitation published by Neale, bishop of Winchester, one of Laud's party, were no other than so many traps, contrived for bringing all whom Laud hated into the ecclesiastical den, where they seldom met with mercy. Writers in prose and verse, in polemics and politics, were treated with the like severity; of which the reader will find particular instances in the collections of those days.

There is little more to add to the transactions of this languid year, unless it were to swell the work with proclamations, which now supplied the place of acts of parliament. As to the concerns of Charles's family, he had this year sent the earl of Ormond with a generous invitation for the queen of Bohemia and her family to come into England; but the loss that princess had sustained by the death of her husband, was too recent for her sorrows to suffer her to accept of the invitation for that time. It must not be forgotten, that on the thirteenth of October, this year, the second son of Charles, afterwards the unhappy James II. was born.

We shall begin the year 1634 with an account of a cause which came to a solemn hearing in the month of February, which made a great noise, and which shewed the extreme severity of the court against such as were thought to fail ever so little in the submission expected from them; the case was this: Mr. William Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, had composed a large quarto, of a thousand pages, which he entitled *Histrio Mastix*. Its professed design was to decry tragedies, comedies, interludes, music, and dancing; but the author had likewise directed his satire against hunting, public festivals, Christmas-keeping, bonfires, and May poles.

He had obtained a licence from archbishop Abbot's chaplain, for printing this book; yet he was indicted in the Star-chamber as a libeller. It was thought somewhat hard, that general invectives against plays, should be construed into satires against the king and queen, merely because they frequented these amusements, and because the queen sometimes acted a part in pastorals and interludes, which were represented at court.

The author, indeed, had taken occasion, in the most violent manner, to condemn the hierarchy, the ceremonies, the innovations in religious worship, and the superstitions introduced by Laud. In the course of his work, he gave such evident specimens of his fanaticism, or rather, indeed, of his frenzy, that his most proper punishment would have been to have sent him to Bedlam; but he was condemned to be put from the bar; to stand on the pillory in two places, Westminster and Cheapside; to lose both his ears, one in each place; to pay a fine of five thousand pounds to the king; and to be imprisoned during life.

The Dutch were at this time improving, equally with the English, in matters of commerce; and they were plainly rivals to one another in trade: flushed with success, the Hollanders, about this time, flatly asserted a right to fish on the British coasts, founded upon immemorial possession. Charles, shocked at the independent airs of that haughty republic, which had been nursed by the blood, and fed by the bounty, of England; and glad of a just and popular pretext for humbling her, resolved to fit out a fleet which should drive her subjects out of the Narrow seas. But the vigorous preparations necessary for this undertaking required to be supplied by a proportionable income, which Charles was by no means master of; he therefore referred it to Mr. Noy, attorney-general, to find out the ways and means; and Noy fell upon an expedient for raising an extraordinary supply, without the assistance of a parliament; which was, by the imposition of a tax upon the people, for furnishing a certain number of ships, for the defence of the seas. Noy died before the effects of his projects were known, after having engaged his master in an affair, which made him lose his people's confidence, and was one of the principal causes of his ruin.

The death of the attorney-general did not, however, hinder the king from putting his scheme in practice: to that end, writs were issued in October, this year, to all the port-towns and maritime counties of the kingdom, to furnish a certain number of ships, manned, victualled, and furnished with all necessary ammunition, for the defence of the realm. With these writs went instructions and directions, from the lords of the council, for the assessing and levying the ship-money. These instructions were directed to the sheriffs of the several counties; and by them it appears, that the ships assessed on the counties of Middlesex and Hertford were to cost three thousand pounds; and those who refused payment of their portion, were to be distressed, and their goods sold for the payment; and this without any respect of persons. The rest of those instructions contain only the particular manner of levying the tax, and gave very arbitrary powers to the officers of the peace. The writ being served on the lord-mayor of London, he immediately called a common-council, who voted the following petition to be presented to the king.

“ To the king's most excellent majesty,

“ The humble petition of your faithful subjects, the mayor, commonalty, and citizens, of your city of London, most humbly shewing,

“ That whereas your writ, bearing teste 20 Octobris last, commanded your petitioners, at their charge, to provide seven ships of war, furnished with men, victuals, and all warlike provisions, to be at Portsmouth the first of March next, and continue thence by the space of twenty-six weeks in your majesty's service, upon the defence of the seas, and other causes in the said writ mentioned.

“ Your petitioners do, in all submissive humbleness, and with acknowledgments of your sacred majesty's favours unto our said city, inform your majesty, that they conceive, that by ancient privileges, grants, and acts of parliaments (which they are ready humbly to shew forth) they are exempt, and used to be freed from that charge.

“ And do most humbly pray,

“ That your majesty would be graciously pleased, that the petitioners, with your princely grace and favour, may enjoy the same privileges and exemptions, and be freed from providing the said ships and provisions.

“ And they shall pray, &c.”

Notwithstanding the opposition of the city of London, Charles went on as if ship-money had been a matter of course, and not likely to give any disgust; and, his necessities increasing, he resolved that this tax should be extended to the inland, as well as the maritime, counties; but so great was the dislike that the nation shewed to this measure, which they thought to be against law, and a direct contradiction, on the part of Charles, of the Petition of Right he had granted in their favour, that the court thought itself under a necessity to quiet the people, by the use made of the money; for, in May of the following year, 1635, a fleet of forty sail was fitted out, under the command of the earl of Lindsey, admiral; sir William Monson, vice-admiral; sir John Pennington, rear admiral; and a squadron of twenty ships was fitted out, under the earl of Essex. The admiral's instructions were to secure the Narrow seas, and the trade of England; and, on the twenty-sixth of May, the fleet set sail, in quest of the French and Dutch fleets, who were joined off Portland, as if they would have fought the English fleets: but Richelieu was too well informed by his spies, not to know that the real design of Charles was to drive the confederates out of the Narrow seas, and to destroy the growing marine of France, whom he considered as the prompter of the Dutch in all their insolencies: he looked upon the preservation of the sea-ports in Flanders to the crown of Spain, as being now of importance to his own crown; and his people likewise began to be extremely uneasy at Richelieu's ambition. The united fleets, at the approach of that of England, withdrew towards their own harbours; and the English admiral sent after them a bark, on the coast of Brittany, to observe their motions; which were all this year so pacific, that the English remained undisputed masters of the Narrow seas, to the infinite benefit of the nation. For the court of Spain reverted now to its natural connexions with England, who this year had, in all probability, saved the Austrian Netherlands from being over-run; and the immense benefits which the commons of England received by this friendship with Spain, would, if any thing could, have made the people overlook the proceedings of the court in the case of ship-money.

The king finding some inconvenience in the management of his treasury by commissions, which he had appointed on the death of the lord treasurer Weston, earl of Portland, last year, gave the office to Juxton, bishop of London, a creature of Laud's, who had persuaded the king, that he could not make a better choice than of that churchman, who having no family to raise, nor dependants to provide for, might better manage the income of the treasury to his advantage than had formerly been done by those who sought only to create vast estates to themselves. We shall conclude the transactions of this year, with observing, that Laud attempted to bring all the foreigners settled

settled in England to a conformity with her church, notwithstanding all the privileges and indulgences they had received from former princes, and the infinite benefit the nation acquired by their settling here. This attempt was vigorously opposed by the French and Dutch churches, who were joined by all the puritans; and they refused to pay any deference to Laud's authority, on account of the exemptions and privileges they had received from the crown. After many debates, Laud prevailed so far, that though the foreigners of the first descent were suffered to continue in their own way, yet, their descendants, born in England, of foreign parents, were ordered by the king, to repair to their several parish churches, under the penalty of being proceeded against by the ecclesiastical laws. In like manner, Laud endeavoured to oblige the factories abroad to conform themselves to the worship and exercise of the English church; but many of the merchants neglecting such conformity, he obtained the king's orders for it.

I shall only add, that Charles, prince elector Palatine, son of the deceased king of Bohemia, came this year into England, to visit his uncle, and to consult with him concerning his restitution to the Palatinate; and shortly after him arrived his brother, prince Rupert, whom, in the course of a few years, we shall find making a considerable figure, in the defence of Charles, against his rebellious subjects.

The great figure which Charles had made upon the seas in the year 1635, raised his hopes to a great pitch; and nothing could have defamed him, but his having made ship-money a tax assessable upon the inland, as well as the maritime, countries, and enjoined the collectors to levy it in the same manner, and with the same rigor, as if it had been a tax imposed by parliament: however, this expedient had, for the present, so far succeeded, that, in the spring of the year 1636, he was enabled to send to sea a fleet of sixty sail of large ships, which was the greatest naval force that England had ever seen of her own; the command of this fleet was given to Algernoon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, who, for the great attachment of his ancestors to the Stuart family, was, by Charles, created lord high-admiral of England. The earl, setting sail in May, came up with some of the Dutch ships, and sunk all he met who refused to leave the British coasts, and to discontinue their fishing. This spirited conduct struck such a terror into all Europe, that even the haughty Richelieu was obliged to drop his scheme of setting the Dutch and French up as rivals to the English upon the sea. The Dutch themselves applied to Charles in the most earnest manner; and, at last, consented to pay thirty thousand pounds for licence to fish that year, until a proper regulation should be made, by fixing an annual tribute for the like licence for the future.

But no advantages of commerce, reputation, or tranquility, could now make the people digest the odious tax of ship-money. Charles finding that doubts, difficulties, and dangers, multiplied every day, and was at length become so general, that there was an evident disposition in the nation, rather to submit to the insults of foreigners, than to chastize them at the expence of law and liberty; he endeavoured to remove all manner of objec-

tions, by getting the decision of the judges on his side; he therefore sent the case to be resolved by them, which he thus stated:

“Carolus Rex.

“Where the good and safety of the kingdom in general is concerned, and the whole kingdom in danger, whether may not the king, by writ under the great-seal of England, command all the subjects of our kingdom, at their charge, to provide and furnish such a number of ships, with men, victuals, and munition, and for such a time as we shall think fit, for the defence and safeguard of the kingdom, from such danger and peril, and by law compel the doing thereof, in case of refusal or refractoriness; and whether, in such a case, the king is not the sole judge, both of the danger, and when and how the same is to be prevented and avoided?”

To which they returned the following opinion.

“May it please your most excellent majesty.

“We have, according to your majesty's command, every man by himself, and all of us together, taken into serious consideration the case and question signified by your majesty, and inclosed in your royal letter; and we are of opinion, that when the good and safety of the kingdom is in danger, your majesty may, by writ under the great-seal of England, command all your subjects of this your kingdom, at their charge, to provide and furnish such a number ships, with men, victuals, and munition, and for such a time that your majesty shall think fit, for the trafic, defence, and safeguard of this kingdom from such danger and peril; and that by law your majesty may compel the doing thereof, in case of refusal or refractoriness; and we are all of opinion, that in such case, your majesty is the sole judge, both of the danger, and when and how the same is to be prevented and avoided.

John Bramston,

John Smith,

Humphrey Davenport,

John Denham,

Richard Hutton,

William Jones,

George Croke,

Thomas Trevor,

George Vernon,

Francis Crawley,

Robert Berkley,

Richard Weston.

This decision Charles took especial care to have published and circulated through the kingdom. Notwithstanding this opinion, one Mr. Hampden, being taxed in twenty shillings, for an estate he had in Buckinghamshire, resolved to stand suit rather than comply with an imposition so contrary to the laws of the realm and the liberties of the subject. The cause was pleaded in the court of Exchequer, before all the judges, with great solemnity; and was, undoubtedly, the most important dispute that ever was handled in any court of justice; for the business was to ascertain or destroy one of the most valuable privileges of the subject; as such it was considered by every sensible individual of the nation; it became the universal topic of conversation, and people expected the issue with the most anxious impatience. After several hearings, protracted from November till June, the judges decreed that Mr. Hampden should pay the tax; and the whole kingdom was filled with indignation. Burton, a divine, and Bastwick, a physician, were condemned by the Star-

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chamber to the same punishment which Prynne had undergone, for having published seditious and schismatical libels: and Prynne himself, for a second offence, was sentenced to pay a fine of five thousand pounds, and lose the mutilated remainder of his ears*.

While the interesting affair of Mr. Hampden and ship-money was depending, the public uneasiness was farther encreased by a torrent of divisions in the church of Scotland.

Charles resolved to perfect his designs with respect to religion as well as the state; episcopacy had not been abolished in Scotland at the time of the reformation before Mary Stuart, but the protestant bishops had always been kept in subjection by the presbyterians. The Scots were governed by a kind of republic of priests, who were all upon an equality with one another: this was the only country, perhaps, in the world, where riches and honours did not make the higher clergy powerful. The bishops retained their seats in parliament, their honorary rights, and the revenues of their sees; but they were pastors without flocks, and peers without credit. The Scottish parliament, which was wholly composed of presbyterians, only suffered the bishops to retain their dignity, in order to debase them. The ancient abbeys were all in the hands of seculars, who had seats in parliament in virtue of the title of abbot. By degrees, the number of these titular abbots was diminished. James I. (and VIth of Scotland), restored episcopacy, with all its privileges. The king of England was not acknowledged as head of the church of Scotland; but being born in that country, and having lavished English money in pensions and places to several of its members, he was more master at Edinburgh than at London. The presbyterian (or, as it is called, the general) assembly, still subsisted as before, notwithstanding the restoration of episcopacy; these two different bodies were always threatening each other; and the synodic republic generally got the better of the episcopal hierarchy. James, who looked upon the bishops as a body devoted to the crown, and the presbyterians as enemies to the regal prerogative, thought that he should be able to reconcile his Scottish subjects to episcopal government, by bringing their church to a perfect conformity with the English. With this view he had, in the year 1616, obtained an act of the general assembly, for the compiling a liturgy, or book of common-prayer, which was to be first presented to the king, and, after his approbation, universally received through the kingdom. This book was accordingly framed, and sent up to the king; who having perused and considerably altered it, in conjunction with his English clergy, it was returned to Scotland, to be recommended to the use of that church. His death prevented the accomplishment of his design, which his son resumed; and in order to effect this purpose with greater ease, he endeavoured to encrease the authority of the prelates, and had even made an attempt to revive the first institution of the college of justice, that divided equally between the clergy and laity the whole judicial authority.

The liturgy which Charles, of his own authority, intended to introduce into Scotland, was copied from that of England; but, not to shock the pride of his ancient subjects by a servile imitation of their

southern neighbours, he caused a few alterations to be made in it, by the assistance of archbishop Laud and others, and in that form transmitted it to the bishop of Edinburgh, with orders to begin the use of it. Easter-day, 1637, was by proclamation, appointed for the first reading of the service; but, in order to sound the dispositions of the people, the council postponed the matter till the twenty-third day of July, and they even gave notice the Sunday before of their design to commence the use of the new liturgy. As this intimation had been received quietly, they imagined that they might safely proceed in their purpose, and accordingly, in the cathedral church of St. Giles, the dean of Edinburgh, arrayed in his surplice, began the service; both archbishops, many of the privy-council, and others of the best quality in Edinburgh, being present.

But no sooner had the dean opened the book, than a number of the meaner sort, with clapping their hands and outcries, made a great uproar; and one of them, called Jane or Jannot Gaddis, flung a little folding stool, whereon she had sat, at the dean's head, saying, "Out, thou false thief! dost thou say the mass at my lug!" which was followed with so great a noise and confusion, that none could hear or be heard; whereupon the bishop of Edinburgh stepped into the pulpit, and, hoping to appease the people, by putting them in mind that the place in which they were was holy ground, and by intreating them to desist from the profanation of it, they were the more enraged, throwing at him cudgels, stools, and what else was at hand, even to the endangering his life. Upon this the bishop of St. Andrew's, the chancellor, called down the provost and bailiffs of the city from their seats to their assistance, who (not without some difficulty) put the unruly people out of the church, and made fast the doors. This done, the dean proceeded to read the liturgy, the multitude the mean while rapping and pelting the windows with stones, to disturb the service; but, notwithstanding all their clamour the service was ended; though not the people's rage, who waiting the bishop's retiring to his lodging, so assaulted him, as (had he not been rescued by a strong hand) he had probably perished by their violence.

The same morning the service-book was read in the next church to St. Giles's, though not without noise and tumult, yet not so great as in the latter: in the Gray Friars church, Mr. Ramsey refused to read it, and was afterwards suspended for the same; but the elect bishop of Argyll, his colleague began to read it, but was so menaced, cursed, and exclaimed against, that he was forced to give over.

In the college-church of Rollock, one of the preachers, who the Sunday before, at the intimation of the reading, had much commended the book, and undertaken this day to read it, upon notice how it was received at the church of St. Giles, broke the promise he had made to read it, chusing rather to incur the censure of those of his fraternity, than to offend the multitude, whose favour he sought: but he was likewise suspended. The morning this passed, the council assembled at the lord-chancellor's lodgings, and sent for the provost and bailiffs, to advise with them how to prevent the like tumults in the afternoon; which they promised to endeavour, and was so effected that the book was read in the

* The operation having been but partially performed the first time. See p. 529.

church of St. Giles, and some other churches, without any such disturbance as it had in the morning; only the bishop of Edinburgh, in his return to his lodging, was rudely treated by the populace.

No person of any rank was concerned in these violent proceedings, and every one affected to condemn the licentiousness of the giddy multitude: it was judged imprudent, however, to hazard a new insult, by any fresh attempt to read this liturgy, and the populace seemed for the present to be perfectly satisfied; but when it was known that the king, notwithstanding representations made to him on this head, still persisted in his resolution of establishing that worship, men began to contract a more inveterate prejudice against it; and the concourse of all ranks of people to Edinburgh on the first of October (the day on which the term begins there) was so great, that the council began to fear another riot, and published proclamations, signifying that the council should be transferred to Dundee; commanding all strangers to quit the city; and prohibiting a book, written against the English and popish ceremonies imposed upon the church of Scotland. These proclamations rather fomented than allayed the flame then begun; and the day after their publication, October 18, the populace broke out into the most violent disorder: they assaulted the bishop of Galloway, the earl of Traquair, lord high-treasurer, in the streets, and chased them into the chamber where the privy-council were sitting, and attacked the council itself: they treated the town-council in the same manner; and had it not been for the interposition of some popular lords, who had great influence with them, they would probably have proceeded to acts of the most desperate outrage. In this sedition the actors were of some better condition than in the former; though no person of rank seemed, as yet, to countenance them. Nevertheless the spirit of the people appeared so alarming, that the earl of Traquair repaired to London, in order to acquaint the king more fully of the matter: but Charles, listening only to the counsels of Laud, a man who seemed born for his destruction, resolved to carry every thing with a high hand, and to punish severely the authors of the late tumults, and ordered the earl of Traquair, on his return to Scotland, to publish a proclamation "declaring his abhorrence of popish superstition, and his intention to introduce nothing but what should tend to the advancement of religion in the kingdom of Scotland." He afterwards sent another to the council, which had been removed to Stirling, signifying his being willing to pardon the crime which the people had committed, in assembling, composing, signing, and presenting such petitions to the chancellor, provided they would return to their own houses, and live for the future as good and faithful subjects. He forbade them to assemble again, on pain of treason; ordered that no person should presume to approach Stirling without permission; and commanded all the noblemen, gentlemen, and others, not belonging to the council, or courts of justice, to quit that town in six hours; otherwise they should be declared traitors.

In the mean while the council had removed to Stirling, at a greater distance from Edinburgh.

Immediately after the publication of the proclamation, the earl of Hume and the lord Lindsey, accompanied by many other noblemen and a great

concourse of people, repaired to the market-cross (of Stirling), and, without regarding the presence and authority of the council, read publicly a protest, importing, "that they insisted upon presenting their grievances to the king: that they would not submit to the bishops or judges, until they should have acquitted themselves of the crimes laid to their charge: that no proclamation, or act of council, resolved upon in presence of those prelates, should prejudice the protestors: that none of their associates should be exposed to any dangers in their lives and fortunes, nor incur any penalty, civil or ecclesiastical, for having refused to acquiesce in the said acts, books, canons, rites, jurisdictions, and proclamations, composed and published contrary to the decrees of the general assembly, or against the laws of the realm: that in case this dispute should occasion any disorder, it should not be imputed to them, inasmuch as the council refused to receive a remonstrance and declinatory; which they had lately presented; and that their petition tended to nothing but the maintenance of the true religion in Scotland and to the honour of his majesty." The same protest was read at Linlithgow and Edinburgh.

This was the first time that the men of quality had appeared to countenance the proceedings of the people; but the spirit of discontent, which had been gradually spreading among all ranks of men, now blazed out at once, and the authority of the king and council were treated with equal contempt; for the next step of these mutineers was to establish four tables, as they called them, at Edinburgh; one was composed of nobility, another of gentry, a third of ministers, and a fourth of burghesses: the table of gentry consisted of several subordinate tables, according to their different counties; orders were issued by them, and every where executed with the most implicit obedience. Among the very first acts of this new-fangled institution was the Solemn League and Covenant, as if all laws, divine and human, were about to be abolished; and thus the natural desire of the great to support their own schemes on one side, and the fury of popular opposition on the other, lighted up the flames of civil war, which soon after desolated this wretched island.

The Solemn League and Covenant was no sooner published, than the people ran in crowds to subscribe it, and it was signed by almost all the persons of consequence in the kingdom, except the privy-counsellors, the judges, the bishops, and those who enjoyed places under the crown. There was prefixed to it the confession of faith of the kirk of Scotland, which had been signed by the late king James and his household, when he was about fourteen years of age, and had been renewed ten years afterwards: then, after a long recital of the acts of parliament, and a great deal of jargon against popery, and in praise of presbyterian purity and of protestant persecution on religious accounts, this instrument mentions the coronation-oath, which obliges the king "carefully to root out of his empire all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God, who shall be convicted by the true spirit of God of the aforesaid crimes:" and then it declares the true worship of God and the regal authority to be so strongly joined, as that they had the same common enemies, and did stand and fall together. The associates then proceeded to declare,

but in general terms, against all innovations in religion that had been introduced since the establishment of presbytery in that country; but without taking notice that the chief of those innovations had as much sanction, both from ecclesiastical and civil authority, as that establishment had, if not more. They then proceeded as follows to the material part of this association "We promise and swear, by the great name of the Lord our God, to continue in the profession and obedience of the foresaid religion; that we shall defend the same, and resist all those contrary errors and corruptions, according to our vocation, and to the utmost of that power which God hath put in our hands, all the days of our life. And in like manner, with the same heart, we declare before God and men, that we have no intention nor desire to attempt any thing that may turn to the dishonour of God, or to the diminution of the king's greatness and authority; but, on the contrary, we promise and swear that we shall, to the uttermost of our power, with our means and lives, stand to the defence of our dread sovereign the king's majesty's person and authority, in the defence and preservation of the foresaid true religion, liberties, and laws of the kingdom; as also to the mutual defence and assistance of every one of us of another, in the same cause of maintaining true religion and his majesty's authority with our best counsel, bodies, means, and whole power, against all sorts of persons whatsoever; so that whatsoever shall be done to the least of us for that cause, shall be taken as done to us all in general, and every one of us in particular: and that we shall not directly or indirectly suffer ourselves to be divided or withdrawn, with whatsoever suggestion, combination, allurements, or terror, from this blessed and loyal conjunction; nor shall cast in any lett or impediment that may stay or hinder any such resolution, as by common consent shall be found to conduce for some good ends: but, on the contrary shall, by all lawful means, labour to further and promote the same. And if any such dangerous and delusive motion shall be made to us, by word or writ, we, and every one of us, shall either suppress it, or, if need be, shall incontinent make the same known, that it may be timeously obviated. Neither do we fear the foul aspersions of rebellion, combination, or what else our adversaries, from their own craft and malice, would put upon us, seeing what we do is so well warranted, and ariseth from an unfeigned desire to maintain the true worship of God, the majesty of our king, and the peace of the kingdom, for the common happiness of ourselves and posterity."

I thought it indispensably necessary to give the reader some idea of this famous Solemn League and Covenant, which was so much extolled by its admirers, and decried by its opposers. Some writers have been pleased to represent it as a justifiable national effort, in defence of religion, and liberty; as the establishment of episcopal authority in Scotland had, according to them, been imposed by arbitrary power, the recognition of the people obtained by compulsion, in diametrical opposition to the sense of the nation: but, by the favour of these gentlemen, the civil liberties of the Scots had, so far as can be found by records, never been attacked by power; nor had prerogative (as in England) encroached upon the privileges handed down to them by their ancestors. The story of this famous

Covenant lay in a kind of latent defeasance to the royal authority, when not employed in defence and propagation of what they called, or fancied, the true religion; the king must not only comply with all the absurdities of the associators, but he must draw the sword against every man who should presume to differ from them in point of religion. This was a matter so endless, that it is plain the Covenant, considered as an act of the people, independent of the royal authority, was calculated for a pretext to withdraw their obedience from lawful government, by giving them the power to prescribe their own terms for their return to it: nor can I apprehend the reproach or censure of men of candor and enlightened understanding, in declaring it as my opinion, that it was as daring an insult as ever was offered to a king, and as rebellious a measure as ever was formed by a people. But to return from this digression, which I hope the reader will the more readily pardon, as it is meant to remove the mist of prejudice, and weaken the power of sounds, which are too often found to captivate the vulgar and unwary.

It was not then known who fomented the disturbances in Scotland, that prepared the way for the tragical end of Charles I. It was cardinal Richelieu, the most daring and most insolent minister that perhaps ever appeared in Europe. He had formed connexions with the prince of Orange and the States General for reducing the house of Austria; but despairing of success, unless he could prevail on Charles to stand neutral, he sent the count d'Estrades to England, the last year, to offer Charles his own terms, if he would engage in the interests of France; but having received a refusal from that monarch, rather more haughty than politic, it had exasperated him. There is a letter of the cardinal to d'Estrades (dated December 2, 1637,) in which are these remarkable words: "before the end of twelve months, the king and queen of England shall repent their having refused the offers you made them from his majesty, and shall soon know that I am not despicable." He had a priest, one Chambers by name, and by birth a Scotchman, who was his almoner; this man he sent to London and Edinburgh, in order to stir up a spirit of discontent among the presbyterians, partly by his rhetoric, and partly by the proper application of certain sums of money: all which is incontestably proved by the above letter.

It was now the year 1638. The king began to be apprehensive for the consequences of the commotions in Scotland; he therefore sent the marquis of Hamilton as his high-commissioner, and empowered him to treat with the covenanters, and offered them, in his name, a suspension of the canons and the liturgy, until they could be introduced in a fair and legal manner. Nothing is so despicable as a hated government when it becomes impotent: the covenanters, now sixty thousand strong, knew that Charles possessed no regular forces in either of his kingdoms; and therefore, when Hamilton proposed their renouncing and abolishing the Covenant, as a rebellious and undutiful association against their sovereign, they plainly told him, that "they could not acknowledge that they had ever departed from their obedience; and for their Covenant, they would rather renounce their baptism than abate one syllable thereof." Hamilton, finding all his endeavours to re-establish quiet in-
effectual,

effectual, returned to London, made another journey to Edinburgh, returned again to London, and was immediately sent back with still more satisfactory orders, importing, "that the king revoked the Liturgy, the Book of Canons, the High Commission, and the Five Articles of Perth; that, for the future the bishops should be censurable by the general assembly; that all subjects of Scotland should subscribe the confession of faith, with an oath annexed, very different from that of the Covenant." Then he convoked a general assembly at Glasgow, for the month of November; and a parliament at Edinburgh, to meet in May of the following year. The tables protested against the proclamation, because the new oath, obliging them to maintain the religion at present professed, would operate in favour of the innovations which had been confirmed by acts of parliament. An accusation signed by a great number of noblemen, gentlemen, ministers, and burghers, was presented by the presbytery of Edinburgh against the bishops, alleging, "that they had not adhered to the conditions on which the general assembly at Montrose, in the preceding reign consented to their being admitted to parliament." By these they were obliged only to act as deputies of the church; to propose nothing without express orders of the church: to consent to nothing but what should be to the advantage of the church, on pain of deprivation; and to be accountable to the general assembly for their conduct in parliament. When the day of meeting arrived, the commissioner plainly perceived that the lay interest predominated in the assembly, in the number of elders that were returned; and all that he could do for the service of the king, was to encourage and promote disputes, that would furnish him with a pretence to dissolve them. The bishops presented a declinatory, pronouncing the assembly null; and the commissioner entered a number of protests against their proceedings: at length, finding them determined to sit in judgment upon the bishops, he on the seventh day of their session, dissolved the assembly as illegal, "because they had not introduced lay elders to vote in their deliberations; because the members had been chosen by lay elders, contrary to custom; because those few members to whom the tables were averse, had been rejected, without reason; and the bishops were in danger of being tried by those who were their professed enemies." Notwithstanding this sentence of dissolution, the assembly of Glasgow continued itself by virtue of its own authority, and passed acts, by which they not only condemned the liturgy, canons, and high-commission, excommunicated fourteen bishops, and abjured episcopal government; but they likewise presumed to reverse divers acts of parliament in favour of episcopacy, and to annul the subscription of those who had signed the confession of faith, according to the king's order; nay, they even explained that confession as virtually implying an abolition of episcopacy. The commissioner published another explanation, to prove that episcopacy did subsist, and that every person who signed the commission was bound to support it: and this again was answered by the assembly. In a word, the whole fabrick, which Charles and James, in a long course of years, had been rearing with so much care and industry, was at once thrown to the ground; the Covenant was also ordered to be

subscribed by every one, under pain of excommunication.

The marquis seeing all things tending to a present rupture, sent to desire leave of the king to return to England, which he obtained: but before he went he saw an end to the Glasgow assembly, which broke up after having, by their own authority, ordained annual assemblies, the first whereof was appointed to meet at Edinburgh, the first day of July in the following year. As soon the marquis was gone the associators drew up a declaration, addressed to all good Christians of England, to justify their intentions and actions, which had so many undutiful expressions in it, that it was suppressed by the king's authority, who published a declaration to satisfy his faithful subjects of the seditious practices of those in Scotland who had, under pretext of religion, designed the subversion of his royal authority; which was commanded to be read in all churches.

Such was the state of affairs in Scotland at the end of the year 1638. As to the transactions in England, they are hardly worth mention, but so far as they relate to Scotland.

On the last of October this year, Mary de Medicis, widow of Henry IV. of France, and mother to the reigning monarch, Lewis XIII. having, by the cabals of cardinal Richelieu, the prime minister, been driven out of France, came into England, where she met with a noble reception from Charles and his queen. While she staid here, she was lodged in the king's palace of St. James's; but finding the king likely to be involved in great trouble to reduce his rebellious subjects in Scotland, after some months stay she departed for Holland.

Laud this year commenced a prosecution against Williams, bishop of Lincoln, late lord-keeper, to whom he was an implacable enemy; and, upon the shameful pretence of his having concealed a letter written to him by one Mr. Osbaldiston, in which mention was made of a "little urchin" and "a great man" which Laud interpreted to have been himself, was fined eight thousand pounds for receiving libellous letters: and Osbaldiston, who was master of Westminster school, by flight escaped his censure, which was, to have his ears nailed to the pillory, before his own school, and to be deprived of all his preferments, and fined five thousand pounds to the king. This unjustifiable severity swelled the load of popular clamour against Laud.

The laws of historical truth will not permit me to conceal, that Charles appears to have no great sincerity in the concession he had made to the Covenanters; and that he waited only for a fair opportunity to retract them. He had, for some months, by Hamilton's advice, been making warlike preparations, though with infinite caution and secrecy. When we consider the intriguing genius of rebellion, and that Charles had commissioned his arms and ammunition from Holland, we can scarcely suppose the heads of the Covenanters not to have received, both from France and England, information of Charles's designs: this may account for their proceedings during the latter part of the preceding year, and the beginning of 1639, when they began to make vigorous preparations for war on their side. They sent for succours to such of the neighbouring princes and states from whom they could expect any assistance.

sistance. They also invited home many eminent commanders of their nation from Sweden and Holland, to take employment in their armies; many of whom, at the beginning of the year came to them: they seized upon the castles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton, and all other places of strength in the kingdom; and took out of Dalkeith all the king's arms and ammunition, laid up there the year before by the marquis of Hamilton. Next they chose Alexander Lesly, an old experienced officer, to be captain-general of their armies, to whom all the chief of the confederates (who took arms) solemnly swore obedience in all orders of war; and he swore in like manner faithfully to exercise his charge. The marquis of Argyll was sent to take care of the frontiers opposite to Ireland; the earl of Montrose had the charge of Aberdeen and the most northern parts; and colonel Monro was sent towards the Borders of England, to keep all things quiet till the levies were perfected.

When Charles found that his designs were discovered, and had received the copy of their last declaration, he lost all patience, and formed a resolution of proceeding openly in the way of arms, and on the twenty-sixth of January, 1639, a writ was sent to the nobility to attend the royal standard at York. On this occasion the king had recourse to the English clergy, and even to the catholics of the kingdom, who equally hated the presbyterians, and only furnished the king with money, because they looked upon this as a religious war. The English nobility in general shewed great alacrity for his service; and those who secretly wished well to the Covenanters were obliged to dissemble, and vie with the others in forwardness; but nothing could exceed the generosity and loyalty of those noblemen who composed the king's privy-council, who, on this occasion, contributed the greatest part of their fortunes for their master's service. Laud and the marquis of Hamilton signalized themselves particularly by their contributions; and Wentworth, the lord-deputy of Ireland (about the same time created earl of Strafford) alone gave twenty-thousand pounds; he also drew down a body of men towards the sea-coasts of that kindom, opposite to the earl of Argyll's country, who had now joined the Covenanters, and thereby prevented a very dangerous junction between the disaffected of both kingdoms. Charles himself, by regular œconomy, had amassed a sum of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, which he reserved for any sudden emergency; and by all these means he was enabled to equip a very considerable fleet and army: the former consisted of sixteen large ships, was furnished with five thousand land forces, and was commanded by the marquis of Hamilton, who had orders to sail to the Firth of Forth, and to make a diversion in the forces of the enemy.

The army amounted to about twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and was conducted by the earl of Arundel, a nobleman of great family, but distinguished neither for his military nor political abilities; the earl of Essex, a man of strict honour, and extremely beloved by the soldiers, acted as lieutenant-general; and the earl of Holland was general of the horse.

The king himself repaired to the camp, and summoned all the noblemen of England to attend him. The whole had rather the appearance of a splendid court than a military armament; and in

this situation, carrying more show than real force with it, the army arrived at Berwick on the twenty-eighth of May, with the king at its head, and there encamped. The Scottish army, which was nearly equal in number to that of the king, marched, at the same time, under general Lesly, towards the borders of England, and encamped within four miles of Berwick.

The king had, in the beginning of this year, set forth a declaration, containing his reasons for this expedition, in which he displayed the insolent treatment he had met with from the Covenanters, and his own readiness to heal the disorders of the state, in such terms, that it had a wonderful effect in his favour in Scotland. The marquis of Huntley declared for him, and this was no small accession of strength, for Huntley had a large estate, but a much larger following; and was looked upon to be the only nobleman who could balance the numbers which Argyll could bring into the field. But, to the inexpressible misfortune of Charles's affairs, this nobleman was at this time, when he was most wanted, taken from his sovereign; for the marquis of Montrose, having enticed him to a conference, and positively refusing to sign the Covenant, he and his eldest son were sent prisoners to the castle of Edinburgh. This unlucky accident was generally attributed to Hamilton, who having secured Holy Island to the king's obedience, had entered the Forth, and published a proclamation from Charles, offering pardon to the rebels who should lay down their arms, but with orders to prosecute all others with fire and sword. Hamilton continued a shameful inactivity; and, while in Holy Island, he received a visit from his mother, a most rigid Covenanter. This, with the general tenor of his conduct, made many of the king's friends suspect his integrity; and the Scots themselves were commonly heard to say, "they knew the son of such a mother would not do them hurt."

The troops under Lesly were but ill armed, for they had not three thousand musquets amongst them all; so that, notwithstanding their vapouring, they were much better prepared for a treaty than a battle. But their countrymen about the king's person and in his army, most infamously betrayed him, by magnifying the strength of the rebels, and at the same time giving them intelligence of every thing that was transacted between Charles and his council; and the king seeing his noblemen and followers as generally averse to the prosecution of the war, expressed his wishes for an opportunity to terminate it without bloodshed. The Covenanters, apprized of his inclinations, wrote in a very humble strain to the earls of Arundel, Essex, and Holland, imploring their good offices with his majesty, and protesting that nothing was farther from their thoughts than any design to invade England. Essex, who both hated and despised the Scots, would not deign to answer their letter, which he sent to the king: but the other two noblemen were differently affected; they thought the Covenanters had reason on their side, and turned their thoughts towards a pacification. When those letters had produced their effect, the lord Dumfermling arrived from the Scottish camp with a trumpet, and presented to the king an humble application, beseeching his majesty to appoint commissioners for a treaty. Charles desired that the last proclamation he sent to Edinburgh should be read in the

Scottish

Scottish army; general Lesly complied with this request; and then he appointed six commissioners to treat with the insurgents. The conferences soon produced the following convention for peace, which was signed on the seventeenth of June.

“ I. The forces of Scotland to be disbanded and dissolved within twenty-four hours after the agreement of the king's declaration.

“ II. The king's castles, forts, and ammunition, to be delivered up, after the said publication, so soon as he shall send to receive them.

“ III. His ships to depart presently after the delivery of the castles; and in the mean time no interruption of trade.

“ IV. All persons goods and ships detained by the king since the first of November, to be restored.”

“ V. No meetings, treatings, consultations, or convocations, of any of the Scots, but such as are warranted by act of parliament.

“ VI. All fortifications to desist, and to be remitted to the king's pleasure.

“ VII. To restore to every one therein, liberties, lands, houses, goods, and means whatsoever, taken and detained from them by whatsoever means, since the first of November last.”

The next day the king, on his part, signed a declaration, in which he was pleased to confirm all that had been granted by the marquis of Hamilton, and “that all matters ecclesiastical shall be determined by the assemblies of the kirk, and matters civil by the parliament, and other inferior judicatories established by law; which assemblies shall be kept once a year, or as shall be agreed upon by the general assembly, and our commissioner for the time being.”

“ That a free and general assembly be kept at Edinburgh the sixth day of August next, where we intend (God willing) to be personally present; and thereafter a parliament the twentieth of August, and there an act of oblivion to be passed; and that upon their disarming and disbanding of their forces, dissolving and discharging all their pretended tabernacles and conventicles, and restoring to the king all his castles, forts, and ammunition, as also his royal honours; and to every one of his good subjects, their liberties, lands, houses, goods, and means whatsoever, taken and detained since the late pretended general assembly; the king will, presently thereafter, recall his fleet, and retire his forces, and cause restitution of their ships and goods, taken since the aforesaid time.”

The pacification being thus agreed, the king sent for some of the Scots lords, and informed them, that he had given orders to the marquis of Hamilton to draw off the fleet, and did intend to have been at Edinburgh at the opening of the assembly; but that he had received letters from the queen, which intimated a necessity of his presence in London about some parliamentary affairs; but he would depute the earl of Traquair, with full power and authority, as his high commissioner, to hold the assembly and the parliament.

It was generally thought, that the concessions made by the king would have brought the malcontents to a perfect submission, but they soon appeared to have entertained very different thoughts, and to have entered into treaty only to temporize, and that the overtures they made for a pacification were partly out of deference to their correspondents in England, and partly with a view to fix the

odium of any subsequent rupture upon the king and his council, for they did not punctually perform any one article; they disbanded their troops in such a manner that they could be re-assembled with the utmost facility and dispatch. A great part of the walls of the castle of Edinburgh being fallen down, and the lord Ruthven, who held that fortress for the king, setting about to repair the breach, the covenanters would not suffer the workmen and materials to enter; at the same time that they themselves went on repairing the strong holds in their hands, continuing their meetings and consultations, and terrifying or prosecuting all who were not their friends; and, in order to get the populace still more on their side, they published and dispersed a scandalous libel, intitled, “ Some conditions of his majesty's treaty with the subjects of Scotland before the English nobility.”

This paper consisted of eight heads, which were pretended to be drawn out of notes taken upon the several discourses held with the king about the subject of his declaration: the matter of it was highly scandalous, and derogatory to the king's honour; for all the substance of the royal declaration was thereby altered, and the intention of it perverted. This affair gave Charles great disquiet; and on the fourth of August he called a council, in which the paper was read; and the counsellors who had been present at the conference upon the treaty, unanimously agreed, that the contents of the paper were “ notoriously false, and contrary to what his majesty clearly expressed at the pacification.” His majesty likewise declared (as appears by the minutes of the council which were afterwards turned into a proclamation) “ That before his coming from Berwick, he shewed a copy of this scandalous paper to the earl of Lindsey, the earl of Holland, master treasurer, and master secretary Cook, who fully concurred in the aforesaid opinion with the lords; all which lords, and particularly the earl of Holland, avowed the falseness thereof before the faces of those Scottish lords who were believed to be the divulgers of it (the lords of the council of Scotland being the likewise present); all which considered, the whole board became humble petitioners to his majesty, that this false and scandalous paper might be publicly burned by the hangman; and that his majesty's pleasure might be published by proclamation, “ that no person or persons hereafter, of what degree or condition soever, presume to keep any copy thereof; but that within five days after the said proclamation published, every such person and persons shall deliver to the next justice of the peace, at his or their dwelling, all and every copy and copies thereof; the same to be by the said justices of peace immediately brought or sent to one of his majesty's principal secretaries, on penalty of incurring the uttermost of such punishment and penalties as by the law of this realm are to be inflicted upon those that keep such scandalous and seditious papers.”

Upon the sixth of August (old stile), the general assembly met at Edinburgh, according to the royal proclamation, and sat till the twenty-fourth: the chief matters were, the confirmation of the act of the Glasgow assembly, the abolishing of episcopacy, the five articles of Perth, the high-commission court, the liturgy, and the book of canons; and it ended with an address of thanks to the king, for his indulgence towards them, in the

his majesty would not only abstain from levying ship-money, but even consent to its being utterly abolished, in any manner they should judge convenient. Vane, inspiring Charles with an idea of making this proposal, seems to have been perfectly well acquainted with the disposition of the members of the house of commons, and how favourable it was to his design of embroiling the king with them. This proposal produced violent debates: the commons thought no argument, more unfavourable, could possibly be urged for a supply, than an offer to abolish ship-money; a taxation the most illegal, and the most dangerous, which had ever, in any reign, been imposed on the nation: and they imagined, that, by bargaining for the remission of that duty, they would seem, in a manner, to acknowledge the authority by which it had been levied; or, at least, give encouragement for assuming new claims of a like nature, in hopes of resigning them on like advantageous terms: and, for these reasons, they resolved to pay no regard to the king's solicitations, but to continue the examination and redress of the public grievances.

Things were now come to the crisis Vane wished for: Charles was incensed to the highest degree at the unreasonable obstinacy of the commons; and this treacherous member, taking advantage of his perturbation, insinuated that he had it from good authority, that in a day or two the commons intended to pass a vote against the war with Scotland; and Charles unhappily believing the report, which, by all that appears by the journals of the proceedings of the house, was entirely groundless, repaired on the morrow (being the fifth of May) to the house of peers, where he dissolved the parliament. The marquis of Hamilton has not escaped the censure of some well-informed historians on this action, which in the end proved fatal to Charles, in order to embroil the king's affairs, to confirm the Scots, and distract the English, with a view to work his own advantages on both.

Indeed no step could have been taken more proper to exercise the reigning spirit of discontent among the people, who usually repose the most entire confidence in their representatives, and expect from them the redress of all their grievances. But as if this had not been thought enough to ruin Charles in the minds of his subjects, he was, by his violent counsellors, prevailed on to renew those acts of arbitrary power which, from former experience, he might have learned were so dangerous and unpopular. Bellasis and sir John Hotham were cited before the council; and refusing to give any account of their conduct in parliament, were thrown into prison. Crew, the chairman of the committee of religion, was ordered to deliver up all the complaints and petitions presented to the committee; and on his refusing to produce them, he was sent to the Tower. The studies and even the pockets of the earl of Warwick and lord Brooke were searched, before the expiration of privilege, in hopes of finding some treasonable papers.

Though the parliament was dissolved, the convocation continued sitting, under the name of a synod, to the twenty-ninth of May, and enacted certain canons. Among these there was one that obliged all ecclesiastics, and such as had received degrees in the universities, to take an oath, importing, that they approved of the doctrine and discipline of the church of England; and that they

never would consent to any alteration of the church-government, by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, &c. After having settled their canons and this oath, which they had no legal power to impose, they granted a large subsidy, for the maintenance of the Scottish war, and then separated.

The dissolution of this parliament was by the people thought to be the work of the archbishop of Canterbury; this raised the popular hatred against him to the highest pitch: and on the ninth of May a paper was posted upon the Old Exchange, by one John Lilburne, exciting the apprentices to rise and rife his house at Lambeth on the Monday following; of which the archbishop having notice, made provision of some quantity of arms and ammunition for his defence. In the dead of the night preceding the appointed day, five hundred of the rabble beset his house, and strove to force an entrance, but were repulsed, and forced to depart with only denouncing their anger in seditious language against him, and breaking the windows of his palace. The next day many of them were apprehended, and confined in the White Lion prison, in Southwark: but within three days after, a number of their accomplices assembled, broke open the prison, and rescued them: nevertheless one of the ringleaders of the first riot was retaken, arraigned, condemned, hanged, drawn, and quartered on the twenty-first of May.

It seemed as if Charles had studied to set all ranks of people against him, for instead of soothing the city of London in the present delicate situation of circumstances, he prosecuted it in the Star-chamber for certain misdemeanors committed at Londonderry, in Ireland, which had been peopled by the city, and condemned it in a very heavy fine. He continued to raise all the taxes which had been so loudly inveighed against in parliament. Such a conduct in an absolute prince would have occasioned a revolt among his subjects, much more in a limited monarch. Unsupported by his parliament, he was now obliged to have recourse to the generosity of individuals, and so much interest did he possess among the courtiers and ministers, that above three hundred thousand pounds were subscribed in a few days.

The earl of Northumberland had been appointed general of the king's army, now augmented to twenty thousand men, the earl of Strafford lieutenant-general, and lord Conway general of the horse; but Northumberland being about this time seized with a dangerous illness, could not take upon him the command; as to Strafford, it seems his presence was absolutely necessary in England, to direct the affairs of the council; Charles therefore went himself in person so soon as the queen, then great with-child, was delivered of her son Henry, who was born at Oatlands, on the twentieth of July. But in the mean time the army was ordered to march northward; and lord Conway marched with the van some days before the rest could come up: and as he was advancing, news was brought him, that the Scottish army, under general Lesly, was marched to Dunce, not far from Berwick, where they had taken up their quarters the preceding year. Upon this advice he ordered the army to hasten towards Newcastle; but before they reached that place, intelligence came that the Scottish army had entered England on the twentieth

tieth of August. The king received advice of this on his way to York, and dispatched orders to Conway to do what he could to impede their march till the army could come up. Upon this Conway called a council of war, the result of which was, that they should seize the pass at Newborne upon Tyne, to prevent the Scots possessing themselves of Newcastle, where sir Jacob Astly had newly entered with his regiment, but had not time to erect any fortifications. The king made all the haste he could; but by that time he reached North Allerton, about two days march on this side Newcastle, the lord Conway sent to him an account of the defeat of the forces under his command, which he received at Newborne, on the twenty-seventh of August.

In consequence of their success at Newborne, the Scots entered Newcastle without opposition: as for Conway, he retired with precipitation to Durham, and thinking himself not safe in that place, returned to North Allerton, where he found the main army, which also retreated to York. In the mean while, the Scots entered Newcastle peaceably and under the most solemn protestation of friendship, which they soon violated by treating the inhabitants of the town and neighbouring country in all respects as a conquered people; nor does it even appear that any precautions were taken by the English officers to prevent the king's magazines of powder and ammunition from falling into the hands of the enemy.

Charles arrived at York on the twenty-third of August: and, after assembling the gentlemen there, he and the earl of Strafford did all they could to animate them to the service of their country. They had advanced as far as North Allerton with their whole army, when they heard of lord Conway's defeat, on which they retreated to York, that they might be joined by the troops that were marching from Newcastle to Durham; and the whole to all appearance, composed a very fine army.

It was doubtless mortifying to Charles to be reduced to submit to the insolence of rebels, and hold a parley with the avowed enemies of his royal state and dignity; but what could he do? he saw a visible coldness in the officers and common men of his army, which gave him the most dreadful apprehensions that they would not fight against the Scots: the great county of York, instead of raising men for his service, presented a petition against his measures: in fine, he saw no other method of stopping the progress of the Covenanters, than by complying with their proposal.

While these things were in agitation, an address was presented from the city of London, petitioning for a parliament, as the only method of healing the distempered state. This petition encouraged the earls of Bedford, Essex, Hertford, Warwick, Bristol, and Mulgrave, the lords Say and Seale, Howard of Escrick, Bolingbroke, Mandeville, Brooke, and Paget, to present another of the like tendency. In these, and a thousand other distracting circumstances, the only expedient that Charles and his friends could think of, was somewhat between a parliament and a council, and was revived from very remote antiquity; this was, to summon a council of the English peers at York.

On the twenty-fourth of September this great council met, and Charles opened it with a speech, in which he demanded their advice upon two

points: the first was, what answer to be given to the rebels, and in what manner they were to be treated; the second, how to get money for keeping his army together until a parliamentary supply should be raised. After various debates, it was resolved to name commissioners for treating with the Scots; these were, the earls of Bedford, Hertford, Essex, Salisbury, Warwick, Bristol, Holland, and Berkshire, viscount Mandeville, the lords Wharton, Paget, Brooke, Pawlet, Howard, Saville, and Dunsmore: the earls of Traquair, Morton, and Lanerk, were named as assistants to these commissioners, to remove any difficulties that could arise from their ignorance of the constitution and affairs of Scotland; and secretary Vane, Mr. Lewis Stuart, and sir John Burroughs, were to assist in like manner upon the part of the English commissioners. It was first proposed, as most consistent with the king's dignity, that the treaty should be held at York; but the Scots, not so much from any real apprehensions they had of danger, as to increase the odium against Strafford, refused to come to any place where he had power; and, after various consultations, Rippon was appointed to be the place of meeting. All this while the inhabitants of the northern counties, that had been laid under contribution by the Scots, made dreadful complaints to Charles of their oppression; and, in order to keep the English army together, instructions were given by the great council to the earls of Manchester, Pembroke, and Clare, the viscount Camden, with the lords Coventry and Goring, to treat with the city of London for the loan of two hundred thousand pounds. The commissioners for the Scots were the earl of Dumfermling, lord Loudon, sir Patrick Hepburn, sir William Douglas, Mr. Smith, Mr. Wedderburn, Mr. Henderson, and Mr. Johnston.

The conferences were opened at Rippon on the first of October, and the Scots commissioners presented the following propositions, in the form of a petition: "That his majesty would be pleased to cause the acts of the last general assembly to be ratified in parliament: that the castle of Edinburgh, and all places of strength in Scotland, should be employed for no other purpose but the defence of the kingdom: that the Scots in England and Ireland should not incur any penalty for having subscribed the Covenant, nor be subjected to oaths or subscriptions contrary to the laws of the realm: that the authors of these troubles should be punished as incendiaries, according to their demerits: that the ships taken from the Scots should be restored with all their merchandize; and all damage to be repaired: that they should be indemnified for all the losses they had sustained since the beginning of the troubles: that the proclamations declaring them traitors, should be revoked; and that his majesty would, with the advice of the English parliament, withdraw the garrisons from the frontiers: that a free communication and commerce between the two nations be restored." They likewise demanded, in an insolent manner, forty thousand pounds per month for maintaining their army, during the treaty. Charles would gladly have consented that both armies should have been disbanded, but he could not prevail; and he now saw that nothing advantageous to him could result from the interview at Rippon: he therefore endeavoured to transfer the conferences to York, where the great

council continued sitting; but he was again disappointed through the refusal of the Scots. His own commissioners pressed him to remove the treaty from Rippon to London, to which he was obliged to comply, and also to a cessation of arms, by which the Scots were assured of maintenance for their army; and the river Tees was made the boundary for both parties. This cessation was concluded on the twenty-sixth of October, and the commissioners returned to York, where Charles found himself obliged to ratify all they had done in granting the demands of the Scots. Thus was this unhappy prince humbled, to receive law from his rebels, and directions from his subjects.

Charles finding the general sense of the nation was so declared for a parliament, had in his speech to the great council acquainted them that he intended to summon one to sit on the third of November ensuing, and writs had accordingly been issued out for that purpose. There remained, therefore but a short time for him to return to London before the meeting of the parliament, which he did, leaving Strafford, who had joined his army, to provide for the peace of the North; and an army of rebels, whom he paid, to domineer in the bowels of his country; for it was understood that the Scottish army was neither to return, or be disbanded, till the treaty, begun at Rippon, was finished at London.

The parliament met, according to its summons, on the third of November, and the commons chose Lenthall, a lawyer of some reputation, for their speaker. The parliament at meeting was unusually numerous, every member looking upon this conjuncture as a national crisis: the speech of Charles, as usual contained reflections on the incredulity of those who had refused to trust to his personal assurances: he recommended to his parliament, first to drive out the Scottish rebels, and then he promised them a redress of grievances; and lastly he recommended to them to provide money for the payment of the army, which otherwise must be disbanded, while that of the rebels was kept on foot.

It would swell these sheets too much, were we minutely to set down the several steps taken by this parliament in the pursuit of the favourite object of humbling the kingly authority; we shall content ourselves with given a summary account of their proceedings, but so as not to omit any material incident worthy the knowledge of the reader. And here we shall beg leave to premise a general reflection on the characters and circumstances of men and things at this juncture.

The long intermission of parliaments had produced many mischiefs and inconveniences in the government, by the remissness of some and the rigor of others, in church and state, which inflamed the zeal of many good patriots of both houses to be very urgent for the redress of their errors: the eye of the whole nation was fixed on the proceedings of a parliament summoned at so critical a juncture, and during such general discontents as now rent the whole nation; a parliament which was to complete every thing left unfinished by former parliaments. Notwithstanding the vigorous efforts of the courtiers and ministers, the elections had run almost entirely in favour of those in the opposition: the members were generally bent upon an alteration in the government; the few moderate men amongst them sought only to ascertain

the liberties of the nation; others resolved to humble the royal prerogative; and there was a more violent party that extended their views to an utter extirpation of the hierarchy and monarchical government, but these at first carefully concealed their designs under the profession of rigid presbyterianism, and were afterwards known by the name of Independents. The two latter parties were in confederacy with the Scots, and sought, by fomenting the distractions of the state, to lift themselves into places of power and trust: the pursuit of these things made them exceed the methods and proceedings of their predecessors, and, by inspiring jealousies, countenancing and procuring tumultuous petitions and assemblies by menaces and force, they often obtained the accomplishment of their purposes, contriving without-door in private meetings, what they designed to carry within. The success they met with in these their proceedings enlarged their views and extended their ambition; it bred thoughts in them they had never entertained before; and this was that which drew on the ruin of the king, and with him, for some time, the subversion of all monarchy: but many of those who were in the beginning most active for reformation, had not in their prospect the calamity that ensued, and too late repented the error of having lent their assistance to those actions, when they could no longer stem the tide that the breath of violence and disaffection had swelled to so great an height. These matters will more plainly appear as we proceed in the history of this reign, whose horrors we are now about to describe.

The earl of Strafford was considered as the first minister of state, both on account of the great interest which he had with his master, and his own uncommon abilities. By a concurrence of untoward circumstances he had exposed himself to the hatred of all the three nations, which composed the British empire. The Scots, whose authority was now very great, regarded him as the capital enemy of their country, and one, whose councils and influence they had most reason to dread. He had persuaded the parliament of Ireland to furnish large supplies, in order to prosecute a war against them: he had raised an army of nine thousand men, with which he threatened to invade their western coast: he had compelled the Scots, who lived under his government, to renounce the Covenant, which they so much adored: he had in Ireland denounced the Scottish Covenanters rebels and traitors, even before the king had taken any such step against them in England: and he had ever given his opinion against the late treaty and suspension of arms, which he considered as dangerous and dishonourable. So highly were the Scots incensed at all these measures, that they had absolutely refused to send commissioners to treat at York, as was first proposed; because, they said, the lieutenant of Ireland, their capital enemy, being general of the king's forces, was there possessed of the chief command and authority.

Strafford, first as deputy, then as lord-lieutenant, had managed the affairs of Ireland for the space of eight years. His government had been extremely vigilant and active, but very far from being popular. His authority and influence, however, during the time of his prosperity, had kept his enemies in awe; but no sooner was he seized with adversity, then the concealed aversion of the Irish

blazed out at once, and the parliament of that kingdom employed every expedient in order to aggravate the charge against him.

All the grievances which the English had suffered for a number of years, were universally ascribed to the pernicious councils of Strafford; because he was known to be the minister whom the king most favoured and consulted.

Though descended from an ancient family, and born to a considerable estate, his sudden and great elevation was not exempted from envy; and his former associates in popular measures, finding that he owed his advancement to the desertion of their cause, pursued him with the most implacable hatred, and resolved to exert their utmost efforts in order to effect his ruin*.

The first five days of this session was taken up in settling the five standing committees for grievances, religion, courts of justice, trade, and privileges and elections; and in several declamatory speeches against the maladministration of government, both in church and state, the chief part of which were ascribed to the councils of the earl of Strafford and archbishop Laud: fanaticism seems to have taken possession of the minds of almost all ranks of people: at this time religion was become an universal fashion; the most eloquent speakers in the house introduced a kind of holy cant and jargon into their speeches, and all their allusions being scriptural, stamped them with an air of prophecy or inspiration.

The Scottish commissioners were now arrived in London, in order to put a finishing hand to the treaty that had been begun at Rippon. These had many conferences with their friends of the house of commons; and it was agreed by them, that the earl of Strafford should be impeached at his first coming to the house of peers, for he was as yet at York. This measure was thus suddenly resolved on, to prevent an impeachment that nobleman had ready against Mr. Pym and some others of the leading members of both houses, for holding intelligence with the Scots, which he intended to have offered in the house of peers as soon as he had taken his seat amongst them. It was the tenth of November, early in the morning, while the house of commons was in a debate about papists, that it was certainly known that Strafford was come to town; upon this a motion was immediately made, "that no member should leave the house; that the outward room, or lobby, be kept clear from strangers; and the outer door, upon the stair-head, be kept locked;" and all this upon pretext of examining Newton and Grey, two messengers, who had been concerned in taking up and discharging papists. This secrecy was somewhat interrupted by a message from the lords, who demanded a meeting with the commons, which the latter refused; and Pym and Clotworthy, with the other enemies of Strafford, were so vehement in their speeches, and so quick in their dispatch against him, that his impeachment, upon the notoriety of the facts contained in it, was carried up that very day by Pym, who at the bar of the house of peers accused him of high-treason. The earl was thereupon required to withdraw, and it was very warmly debated by the peers, whether he should be imprisoned on a general accusation as this was, without

any particular act of treason charged against him; but, upon the question, it was carried in the affirmative, and the earl, upon being called in, was put into the custody of the black-rod, until the house of commons should exhibit a more particular charge against him.

The next day the commons, considering the great pressures of the northern counties by the two armies that lay upon them, resolved that two hundred thousand pounds should be raised for their maintenance; and, till it could be regularly levied, one hundred thousand pounds were borrowed in the city of London, upon the credit of some of the members of the house of commons. Many petitions from all parts were now brought in for redress of grievances, and to be relieved against orders and decrees of the Council-table, Star-chamber, and High-commission court; which were referred to the proper committees: several persons also were released out of prison upon their petitions, among whom were Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick: and a while after, by the intercession of the lords with the king, Williams, bishop of Lincoln, was also freed from his imprisonment in the Tower, and admitted to resume his seat in the upper-house. In the mean time the king, willing to be rid of the Scottish army, hastened the commission to the lords who were employed in the treaty of Rippon, or any ten of them, to treat with the Scottish commissioners, or any seven of them, to take into consideration their demands, and compose all differences arising thereupon; which commission was passed under the great-seal of England on the twenty-third of November: and in a short time after the Scots presented their demands, which were eight in number; and afterwards they put in seventeen heads, wherein one (and that not the least considerable) was, that some Scotchmen of respect might enjoy places of trust about the king, queen, and prince. This was that which all their pretences aimed at, notwithstanding all their zeal to the reformation of religion: and though all they desired else was granted, they never attained to their ends in this; for the troubles which they raised, did not only bring after them a misery to this nation, but them also, and the ringleaders of them wanted not their part thereof: sir Francis Windebank, secretary of state, was aimed at, as one of the great delinquents in the opinion of the parliament, being suspected in his religion, a great favourer of the priests of the Romish church, for whom he had obtained many reprieves, and was thought to be guilty of misdemeanors of a higher nature; but he, thinking himself not sufficiently provided to ride out the approaching storm, made his escape into France, where he died a Roman catholic. In the consideration of grievances, the charge imposed upon the subject for providing and furnishing of ships, and the assessments for raising money for that purpose, commonly called ship-money, were voted by both houses to be against the laws of the realm; and all proceedings in the case, both at Council-table, Star-chamber, and courts of justice, declared null and void.

The debate of ship-money led the house to consider of the first occasion of raising it, which was, because the parliament immediately preceeding the last, was dissolved without granting the supplies the king

* Hume's History of Great Britain, Charles I.

expected from them; and from hence they were led into an enquiry of several violations of the privileges of parliament, by the commitment of divers members, and a judgment against them in the King's Bench: and then all the inconveniences were summed up, that happened through the long intermission of parliaments; to provide against which, it was resolved to bring in a bill for establishing triennial parliaments. The debates took up many days, and whilst these consultations were held for the reformation of the civil state, the Scottish commissioners, who acted in concert with the puritan party, were not idle in their endeavours to alter the hierarchy or ecclesiastical state: by the fanatical discourses of themselves and their emissaries they so worked upon the minds of the deluded people, that a great number of petitions were presented to the commons against ecclesiastical discipline, the ceremonies of the church, and the government of it by bishops: amongst which was one presented by alderman Pennington, subscribed by fifteen hundred citizens of London. This petition did not a little alarm the moderate party in the house of commons, who were not unwilling to have the abuses of church-government reformed, but could not approve of the alteration of that government itself; so that, after some debate, the petition was ordered to lie upon the table for farther consideration. The puritans however, though unsuccessful in this effort, fell a while after upon another expedient, more plausible, which was an inquisition into the legality of the new canons, the oath, and the tax upon the clergy, which had been created and imposed by the convocation, after the parliament had been dissolved, and it was voted by a great majority, "That such an assembly had no power to frame constitutions, canons, or any other acts, without consent of parliament; that the late canons contained matters contrary to the king's prerogative, the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the rights of parliament, and the liberty and property of the subjects; that therefore they tended to sedition, and were of the most dangerous consequences."

The very same day that the canons were thus voted down (December 17) the commons appointed a committee of thirty-nine members, to enquire who were the principal promoters of those canons, and to prepare an impeachment against the archbishop of Canterbury, for having endeavoured to overturn the laws and religion of his country. The Scottish commissioners, who acted in concert with the puritan party, at the same time presented to the lords an accusation against that prelate, charging him with being the author of all the troubles in Scotland, by imposing the book of canons and the liturgy upon the natives of that kingdom, and exciting a war between his majesty and his subjects. The archbishop being likewise impeached by the commons, was taken into custody, and afterwards committed to the Tower. Matthew Wren, bishop of Ely, being suspected of a design to quit the kingdom, was obliged to give security for ten thousand pounds. The lord-keeper Finch being threatened with a prosecution, fled into Holland and was declared a traitor by a vote of the house of commons, and the king committed the seals to the custody of sir Edward Littleton. Brampton, Davenport, and Crawley, three of the judges, were obliged to give bail. Such was the method taken to over-

awe the king's ministers: but what still more contributed to intimidate his adherents, was the practice of passing votes against any part of their conduct as contrary to law. From want of power, rather than inclination, to resist, the king was obliged to remain a passive spectator of all those violent proceedings. He hoped to regain his lost authority by a little flexibility, but herein he was mistaken: he imagined that the parliament would assist him in taking vengeance upon the Scots for their irruption into England; but instead of that, this very parliament made them a present of three hundred thousand pounds, to defray the expences they had been at in carrying on a civil war. He flattered himself likewise with suppressing the puritanical party in England: almost all the members of the house of commons were puritans. He had a tender affection for the earl of Strafford, who had devoted himself so generously to his service; and the commons soon after obliged him to sign the fatal warrant for his death, and thereby shew his subjects the way to shed blood still more precious.

We have already observed, that the States had proposed to Charles a marriage between his eldest daughter and the young prince of Orange. In the beginning of the year 1641, this prince renewed the demand, and the ambassadors had orders to propose to Charles, at the same time such a league as should be found most conducive to the interests of both people. Charles readily agreed to both propositions, and the articles of marriage were soon drawn up; but he thought proper to impart the whole to the house of peers, which he accordingly did, and the marriage was shortly after concluded, to the great satisfaction of the public.

About this time, or a few days before, the particular charge against the earl of Strafford was carried up to the lords by Mr. Pym, under twenty-eight articles. They had, on the twenty-eighth of November, in the preceding year, exhibited some general articles, to which he could not be forced to answer; but upon this farther impeachment the lords required him to answer to the whole: and though the charge was very long, yet were the commons so pressing for his answer, that, by the twenty-fourth of February, he delivered it to the lords. It appears that the Irish house of commons had by this time sent over a committee to assist in the prosecution of this unfortunate nobleman, who had been their governor; and, in a word, the three kingdoms seemed bent upon his destruction. Upon the carrying up the impeachment last-mentioned, he was taken out of the custody of the usher of the black-rod, and committed to the Tower. He moved the lords to have counsel allowed him, which was much opposed by the commons; but his accusation being found to have many points of law in it, he was at length indulged with a grant of his request.

The bill for triennial parliaments having passed both houses, was, on the sixteenth of February, offered to the king, under the title of "An act for the preventing inconveniencies happening from the long intermission of parliaments," and at the same time the commons presented an act for the relief of his majesty's army and the northern parts of the kingdom, to both which the king gave his royal assent. No act that had ever passed seemed better calculated for preserving the liberties of the subject, than the act for triennial parliaments; for it

it provided, "that in case the king should refuse to summon a parliament at the time therein limited, the chancellor or keeper might issue out writs to summon the peers, and for election of the commons; and if the chancellor or keeper should not do it, any twelve of the peers might summon the parliament; and if the peers should omit the issuing out of summons, the sheriffs in counties, and other magistrates, respectively, might cause elections to be made; and if the sheriffs should refuse, the freeholders in the counties might make elections of members; and the members so chosen were, under great penalties, obliged to attend:" with many other clauses to accomplish the end designed by the act.

It must be confessed, that this act had in it several expressions too much reflecting upon the prerogative; but Charles seems by this time to have been sensible of the many mischiefs arising from the too long intermission of parliaments, and seems to have resolved to communicate more freely and frequently in that way with his subjects. In a word, his so readily giving his assent to this act was highly pleasing to the people in general, who every where expressed their satisfaction by bonfires and other rejoicings: both houses also waited upon the king at Whitehall, with an address of thanks on the occasion. On the same day these bills were signed, the charge against the archbishop of Canterbury was carried up to the lords by sir Henry Vane, the younger, whereupon Laud was ordered to be sent to the Tower; but, upon his humble suit to the lords, his commitment was respited to the first of March.

The Scottish commissioners were all this while exerting their utmost endeavours for the overthrow of the hierarchy, and the introduction of their presbyterian discipline into the church of England, and had, by their confederates, made an active party in the house of commons, which was almost filled with puritans, who took every occasion of aspersing the bishops, and in their speeches spared not the episcopal order itself. The city petition, already mentioned, was now taken a second time into consideration, and, in the course of the debates, several motions were made for entirely abolishing the order of bishops: among those who argued for this measure, none distinguished themselves with so much vehement eloquence as Nathaniel Fiennes, the younger son of the lord Say and Seale; but the lord Falkland, the lord Digby, and many other noblemen of consummate integrity and deep erudition, so warmly opposed the motion, and by the strength and eloquence of their reasoning, so far prevailed, that the order of episcopacy was yet preserved, though its power was much lessened by a vote passed in the house of commons, preparatory to a bill, resolving, "that no bishop shall have any vote in parliament, or any judicial power in the Star-chamber, nor bear any sway in temporal affairs; and that no clergyman shall be in the commission of the peace."

About this time Charles, who seems to have had nothing else in view but the restoring the confidence of his subjects, by endeavouring to satisfy his parliament and smooth his measures, agreed to several considerable alterations in his court: he admitted into his council the earls of Hertford, Bedford, Essex, Bristol, and Warwick, the lords Say, Saville, and Kimbolton; Juxon, bishop of Lon-

don, had, with less envy than could be expected, for some years held the treasurer's staff, but he now resigned it. Oliver St. John was appointed solicitor-general: the king intended that Denzill Holles should have filled the places of secretary of state, vacated by the flight of Windebank; that Pym should be made chancellor of the Exchequer, in the room of the lord Cottington, who resigned for that purpose; lord Say, master of the wards; the earl of Essex governor, and Mr. Hampden tutor, to the prince of Wales: but the marquis of Hamilton, who had a great esteem for Strafford, whom Charles ardently wished to have preserved, persuaded the king that the delaying these promotions would be a strong bait in Strafford's favour, or that it was necessary to make some previous terms before the vacancies were filled up, for securing his life. This advice was fatally followed, and blasted the whole scheme: thus Charles lost the opportunity of at least making the opposition easy, by those popular acts, for that time, if not for ever.

The sops with-held from the Cerberusses of the party, and the sacrifices Charles had already made, did not one moment retard the prosecution of Strafford. That nobleman was considered as the chief support of the prerogative; the commons looked upon him as an apostate; the Scots, as the implacable and avowed enemy of their country. On the thirtieth of January, twenty-eight fresh articles had been given in against the earl, the particulars of which are foreign to a general history; it is sufficient to say, that they charged him with having exercised illegal power and oppressions in many instances, both as president of the North and as lord lieutenant of Ireland; with having been the cause of the war with the Scots (whom the commons had lately ordered to be styled on all occasions "our brethren of Scotland"), against whom he had unjustly irritated his majesty; with having levied an army of Irish papists to enslave the kingdom; and with having advised the king to establish an absolute government on the ruin of the constitution.

Westminster-hall was formed into a large court of judicature for the important trial; the earl of Arundel presided as high-steward, the peers sat in their robes as judges, the commons appeared as accusers, on which account it was determined that the impeachment should be managed by commoners: these were George lord Digby, (an Irish peer), John Hampden, esq. John Pym, esq. Oliver St. John, esq. sir Walter Erle, knight, Geoffrey Palmer, esq. John Maynard, esq. and John Glynn, esq. Whitlock was appointed chairman of this committee: we must not forget that the bishops declined being present, agreeable to the canon law, which forbids their assisting at any trial for life: at the upper end of the hall was a chair and cloth of state for the king, and on each side a close gallery, in which his majesty and the queen sat in private. The trial began on the twenty-second of March: the articles of accusation were enforced with all the virulence of malice. The earl behaved with great dignity, courage, and composure; his defence was noble, spirited, and effectual; he acquitted himself of every accusation, except a few acrimonious expressions, and some instances of indiscretion, which ought to have been forgiven, as the infirmities of human nature. Nothing had appeared against him to justify the charge of treason,

when, on the twelfth of April, Pym produced in the house of commons a paper of some notes taken by secretary Vane, of opinions delivered at the council-table. Young Vane pretended he had found them by accident in his father's cabinet; and, as they were thought to bear testimony against the earl, his accusers the next day read them openly at his trial. They were entitled "No danger of a war with Scotland, if offensive, not defensive." The earl had advised the king to borrow a sum of money: he said his majesty was absolved by all rules of government, as having tried all legal ways, and been repulsed; and that he had an army in Ireland, which he might employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience. The earl, in his defence, observed "that it was hard measure to be prosecuted, under the notion of treason, for opinions given in council: that his using the expression 'this kingdom' was not proved, as the marquis of Hamilton, the earl of Northumberland, the lord-treasurer, and the lord Cottington, who were present at the board, declared upon their honours that they never heard him speak such words. But, granting he had used the expression, the word *this* could not rationally imply England, which had not been guilty of disobedience; but Scotland, which was the immediate object of their deliberation, and in a state of actual rebellion." After making this answer, he re-capitulated the several parts of his former defence, and in his conclusion said, "My lords, I have troubled you longer than I should have done, were it not for the interest of these dear pledges a saint in heaven hath left me." Here he made a pause, pointing to his children and shedding some tears: then proceeded in these words; "What I forfeit myself, is nothing; but that my indiscretion should extend to my posterity, woundeth me to the very soul.—You will pardon my infirmity: something I should have added, but am not able, so therefore let it pass.—And now, my lords, for myself; I have been taught, by the blessings of the Almighty God, that the afflictions of this present life are not to be compared to the eternal weight of glory which will be revealed hereafter; and so, my lords, even so, with all tranquility of mind I freely submit myself to your judgment; be it life or death, 'Te Deum laudamus.'" The very chairman of the committee says, this great and good person spoke with such pathetic grace and eloquence as moved the hearts of all his auditors (a few excepted) to pity and remorse.

The accusation and defence lasted eighteen days: Strafford, in his replies was obliged to reserve a seeming respect for his most implacable enemies, the Scottish nation and the Irish parliament. He took only a short time to answer each article urged against him, yet he made such a noble and satisfactory defence, that the commons saw it impossible, by a legal prosecution, ever to attain their purpose against him. But the death of Strafford was considered as a matter of too great importance to be left unaccomplished. A bill of attainder was therefore introduced into the lower-house immediately after the conclusion of this pleadings, which passed the house on the twenty-first of April, after very warm debates, fifty-nine votes only dissenting, and was immediately sent up to the lords. On the first of May the king went to the house of peers, and, in a speech, earnestly requested both houses that

they would not proceed severely against the earl of Strafford, whom, in his own conscience, he said, he could not condemn of high-treason; but declared at the same time, that, for his misdemeanors, he should never serve him or the kingdom in any place of trust, "no not so much as a constable."

This speech was highly offensive to those who thirsted for the blood of this nobleman; and they were so hot in the pursuit of their designs, that the commons voted it a breach of privilege for the king to take notice of any bill depending before the house. At the same time they employed their emissaries without doors to spread about the city, and other parts of the town, papers containing the names of the fifty-nine members who voted against the bill of attainder: those names were affixed to public places, under the denomination of Straffordians and betrayers of their country, and thus exposed to the fury of the ungoverned multitude, made at this time so mad and violent, that, on the third of May, vast numbers from the city appeared at Westminster, armed with swords and cudgels, crying aloud for justice against the earl of Strafford; and such as were suspected of attachment to that unfortunate nobleman, were afraid to appear in public. About eighty peers had constantly been present at Strafford's trial, but so much were they intimidated by the popular tumults, that only forty-nine were in the house of lords when the bill of attainder was introduced; yet even nineteen of these had the courage to vote against it: a strong presumption that, had liberty of debate been allowed, the bill would have been rejected by a great majority. A new discovery, made about this time, increased still farther the fury of the people, and hastened the fate of the devoted Strafford: some principal officers of the king's army, partly from their attachment to the crown, and partly from an aversion to the parliament, had formed a plan for engaging into the king's service the troops under their command; with this view they entered into an association, bound themselves by an oath of secrecy, and maintained a close correspondence with the king's servants: the form of a petition to the king and parliament was composed, and it was resolved to procure the subscription of the army to this petition, in which, after representing the great danger to which the ancient constitution of the kingdom was subject, by the insolent proceedings of certain factious and turbulent spirits, the army offered to come up and protect his majesty and the parliament, "so shall the nation (as they allege in conclusion) not only be vindicated from present innovations, but be secured from the future which are threatened, and which are likely to be more pernicious than the former." The draught of this petition was transmitted to the king, who unhappily was persuaded to countersign it, as a mark of his approbation. One of the parties concerned (Goring), imagining the affair could not be kept long a secret, discovered the whole to the lords Newport and Dungarvon, and they to Pym, who instantly imparted the matter to the house. This discovery could not fail to excite the most violent indignation among the people. It was now given out that there was a wicked concert, a most dreadful plot, between the court and the army, to cut the throats of the parliament, and of all those who stood up for their liberties. The puritanical faction among the commons naturally improved this singular

singular advantage: they instantly got the house to vote, that a protestation should be signed by all the members, to maintain the protestant religion against popery, to defend the king's person, the power of parliament, and the rights and liberties of the subject; and the commons, by their sole authority, issued orders that it should be subscribed by the whole nation.

It is incredible with what alacrity this protestation was taken, and what a spirit it raised against the earl of Strafford. A bill was next brought in for continuing this parliament, which should not be prorogued, adjourned, or dissolved without the consent of both houses, until the grievances should be redressed; but have credit to take up money. There can be no doubt, that by this bill the parliament dissolved the constitution, and henceforward are with justice to be considered as a faction against the commonwealth. The same day (Friday May 5), the commons sent to the king, desiring access to him, which was granted; and, about four o'clock, they attended in the Banqueting-house, at Whitehall, where they presented to him the bill of attainder against the earl of Strafford, and that for the continuance of the parliament, with an intimation that the present state of the kingdom would not admit of delay; and therefore they humbly besought him to give the royal assent to those bills: the king told them they might expect his answer on Monday, and so dismissed them.

Where ever the king turned his eyes he saw no remedy nor relief: his case, it is certain, called aloud for pity; he was racked with the pangs of conscience, about putting to death a minister whom he had esteemed, and whom he believed to be innocent; not a counsellor about him, Juxon excepted, had the courage to speak their mind, and all concurred in maintaining (a most manifest falsehood) that the king ought to satisfy his people in this demand, which would, it was presumed, finally content them. The good bishop, with a virtuous resolution, becoming the sacred character he bore, advised the king, if in his conscience he thought the bill unjust, by no means to give his assent to it. Strafford, informed of the extreme perplexity his royal master was in, carried his loyalty to such a height as to write a letter to the king exhorting him to consent to his death. "In this (said he) my consent will more acquit your majesty to God, than all the world can do besides. To a willing mind there is no injury. And as, by God's grace, I freely forgive all the world, with a calmness and meekness of infinite contentment to my departing soul; so, sir, to you, I can resign the life of this world with the utmost cheerfulness, in the just sense of your many, great, and exceeding favours." Charles had the weakness to take this trusty servant at his word, and he assented to pass the act, though he thought he was doing what merited eternal reproach here, and the vengeance of a just God hereafter; for it appeared that Charles, notwithstanding his passing the bill, had violent pangs about Strafford, since we find that, on the tenth of May, he sent the prince of Wales to the house of peers with a letter, in which he enjoined them to interpose their good offices with the commons, in order to procure a mitigation of Strafford's sentence, or at least a short delay; but, to the indelible disgrace of loyalty, humanity, and

every social or religious virtue; both his requests were flatly refused: could he, indeed, expect any other from the spirit of that opposition? A committee of twelve lords was appointed to satisfy the king, that even a delay of this illustrious criminal's execution would endanger his own and his family's safety; and Charles, with a reluctance to be felt but not described, yielded to the necessity of the juncture, and it was resolved that the earl should die on the twelfth of May.

He was assisted in his last moments by archbishop Usher, but was barbarously denied the comfort of speaking with Laud; and on the day appointed was brought to Tower-hill, where his head was cut off. It is hard to say whether he shewed himself more pious or brave in his death, or whether he was more blameable or laudable in his life; but it is certain, that, however great his personal failings or political demerits were, the abilities and virtues he possessed, with the penalty of his head which he paid, ought to claim the pity of impartial posterity for his fate, which, to his dying day, sat heavy upon his royal master. Even a few weeks after Strafford's execution, this very parliament, as if conscious of the iniquity, at least illegality, of his sentence, passed an act for restoring his children in blood and honour, and invested them with the possessions of their father's estates.

The commons having thus, by the death of the earl of Strafford, removed the grand obstacle, as they imagined, to their intended reformation of the state, proceeded to prosecute their projected plan with the utmost industry and vigour. All the taxes which the king had imposed, the Star-chamber and High-commission court, the extension of the forests, and the practice of imprisoning those who refused to comply with such impositions, were voted contrary to law, and the greater part of monopolies suppressed. The judges had hitherto enjoyed their patents only during his majesty's pleasure; the commons now petitioned the king to grant them patents during their good behaviour: and Charles was persuaded to comply with their request. The marshal's-court, which took cognizance of offensive words, and was extremely arbitrary in its proceedings, was for that reason, suppressed. The stannary courts, which exercised jurisdiction over the miners of Cornwall, being liable to a like objection, underwent the like fate. The council in the North, and that of Wales, were both abolished on the same principles. The authority of the clerk of the market, who had a right to inspect all the weights and measures throughout the kingdom, was transferred to the mayor, sheriffs, and ordinary magistrates. In a word, if we examine the proceedings of this memorable parliament during the first period of its operations, we shall find that we are indebted to it for many valuable liberties we enjoy at this day.

The treaty with the Scots being brought to a conclusion, Charles allowed the parliament of Scotland to assemble, and declared his intention of assisting at it in person. The commons, suspecting that he designed to put himself at the head of his army in the North, on pretence of his visiting his kingdom of Scotland, demanded a conference with the lords, and proposed that both armies should be disbanded before his departure, which the king at their request, postponed till the tenth of August,

Both.

Both were accordingly disbanded at the same time, and the Scots returned to their own country, very well satisfied with their expedition. Then the king set out on his journey; but their distrust still subsisting, the parliament proposed that a committee from both houses should attend the king in Scotland, on pretence of conferring with the Scottish parliament, though in reality to be spies upon his majesty's conduct. The earl of Bedford being nominated as one of the peers, declined the office, so that lord Howard of Esrick was the only member of that house who undertook the journey; and of the commons the committee consisted of Nathaniel Fiennes, sir William Armye, sir Philip Stapleton, and John Hampden. The commons still continued sitting, and took several grievances into consideration; then they resolved to adjourn from the ninth of September to the twentieth of October. This resolution was no sooner taken, than a great number of members from both houses retired to the country; and some rigid presbyterians took this opportunity to propose an alteration in the Book of Common Prayer, which was so vigorously defended by Mr. Hyde (afterwards earl of Clarendon), that no step was taken on the subject. The lords, during this dispute, voted that the Common Prayer should be used without any alteration. This vote produced a conference between the houses: the commons desired the lords would concur with them in publishing a declaration for suppressing all the late innovations in the church, and all diversions on the Lord's Day. The lords, on the other hand, demanded the concurrence of the commons in publishing an order of their house, prohibiting all change in divine worship as established by law: the lower-house absolutely rejected this proposal, and ordered their declaration to be printed and published through the whole kingdom; they at the same time appointed a committee of forty-three members to manage affairs of importance during their adjournment; the lords established another for their house, and then the parliament adjourned to the twentieth of October.

The king, attended by the duke of Lenox, lately honoured with the additional title of duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hamilton, and lord Willoughby, set out for Scotland on the tenth of August. On his arrival at Edinburgh, he was received there with great demonstrations of affection by the people; and, in return for this reception, he confirmed not only the articles of the treaty between the two nations by act of parliament, but all his former concessions also, and all such things as had been transacted by them in their general assemblies; and likewise, the more effectually to gain their esteem, he conferred titles of honour and dignity on some, and places of power, trust, and profit, on others; amongst these the marquis of Hamilton was created duke of Hamilton; and general Lesly was created earl of Leven, who was so transported with the sense of the king's favour and bounty to him, that he often protested, and once, at Perth, upon his knees, in the house of the earl of Kinnoul, that he would never bear arms against the king.

A while after, some information was given to the marquisses of Hamilton and Argyll, that there was some design upon their persons, which made them for some few days withdraw themselves from the parliament and retire from Edinburgh: but

their persons were of such quality and estimation in Scotland, that great pains were taken to discover the grounds thereof; and, after full examination by the parliament, they themselves and the great council were satisfied, that the information given to them could not be made good to the proof of any design against their persons; but the king, who was a little reflected upon in the first information, could not conceal his resentment of this carriage in Hamilton; and when he delivered his patent to the duke in parliament (according to the custom of that nation), he told him he had not deserved to be mistrusted by him, for he knew well, when he was accused to him of high-treason, he permitted him even to be in his bed-chamber. This reproof made no great impression upon the new duke, though he seemed outwardly much troubled for having given the king so just a cause of displeasure; yet, upon the first report of the business at London (without staying to hear the opinion of the parliament of Scotland, who had fully examined it) strange interpretations were made upon the matter, as highly and nearly concerning the peace of England; and a sudden resolution was taken, first by the committee during the recess, and after by the parliament, to have a guard for the defence of London and Westminster; and both houses of parliament instilled fresh apprehensions of danger into the minds of the people, when they were so lately freed from the fears of two armies.

While Charles resided in Scotland, he employed all his time and endeavours to compose the troubles of that kingdom; and he was now preparing to return to England, in order to perfect the same salutary work here, when he received intelligence of a rebellion which had broke out in Ireland. The catholics of that country thought they had found the fairest opportunity of shaking off the English yoke; and religion and liberty, those two sources of the greatest actions, hurried them into a design the most cruel history hath recorded. They plotted to rise throughout all the provinces in one day, and murder every protestant in the kingdom, after having surprized the castle of Dublin, which, though the grand magazine of the kingdom, and a place of such importance, was provided with no more than fifty men for its garrison. The execution of this scheme was delayed till the approach of winter, that there might be greater difficulty of transporting troops from England. Cardinal Richelieu had promised the conspirators a considerable supply of men and money, and many Irish officers had given assurance that they would heartily concur with their catholic brethren as soon as an insurrection should be raised. The design upon the castle of Dublin, which was to have been put in execution the twenty-third of October, was prevented by a timely discovery of the plot to the two lord-justices, the very night only before; and thus the capital was preserved; but the bloody part of the conspiracy was past prevention, for the conspirators were in arms the day affixed in all the counties of the kingdom, and actually massacred upwards of forty thousand defenceless protestants. It would shock the feelings of humanity to describe the particulars of this bloody tragedy; it may suffice to say, that death was the slightest punishment which those bigoted and blood-thirsty catholics inflicted upon the unhappy protestant victims.

Charles

Charles received intelligence of this insurrection by a messenger dispatched from the North of Ireland. He forthwith imparted the matter to the Scottish parliament, and demanded immediate succours for the suppression of the rebels, but the Scots referred the business to the English parliament, alleging, with justice, that Ireland depended upon England, who would undoubtedly provide for its security. The king therefore returned in haste to London, where, to his infinite mortification, he found that the Irish catholics, in excuse for this barbarous massacre, pretended to have received a commission from the king himself to take up arms; and thus Charles, who was soliciting assistance against them, both from his English and Scottish subjects, saw himself accused of the crime he was endeavouring to punish. The frenzy of the Irish gave their enemies infinite advantage: had they applied to Charles for relief from their grievances, had they drawn the sword in the just defence of those natural liberties, which no difference between papists and protestants ought to affect, and had they not at once rushed into barbarities which no provocation can justify, Charles might have found an asylum in them, and they a protector in him: for though I am as strongly convinced as any the most zealous partizans of that monarch's memory, that he detested the massacre of innocents that had been committed, yet I am entirely satisfied that he did not at all in his heart disapprove of their taking up arms upon the principles they professed: if they could have submitted to have been directed by him, I am farther of opinion, that, had they not put off the characters of men, he would have thought a public indulgence in matters either of religion or liberty, much safer with a papist than a puritan or presbyterian.

The king arrived in London on the twenty-fifth of November. The house of commons thinking, or at least pretending to think, that he was concerned in the Irish rebellion, sent but very slender supplies of men and money to that kingdom; and at the same time resuming the dispositions in which they had parted, they discovered in every vote their determined resolution to extend their own authority, and to abridge the power of the sovereign; and this they thought could not be so effectually brought about as by exasperating the people against the government. With this view, a few days after his arrival from Scotland, they presented to him at Hampton-court, that remonstrance which has made so much noise, and which was soon after productive of the most important consequences: it was not addressed to the king, but was plainly declared to be an appeal to the people; and the severity of the matter was exceeded only by the acrimony of the style. It was, indeed, a recapitulation of all the wrong measures and provoking steps that Charles had committed ever since the commencement of his reign, for which he had so severely atoned by the concessions he made, and the mortifications he had undergone. Amongst other things, they pointed strongly against the popish lords and the English prelates in the house of peers, to whom they attributed all the difficulties they met with from the peers in their measures. In conclusion, they petitioned the king for farther restraints and punishments upon the papists and their favourers; and they told him plainly, that unless he made use

of such ministers, both at home and abroad, as they could confide in, they would give him no support: they even let his majesty know, that he was to guess at their meaning, though they neither named nor impeached persons; and that it was enough to disqualify any man for his service if they distrusted him, or if he had ever been known to defend or countenance those who had been questioned in parliament.

Had all the oppressions complained of here still continued under Charles, this remonstrance had been the bravest and wisest measure that any parliament ever pursued, and must have done immortal honour to its framers; but as all those grievances had been already redressed; as the land-marks of the constitution had now been refixed; as Charles had been as liberal in granting, as his subjects had been importunate in asking: all this, I say, being the case, what can any unprejudiced person imagine the true end of this remonstrance to be? The answer is obvious! No wonder, therefore, that an appeal of such an invidious and malignant nature, should meet with a strong opposition in the house of commons, where it passed by a majority of only eleven, viz. one hundred and fifty-nine against one hundred and forty-eight. Indeed it was easy to see that the road must now divide, and that the well and the ill intentioned could no longer journey together. The proceedings of the opposition were very distasteful to many of their own friends in the house, who began more and more to mistrust their intentions. Mr. Capel, member for Hertfordshire, a person of great integrity and authority in parliament, had been very warm in the opposition, and had been as forward as any gentleman in the house for removing the real grievances of his country: the like may be said of the lords Falkland and Digby, sir John Culpepper, Mr. Hyde, and many others, whose concurrence against the court had given vast credit to the opposition. But they now thought the king had gone as far as in prudence, and perhaps farther than in duty, they could require, and that opposition ought to cease. They made no secret of these sentiments, and Mr. Capel had been called up to the house of peers; treaties were likewise on foot with many other noblemen and gentlemen, who were quite wearied out by the incroachments of the faction, but none had yet the courage, the lord Digby excepted, to break with the faction in the house of commons. It is said that Oliver Cromwell, who was at this time a member of the house, declared, that if the remonstrance did not pass, he would sell the little estate he had, and retire from England. I take notice of this speech, only to prove that this extraordinary man was then an enthusiast for that liberty which his ambition afterwards trampled upon.

When this remonstrance was presented to Charles, he received it with some impatience, but with great politeness and civility. It is remarkable, that it was carried to the king by sir Ralph Hopton, who became afterwards so great a convert to his cause. But the faction thought they could not completely effect their ends, unless they could have the bishops out of the upper-house: they easily stirred up the populace to their purpose, who filled the whole city with sedition, and, assembling in great multitudes before the house of lords, exclaimed "No bishops! no bishops!" Twelve prelates,

“His majesty farther declared, that having, by his mediation, prevailed for a peace between the French king and his protestant subjects, and engaged his word that the protestants should observe the articles of agreement; nevertheless, the king of France, contrary to the said articles of agreement, blocked up their towns, garrisons, and forts, and had committed many spoils upon them, when they had done nothing in violation of the edict of peace. And that the king of France had committed an example of great injustice, in full peace to seize upon one hundred and twenty English ships, with all their merchandize and artillery: for which reasons, the king was resolved to send a powerful army and navy to require satisfaction.”

The command of the fleet was then given to the duke of Buckingham, by whose instigation the rupture with France had been resolved upon: however, in his commission, no mention was made of France, but that the expedition was intended for the relief and restoration of the king of Bohemia and his family; and that the fleet was to be employed as well by way of offence as defence, as should be most conducive to the service of the said prince; which plainly shews its true destination was to be a secret.

This fleet, consisting of above an hundred ships, having on board seven thousand soldiers, sailed from Portsmouth the seventh of June, 1627, and on the twentieth of July appeared before Rochelle. At the duke's approach, the Rochellers shut their gates, for fear of a surprize, as having no notice an English fleet was to come so near them. Presently after arrived the duke de Soubise, with Sir William Becher, who told them, from the duke of Buckingham, that the king of England, out of compassion to their sufferings, had sent a fleet and army to their assistance; and if they refused his aid, he declared he was fully quit of his engagements of honour and conscience for their relief. The mayor replied, in the name of the inhabitants, that they most humbly thanked his majesty for his care of them, but being in strict union with all the rest of the protestants in that kingdom, they could not receive into the city the offered succours, without consulting their friends, and without the previous consent of the whole body of the Huguenots. The duke of Buckingham, finding by this answer it would be difficult to get his troops into Rochelle, directed his course to the island of Rhé, where Foiras commanded; who, at first, endeavoured to hinder the landing of the English troops; but, his forces being few, he was obliged to retreat to his citadel of St. Martin's, which was in a good state of defence. Had the duke understood the art of war, he would, without losing a moment, have marched to the fort, and by that means prevented Foiras from getting his provisions; but he spent so much time in landing his men, and in preparing to march, that Foiras had leisure to get a large quantity of provisions and ammunition into the place. At last the duke marched to St. Martin's, and besieged it in form, but with very little success; for Foiras, being a man of more experience than his antagonist, found means to keep him employed in the siege till November; he then sent the king word he should be master of it in eight days. Mean while, the French king, who had not expected this invasion, ordered his troops

to march with all expedition towards the sea, and came in person to hasten the relief of the island of Rhé. When every thing was ready, count Schomberg passed into the isle at the head of six or seven thousand men, without any opposition from the English fleet, and immediately marched to St. Martin's; the siege whereof the duke of Buckingham raised with precipitation, being vigorously pushed by the French to the sea-side; and it was with great difficulty that he re-embarked the remainder of his troops. Thus ended the expedition to the Isle of Rhé, in which it is said near five thousand men perished, and amongst the rest major-general Burroughs, the best officer in England.

The shameful miscarriage of this expedition contributed still farther to inflame the ill humour of the people. Their liberties they believed were destroyed, illegal taxes imposed, their commerce, which had suffered extremely by the Spaniards, was in a manner ruined by the French war; all these misfortunes were imputed to the obstinacy of Charles, in following the counsels of Buckingham; a man, who neither by his birth, age, services, or merit, appeared to have any title to that unbounded authority which he now possessed.

It will readily be imagined, that neither the king or the duke were desirous of convoking a parliament, while the tide of popular discontent ran so rapidly against them; but, totally unable to procure the means of executing the other military operations they had in view without a considerable aid of money, necessity compelled them to have recourse to that disagreeable expedient; and it was at length resolved that Buckingham should be the first person to propose in council the assembling a new parliament; as it was hoped that by this popular act he might be excused and pardoned former offences, and regain some part of his lost credit with the nation. His advice was followed; and the duke having acted his part, the parliament was summoned, by the unanimous resolution of the council, to meet on the seventeenth of March following. Immediately after, warrants were sent to all parts, to release the gentlemen who had been imprisoned for the affair of the loan-money; and the king had the mortification to see almost all of them, to the amount of twenty-seven, chosen to serve as representatives in the ensuing parliament. Writs of summons were also sent to the archbishop of Canterbury, who had been confined to his country-house for refusing to license Sibthorpe's sermons, and to Williams, bishop of Lincoln, late lord-keeper, who was prisoner in the Tower for having opposed the court measures; and every thing was done that could be devised, to bring the great assembly of the nation together in good humour.

The two houses being met on the seventeenth of March, 1628, were addressed by Charles in a speech, in which he pathetically sets forth the necessities of the times, and requires the assistance of his parliament; but, with the same breath, he most impolitically uses the following expressions: “Every man must now do according to his conscience; wherefore if you (which God forbid) should not do your duties, in contributing what the state at this time needs, I must, in discharge of my conscience, use those other means God hath put into my hands, to save that which the follies

of

of particular men may otherwise hazard to lose. Take not this as a threatening, for I scorn to threaten any but my equals, but as an admonition from him, who by nature and duty has most care of your preservation and prosperity."

When Charles had ended his speech, the lord-keeper began a long harangue upon the state of affairs in Europe, setting forth the dangerous power of the house of Austria, and the motives (which the reader has already seen in the declaration of war) of England's interposing between the French king and his protestant subjects. Having expatiated on those matters, he concludes his speech thus; "his majesty, as he has told you, hath chose this way of parliamentary supplies, not as the only way, but as the fittest; not because he is destitute of others, but because it is most agreeable to the goodness of his own gracious disposition, and to the desire and will of his people: if this be deferred, necessity, and the sword of the enemy, may make way to the other. Remember his majesty's admonition; I say, remember it."

These two speeches need no comment, since they plainly speak both the king's principles concerning the use of parliaments, and his intention in case he received not from the present parliament the satisfaction he expected; but, notwithstanding the provocation this great assembly received from this manner of treating it, the commons resolved to proceed with the utmost calmness and moderation, in redressing the grievances of the public, in restraining the exercise of arbitrary power, in fixing the limits of the royal prerogative, and in asserting the rights and privileges of the people.

But before they entered into debate, the two houses petitioned the king for a fast, which being over, the commons proceeded to business; when it soon appeared with what spirit they were met; for in settling the proper committees for the dispatch of business, great complaints were made concerning the influence of the deputy-lieutenants and some justices of the peace, particularly in Cornwall, in violating the freedom of elections by quartering soldiers, and other oppressions, upon electors who opposed the court: they then ordered all their members to lay before the house the names of the popish recusants within their several provinces of representation; and resolved to proceed upon the king's supply, but so as it should go hand in hand with the redress of grievances. The chief speakers upon this important debate were sir Francis Seymour, sir Thomas Wentworth (afterwards the famous earl of Strafford), sir Benjamin Rudyard, sir Edward Coke, Mr. Cromwell, sir Humphrey May, and Mr. secretary Cook; which two last were for postponing the redress of grievances, and immediately granting the supply. It would swell this work too much was I to insert all that was said on this great occasion; it will be sufficient to observe, that the speeches made by the gentlemen of the opposition are perhaps the finest extant in any language, and may be found in a collection intitled, "The Sovereign's Preservative and the Subjects Privilege," printed in 1657, to which Mr. Rushworth has been greatly obliged, and has copied from it great part of his Collection: it is from them that the English reader can collect the truest notion of the English constitution, and the noblest sentiments of liberty, both personal and political.

In the course of these debates, it was found that when sir John Hevingham, and some other gentlemen, imprisoned on the subject of the loan, brought their Habeas corpus, they were, notwithstanding, remanded back to prison, upon this principle, laid down by the attorney-general, that persons committed by the king and council, were never bailed till his majesty's pleasure was first known. This produced many long and warm debates upon the liberty of the subject; and on the third of April, the following resolution appears entered upon the Journals:

"First, Resolved upon question, that no freeman ought to be committed or detained in prison, or otherwise restrained, by the command of the king or the privy-council, or any other, unless some cause of the commitment, detainer, or restraint, be expressed, for which, by law, he ought to be committed, detained, or restrained: without one negative.

"Secondly, Resolved upon question, that the writ of Habeas corpus may not be denied, but ought to be granted to every man that is committed or detained in prison, or otherwise restrained, though it be by the command of the king, the privy-council, or any other, he praying the same: without one negative.

"Thirdly, Resolved upon question, that if a freeman be committed or detained in prison, or otherwise restrained, by the command of the king, the privy-council, or any other, no cause of commitment, detainer, or restraint, being expressed, for which, by law, he ought to be committed, detained, or restrained, and the same being returned upon a Habeas corpus granted for the same party, that the man ought to be delivered or bailed: without one negative.

Fourthly, Resolved upon question, that the ancient and undoubted right of every freeman is, that he hath a full and absolute property in his goods and estate, and that no tax, tallage, loan, benevolence, or other like charge, ought to be commanded or levied by the king, or any of his ministers, without common assent by act of parliament: agreed, nemine contradicente."

While these dispositions were making by the commons to defend their civil and personal liberties, they were equally zealous concerning religion, and both houses presented a petition to his majesty on the thirty-first of May, against recusants; who was pleased to return for answer, "That he recommended to them to think of a law against popery; and assures his parliament, that the lenity hitherto shewn to the English papists, was only with a view to procure suitable advantages to English protestants in popish countries, in which expectation he had been deceived; and promises, that unless he saw better fruits for the future, he would execute the laws against the papists to a greater degree of severity than was craved in that petition." This answer so pleased the commons, that they forthwith proceeded to the business of the supply; and in order to convince his majesty that they were sufficiently disposed to relieve his necessities, provided he would gratify them in their just demands, they voted him no less than five entire subsidies; whereof when secretary Cook informed the king, Charles asked him by how many voices it had been carried, "By one," replied the secretary; at which perceiving the king

change countenance, "Sir, added he, your majesty hath herein the greater cause to rejoice, for the house was so unanimous as to make but one voice;" at which the king was exceedingly pleased; and charged the secretary to tell the house, in his name, "that he would deny them nothing of their liberties which any of his predecessors had granted."

The supply, however, thus voted, was not yet passed into a law; and the commons determined to employ the interval in providing some barrier to their rights and liberties: forced loans, benevolences, taxes without consent of parliament, arbitrary imprisonments, billeting soldiers, and martial law, which were the chief grievances the nation complained of, and against which a permanent remedy was to be provided by some act that was to receive the sanction of the whole legislature. On the fourth of April therefore, the commons resolved to desire a conference with the lords, concerning certain ancient and fundamental liberties of England; and four members, each of whom was to chuse two assistants, were appointed to manage the conference. The managers were sir Dudley Diggs, who chose for his assistants sir Benjamin Rudyard and Mr. Pym; Sir Edward Coke, who made choice of Mr. Rolles and Mr. Hackwill to assist him; Mr. Selden, whose assistants were Mr. Herbert and Mr. Whitby; and Mr. Littleton, who had with him Sir Robert Philips and Mr. Charles Jones. Thus the management of this conference, which may be said to be decisive of the laws and liberties of England, was committed to men of as much spirit and learning as ever the nation produced.

The king was no sooner informed of the intention of the commons than he employed every expedient in order to divert them from their purpose; and all the time the conference was depending, endeavoured to amuse them by repeated messages, begging them to leave off talking of grievances, and to proceed upon the supplies; promising, upon his royal word, that they should then receive all due satisfaction. It would tire the reader, should I repeat the particulars of all those messages which the commons received, with a seeming deference to the king's person, but with a manifest contempt of his menaces, and an invincible distrust of his promises. The peers, who, though during the whole of these violent struggles they assumed in the main a laudable impartiality, were yet, as is natural, somewhat prejudiced in favour of monarchy, began to apprehend that the commons would go too far in their projected reform, and therefore recommended to them to consider of his majesty's assurances, and depend upon them: this occasioned several debates, and many arguments were urged on both sides of the question; but sir Thomas Wentworth

reconciled all parties, by saying, "That never house of commons, so far as concerned themselves, had greater confidence than the present in the goodness of their sovereign: but we are all ambitious, said he, that his majesty's goodness should descend to posterity, and we are accountable for a public trust. There hath been a public violation of the laws, by the king's ministers; and nothing can satisfy the nation, but a public reparation. Our desire to secure the subjects right by bill, will carry us no farther than what is contained in former laws, with some modest provision for instruction, performance, and execution." These sentiments were so agreeable to the whole house, that the secretary was desired to consider them as an answer to his message. And now the commons went upon two petitions for the king, one against billeting of soldiers, and the other, the famous Petition of Rights, which was the result of all the conferences they had held with the lords upon the point of personal liberty. As the subsidy-bill was not yet passed, Charles was greatly perplexed how to behave; but he was at last obliged to receive the petition concerning billeting of soldiers, which was drawn up in very strong and affecting terms, complaining of the miseries which the kingdom suffered by the subjects being obliged to lodge and maintain such numbers of dissolute fellows. Charles could not help expressing his discontent in pretty strong terms, upon their presenting this petition; and, instead of answering it, he exhorted them to proceed, without loss of time, upon the supplies. Their obstinacy increased in proportion to his impatience: they determined not to gratify the king till he had done them justice; and the Petition of Right being by this time finished, they sent it up to the lords for their perusal and concurrence. The upper-house, for reasons I have already given, desirous to abate the over-zeal of the commons, proposed the plan of a remonstrance more moderate, which they recommended to their consideration; but the lower-house was by no means satisfied with this plan, which they asserted would leave their liberties in a still more precarious situation than at present, and therefore absolutely rejected it; but not without giving the lords ample and satisfactory reasons for so doing: and all obstacles being finally removed, the Petition of Right passed the commons, and was sent up to the lords for their approbation, who immediately passed the same, without any material alteration. This petition, which may be called the second Great Charter of England, is of so great importance, and forms so essential a part of the English constitution, that we should deem ourselves inexcusable should we deny our readers the satisfaction of perusing it at full length, which they may do in the subjoined note*.

The

* This petition, as agreed to by both houses, stood as follows.

"I. Humbly shew unto our sovereign lord the king, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in parliament assembled, that whereas it is declared and enacted, by a statute made in the reign of king Edward I. commonly called "*Statutum de Tallagio non concedendo*," that no tallage or aid shall be laid or levied by the king, or his heirs in this realm, without the good-will and assent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other the freemen of the commonalty of this realm: and, by authority of parliament held in the twenty-fifth year of king Edward III. it is declared

and enacted, that, from henceforth, no person should be compelled to make any loans to the king against his will, because such loans were against reason, and the franchise of the land: and, by other laws of this realm, it is provided, that none shall be charged with any charge or imposition called a benevolence, or by such like charge: by which the statutes before-mentioned, and other the good laws and statutes of this realm, your subjects have inherited this freedom, that they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge, not set by common consent in parliament.

II. Yet, nevertheless, of late, divers commissions directed to sundry commissioners in several counties, with instructions, have

The petition was delivered on the twenty-eighth of May, and on the second of June the king gave the following answer: "The king willeth, that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm; and that the statutes be put in due execution, that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppressions, contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the performance whereof he holds himself in conscience as well obliged, as of his prerogative." This answer proved very unsatisfactory to the parliament, for, on the seventh of June, after great debates in both houses, the lords desired a conference with the commons, and it was agreed that they should join together in a petition to his majesty, "for a clear and satisfactory answer to the Petition of Right, in full parliament." While these debates subsisted, another message came to the commons, acquainting them, that his majesty designed in a few days to put an end to the session, and pressing them not to enter on any

new matter. This was occasioned by the commons vigorously prosecuting Dr. Manwaring, a favourite of the king's, whom they obliged to make an abject submission, and recant the detestable doctrines of absolute power and non-resistance, which he had preached up*: but more particularly by a motion made in the house by sir Edward Coke, for impeaching the duke of Buckingham as the author of many of those grievances under which the nation laboured. The commons, enraged at this message from the king, which they looked upon as prescribing to them their method of proceeding, immediately fell in with sir Edward's motion, and the matter was carried on so warmly, that a remonstrance was almost finished against the duke, when Charles, apprized of the storm that threatened his favourite, resolved, if possible, to divert it by gratifying their wishes with regard to the Petition of Right. Accordingly, on the seventh of June, he came to the house of peers, and

have issued; by means whereof your people have been in divers places assembled and required to lend certain sums of money unto your majesty; and many of them, upon their refusal so to do, have had an oath administered unto them, not warrantable by the laws or statutes of this realm, and have been constrained to become bound to make appearance and give attendance before your privy-council, and in other places; and others of them have been, therefore imprisoned, confined, and sundry other ways molested and disquieted: and divers other charges have been laid and levied upon your people, in several counties, by lord-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, commissioners for musters, justices of peace, and others, by command or direction from your majesty, or your privy-council, against the laws and free customs of this realm.

III. And whereas also, by the statute called "The Great Charter of the Liberties of England," it is declared and enacted, that no freeman may be taken or imprisoned, or be disseized of his freehold or liberties, or his free customs, or be out-lawed or exiled, or in any manner destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

IV. And in the eight-and-twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it was declared and enacted, by authority of parliament, that no man, of what estate or condition soever that he be, should be put out of his land or tenement, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disinherited, nor put to death, without being brought to answer by due process of law.

V. Nevertheless, against the tenour of the said statutes, and others the good laws and statutes of your realm, to that end provided, divers of your subjects have of late been imprisoned without any cause shewed: and when for their deliverance, they were brought before a justice, by your majesty's writs of Habeas Corpus, there to undergo and receive as the court should order, and their keepers commanded to certify the causes of their detainer, no cause was certified, but that they were detained by your majesty's special command, signified by the lords of your privy-council, and yet, were returned back to their several prisons, without being charged with any thing to which they might make answer according to law.

VI. And whereas of late, great companies of soldiers and mariners have been dispersed into divers counties of the realm, and the inhabitants, against their wills, have been compelled to receive them into their houses, and there to suffer them to sojourn, against the laws and customs of this realm, and to the great grievance and vexation of the people.

VII. And whereas also, by authority of parliament, in the five-and-twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it is declared and enacted, that no man should be fore-judged of life or limb, against the form of the Great Charter and the law of the land; and by the said Great Charter, and other the laws and statutes of this your realm, no man ought to be judged to death, but by the laws established in this your realm, either by the customs of this realm or by acts of parliament; and whereas no offender, of what kind soever, is exempted from the proceedings to be used, and punishments to be inflicted by the laws and statutes of this your realm: nevertheless, of late, divers commissions, under your majesty's great-seal, have issued forth, by which certain persons have been assigned and appointed commissioners, with power and authority to proceed within the land, according to the justice of martial law, against such soldiers and mariners, or other dissolute persons joining with them, as should commit any murder, robbery, felony, mutiny, or outrage or misdemeanor whatsoever, and

by such summary course and order as is agreeable to martial law, and as is used in armies in the time of war, to proceed to the trial and condemnation of such offenders, and them to cause to be executed and put to death, according to law martial.

VIII. By pretext whereof, some of your majesty's subjects have been, by some of the said commissioners, put to death: when and where, if, by the laws and statutes of the land, they had deserved death, by the same laws and statutes also they might, and by no other ought, to have been judged and executed.

IX. And also sundry grievous offenders, by colour thereof claiming exemption, have escaped the punishment due to them by the laws and statutes of this your realm, by reason that divers of your officers and ministers of justice have unjustly refused or forborn to proceed against such offenders, according to the same laws and statutes, upon pretence that the said officers were punishable only by martial law, and by authority of such commissions as aforesaid: which commissions, and all other of like nature, are wholly and directly contrary to the said laws and statutes of this your realm.

X. They, therefore, humbly pray your most excellent majesty, that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent by act of parliament: and that none be called to make an answer, or take such oath, or to give attendance, or be confined, or otherwise molested or disquieted concerning the same, or for refusal thereof: and that no freeman, in any such manner as is before mentioned, be imprisoned or detained: and that your majesty would be pleased to remove the said soldiers and mariners, and that your people may not be so burthened in time to come: and that the aforesaid commissions, for proceeding by martial law, be revoked and annulled: and that, hereafter, no commissions, of like nature, may issue forth to any person or persons whatsoever, to be executed as aforesaid; lest, by colour of them, any of your majesty's subjects be destroyed, or put to death, contrary to the laws and franchise of the land.

XI. All which they must humbly pray of your most excellent majesty, as their rights and liberties, according to the laws and statutes of this realm: and that your majesty would also vouchsafe to declare, that the awards, doings, and proceedings, to the prejudice of your people in any of the premises, shall not be drawn hereafter into consequence or example: and that your majesty would be also graciously pleased, for the further comfort and safety of your people, to declare your royal will and pleasure, that, in the things aforesaid, all your officers and ministers shall serve you according to the laws and statutes of this realm, as they tender the honour of your majesty, and the prosperity of this kingdom. Stat. 4 Car. I. cap. xiv.

* Manwaring had preached a sermon, which appeared, upon enquiry, to have been printed by the special command of his majesty; and, when examined, it was found to contain doctrines destructive of all civil liberty. It was there affirmed, "that though property was commonly lodged in the hands of the subject; yet, upon any urgent necessity, all property was transferred to the king; that the sovereign might impose taxes without consent of parliament; and that the divine law enjoined compliance with every demand, however unjust, which the prince should think proper to make upon the people."

pronouncing

pronouncing the usual form of words, "Soit droit fait comme il est désiré—Let it be law, as desired," gave full sanction and authority to the petition.

This concession was received with loud acclamations and public rejoicings; and the commons could no longer delay the bill of subsidies, which was immediately passed; but their ill humour did not abate: though they had granted the king this aid, yet they still retained a pledge in their hands, which, they imagined, would ensure the success of all their applications. Tonnage and poundage had not yet been granted by parliament; and the commons had artfully concealed their intention of attacking that branch of revenue, till the royal assent had been given to the Petition of Right, which they justly considered as of the utmost importance. They then boldly affirmed, that the levying tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament, was an evident violation of all the ancient privileges of the people; and they proposed to present a remonstrance to that purpose. They next resumed their censure of Buckingham's conduct, against whom they had conceived the most implacable hatred, and drew up a remonstrance of several late miscarriages in the government, in the conclusion whereof they asserted, "the exclusive power of the said duke, and the abuse of that power, to be the principal cause of all the evils and dangers therein maintained; and therefore they humbly submitted it to his majesty's wisdom, whether it can be safe for himself, or for his kingdom, that so great power, both by sea and land, as rests in him should be trusted in the hands of any one subject whatsoever."

On the seventeenth of June this address was presented to the king, with the bill of subsidies, at the Banqueting-house, at Whitehall, who received it with the most sensible chagrin, and afterwards gave the lower-house to understand, that he would shortly put an end to the session. The commons hereupon set about putting the finishing hand to the remonstrance against tonnage and poundage. Great was the indignation of Charles, when he heard of this remonstrance; and well knowing, by experience, what effects it would have, if completed by the commons and rejected by him, he resolved to cut the session short before it could be perfected: he therefore, on the twenty-second of June, while the remonstrance was reading in the lower house, suddenly came to the house of peers, and sending for the commons, prorogued the session to the twentieth of October. On this occasion he addressed himself to both houses in the following speech.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"It may seem strange that I come so suddenly to end this session, therefore, before I give my assent to the bills, I will tell you the cause (though I must avow I owe an account of my actions to none but God alone.) It is known to every one, that awhile ago the house of commons gave me a remonstrance; how acceptable every man may judge, and for the merit of it I will not call that in question, for I am sure no wise man can justify it. Now, since I am certainly informed that a second remonstrance is preparing for me, to take away my profit of tonnage and poundage (one of the chief mainte-

nances of the crown), by alleging that I have given away my right thereof by my answer to your petition.

"This is so prejudicial to me, as I am forced to end this session some few hours before I meant it, being willing not to receive any more remonstrances to which I must give an harsh answer.

"And since I see that even the house of commons begins already to make false constructions of what I granted in your petition; lest it be worse interpreted in the country, I now make a declaration concerning the true intent thereof.

"The professions of both houses in the time of hammering this petition, was no ways to trench upon my prerogative, saying, they had neither intention nor power to hurt it.

"Therefore it must needs be conceived, that I have granted no new, but only confirmed the ancient liberties of my subjects; yet, to shew the clearness of my intentions, that I neither repent nor mean to recede from any thing I have promised you, I do here declare, that those things which have been done, whereby men had cause to suspect the liberty of the subject to be trenched upon (which indeed was the true and first ground of their petition), shall not hereafter be drawn into example for prejudice, and in time to come (on the word of a king) you shall not have the like cause to complain.

"But as for tonnage and poundage, it is a thing I cannot want, and was never intended by you to ask, never meant (I am sure) by me to grant. To conclude: I command you all that are here, to take notice of what I have spoken at this time, to be the true meaning of what I granted you in your petition; but especially you, my lords the judges, for to you only, under me, belongs the interpretation of the laws; for none of the houses of parliament, either joint or separate (what new doctrine soever may be raised), have any power either to make or declare a law without my consent."

The reader of himself will be apt enough to make reflections upon the infatuation which possessed both the king and commons in the latter part of this session. If, on one hand, Charles has been taxed with a design to render himself absolute, it must likewise be owned that the leaders in the parliament seemed bent upon infringing and reducing his undoubted prerogative. His confirmation of their rights and privileges was so well received in all parts of the kingdom, that the violent party began to fear the king would become popular; they therefore resolved, in drawing up the remonstrance, to insert in it every shadow or suspicion of a grievance, which might help to inspire the subject with an hatred and contempt of the sovereign. In short, I can by no means think the commons are to be justified in pressing their remonstrances before they saw some fresh invasion of their national liberty, or some fresh abuses of regal power, on which they could ground their proceedings. Possibly Charles, upon such forbearance of the commons, might have followed his too great propensity to arbitrary rule, and have given them cause of complaint; but I am inclined to believe, that had they forbore these remonstrances, they would then have left all the blame with Charles, nor would the public have been so much divided in their sentiments, as they afterwards were, to the deluging their country

24

The Duke of Buckingham Stab'd by Felton.



*To the most Noble
Marquis of
This Plate is most*



*Cha. Watson Wentworth,
Rockingham,
humbly Inscribed.*

country with the blood of her own sons and the utter overthrow of the constitution.

Rochelle had been for some time besieged by the French; and it appeared, by cardinal Richelieu's taking the conduct of it upon himself, that he intended to exterminate the Huguenots, whose whole dependance lay now upon Charles. In May, this year, the presence of Buckingham being necessary in parliament, at the pressing instances of the duke of Soubise, and deputies sent from Rochelle, the earl of Denbigh was dispatched, with a fleet, to the relief of this place; but neglecting to attack the French fleet, had returned with dishonour. In order to wipe out this stain, the duke of Buckingham resolved to take the command upon himself, and repaired to Portsmouth, where the fleet and forces were rendezvoused: but before he could set out on his expedition, he met with that fate from the hand of an assassin, which, had he survived much longer, he would probably have suffered from the general resentment of the nation. This assassin was John Felton, a gentleman by birth, who had been a lieutenant of infantry, and disappointed in his expectation of a captain's commission, which Buckingham had bestowed upon another. This man was a fanatic in religion, and in this case his revenge seems to have co-operated with his enthusiasm. The duke was walking with sir Thomas Fryer, through an entry, from one apartment to another, when Felton, coming behind him, stabbed him with a knife, which he left sticking in the wound; Buckingham exclaimed, "The villain hath killed me!" and, pulling out the knife, dropped down and died on the floor. The assassin might have escaped; but seemed to glory in his crime, and surrendered himself immediately to justice.

Charles was at a gentleman's seat, within four miles of Portsmouth (whither he had come, by his presence to hasten the preparations) when his favourite was killed, and he received the news of it while he was at church; but he was so intent in his devotions, that no discomposure appeared in his action, nor alteration in his countenance, till the service was over, when he threw himself on his bed, and poured forth a flood of tears, and the most passionate expressions, for the memory of his beloved Buckingham, whom he always cherished, and shewed his regard for, by a noble train of munificent acts towards his widow and family. When the first transports of grief were a little subsided, he sent Dr. Hutchenon, one of his chaplains in ordinary, to try if he could learn from the assassin by what inducement he had committed the horrid fact. Felton strenuously denied his having been dealt with by any one for that purpose, declaring his only motive to have been, that the duke had been declared an enemy to the common-wealth in the late remonstrances tendered to the king by the parliament; and this he persisted in, both at the time of his examination before the lords of the council and at his execution: that which excited this wretch to so horrid a murder, seems likewise to have influenced the people in general, who rejoiced at the death of the duke as of the greatest enemy of their country.

Thus in the flower of life, being but thirty-six years of age, fell George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, whose rise was sudden, his promotions rapid, and his end untimely. Notwithstanding the load

of public censure heaped upon this great favourite and minister, there appears good reasons to induce us to believe that he meant well to both his master and his country; and that his chief misfortunes proceeded from jealousy in others, who thought the great and extensive power he enjoyed dangerous to the rights of a free people. It is possible, if he had lived a few years longer, he might have seen through the temptations of greatness, and have proved as great a pillar of this state as any that ever went before him. He was of a most noble and generous disposition: he seldom studied to conceal his resentments, either of love or hatred; in the former he was immoderate, in the latter he was not sanguinary; but once offended, he never could forget: his courage was great, but it sometimes transported him too far, for if he had a little yielded to the times, and withdrawn from those storms he could neither prevent nor allay, he might perhaps have found a milder fate.

The fatal event of the duke's death, which happened on the twenty third of August, proved little or no obstacle to the proceedings of the fleet; the next day the command of the expedition was given to the earl of Lindsey; and they set sail from Portsmouth on the eighth of September; but by this time cardinal Richelieu had finished his famous Digue, or mote, which entirely blockaded Rochelle; and the English fleet being unable to force the barricadoe, or gain entrance into the harbour, were obliged to return without effecting any thing for the relief of the besieged, who, unable to hold out any longer, threw their gates open to the cardinal's army.

The ill humour this disgraceful expedition threw the nation into, made Charles think it improper to let the parliament meet according to their adjournment, in the month of October this year, and therefore he farther prorogued that assembly to the twentieth of January following; and in the mean time archbishop Abbot was admitted to kiss the king's hand, and commanded not to fail of his attendance at the council-table; which was done at this conjuncture to moderate the heats of certain ecclesiastics who made great disturbance in the church by their scholastical controversies concerning free-will, predestination, and the like. Both parties were countenanced by several bishops, and each of them would insist on their opinion being the true doctrine of the church, when in truth they were but the opinions of private men; for nothing can be called the doctrine of the church, that is not declared by the whole clergy lawfully assembled in convocation. These sectarists were distinguished by the names of Calvinists and Arminians: the Calvinists (which were the same with the Puritans) were countenanced by the commons in parliament and some few of the bishops; while the Arminians had the greater part of the episcopal order, and even the king himself, on their side, as they were zealous assertors of the prerogative royal and the court-doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance. Charles, however, would gladly have put an end to these feuds, and reconciled both parties: with this view he caused the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England to be published, with a proclamation restraining all disputes on the points controverted: he also issued an order for calling in a book written by one Montagu, in the late king's time, called an Appeal to Cæsar, for which

which he had been made a bishop. At the same time Dr. Potter, a known Calvinist, was promoted to the see of Carlisle.

Not all those acts of concession on the part of the court could, however, mollify the acrimony of the opposition; for the parliament assembling on the twentieth of January, 1629, the grand committees, which are usually the first things settled at the opening of that assembly, were very busy and active in traversing whatever views they thought the council might have adopted: that of religion made great complaints of invasions upon the church, which they pretended was much endangered by the growth of popery and Arminianism. They solicited the king to proclaim a fast, and presented an address, containing a sort of apology for their preferring the affairs of religion to any other article of business in their deliberations. Buckingham, the great object of their hatred, being now removed, their resentment glowed with a double rancour against Laud, bishop of London, who, as the king's spiritual director, encouraged all his high notions of hierarchy and prerogative. He was branded as a superstitious ecclesiastic, chief of the Arminian sect, by whose interest Montagu, Cozens, Sibthorp, and Manwaring, had been pardoned, and even promoted to bishoprics, or rich benefices; and they exclaimed against him as an implacable foe, not only to the puritans, but also to the liberty of his country.

While the committee was thus employed in examining religious grievances, the rest of the house were no less active in their inquiries into the miscarriages in civil affairs. Though the remonstrance against tonnage and poundage had not been presented to the king, it was, however, public, and sufficient to shew the people what was the sense of the house of commons. Upon this foundation, three merchants, among others, refused to pay this duty to the king; one of them, by name Rolles, a merchant of London and a member of the house of commons, had refused it, as contrary to law; whereupon his warehouse had been sealed up by the officers of the customs; and Chambers and Vassal, the other two merchants, were condemned by the barons of the Exchequer, who ordered their goods to be detained. The affair of Rolles was, by the commons, adjudged a breach of the privilege of their house, for which the custom-house officers were summoned before the house, to answer their misdemeanor therein. The king, willing to support his authority, interposed in this matter, and sent a message to the house, informing them, that what had been done by the officers, was only in obedience to the orders they had received: "that as to himself, he did not mean to levy these duties as belonging to him by hereditary right, but out of a full persuasion that the house of commons, suitable to their large professions, would grant them by bill, which he desired they would dispatch, to put an end to the dispute."

The commons, however, were far from being satisfied with this acknowledgement of the king; they still insisted, as an indispensable condition, that he should entirely forbear the levying of those duties; after which they would take into consideration upon what terms they would restore to him a revenue, which he had once fairly resigned. On this occasion debates in the house ran very high, and they resolved to proceed to a remonstrance

against the subsidies of tonnage and poundage, "not being granted by act of parliament." Charles finding the commons thus refractory, immediately adjourned them to the twenty fifth of February, and afterwards to the second of March. When they met again, the same affair was brought upon the carpet; and so eager were they to vent their passion, that they locked the door of the house, and gave the key to sir Miles Hobart, one of their members, to keep, and refused to admit the usher of the black rod, whom the king had sent with a message to them; whereat he was so much offended, that he sent for the captain of the band of pensioners, and the guards, to force an entrance. In the mean time the heads of a remonstrance were offered to sir John Finch, the speaker, to be put to the question, which he refused, declaring that the king had given him an order to adjourn the house to the tenth of March, and to put no question, nor admit of any debate; upon which he rose and left the chair. The whole house was now in an uproar; the speaker was forced back into the chair, and held in it by Mr. Denzil Holles, and sir Peter Hayman, till the following protestation was drawn up and read.

"Protestation of the House of Commons.

"I. Whosoever shall bring in an innovation of religion, or by favour seek to introduce popery, or Arminianism, or other opinions disagreeing from the true and orthodox church, shall be reputed a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth.

"II. Whosoever shall counsel or advise the taking or levying, of the subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, or shall be an actor or instrument therein, shall likewise be reputed a common enemy to the commonwealth.

"III. If any man shall voluntarily yield to pay the said subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, shall be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of England, and an enemy to this commonwealth."

This being passed in a tumultuous manner, they rose before the pensioners and guards came, and the house was adjourned to the tenth of March. In the intermediate time a proclamation was drawn, but not published, for the dissolution of the parliament, and on the third of March, Denzil Holles, esq. sir Miles Hobart, sir John Elliot, sir Peter Hayman, John Seldon, esq. William Coriton, Walter Long, William Stroude, and Benjamin Valentine, were ordered next day to appear before the council. These gentlemen had distinguished their zeal through the whole session, but more particularly on the last day: and Mr. Holles, sir John Elliot, Mr. Coriton, and Mr. Valentine, attended the council, but refusing to answer out of parliament, which was still sitting, they were committed close prisoners to the Tower. Warrants were then issued for apprehending the rest, and for sealing up their studies.

On the tenth of March the king came in his robes to the house of lords, who attended in theirs; and made a speech, in which he twice called the gentlemen in the opposition "vipers," and commended his own party, and the house of in particular for their dutiful demeanor; and then dissolved the parliament.

These

These are all the proceedings of this famous parliament, that are worthy either of praise or imitation. Their heats concerning religion, their protestations relating to it, and their bitterness against all who were suspected of what they termed Arminianism, were as unjustifiable and undutiful, as the noble stand they made for the personal liberties and properties of the subject, was memorable and glorious. However, Charles, that he might not seem to exert a despotic power of punishing those who headed the opposition against his measures, and to persuade the people that he intended to conform himself to the law as much as possible, appointed the judges to assemble, on the twenty-first of April, at Serjeant's Inn, where he caused certain questions to be proposed to them; and, according to their answers, ordered the attorney general to raise a process against the imprisoned members, for their violent, unlawful, and seditious behaviour in the house of commons. Alderman Chambers was prosecuted in the Star-chamber, for having said "that the merchants were more oppressed in England than in Turkey," and was condemned to an exorbitant fine, the payment of which reduced him to extreme poverty. Long was sentenced to pay two thousand pounds for having violated his oath in sitting as a member of the lower-house, after he had been sworn sheriff of Wiltshire. The imprisoned members demanded the privilege of the Habeas corpus; they were detained in confinement from March to October; and then the court of King's Bench decreed, that they should remain in prison during the king's pleasure: Elliot was moreover cast in a fine of two thousand pounds; Valentine in one of five hundred; and Holles obliged to pay one thousand marks.

Charles, deprived of all hopes of supply from parliament, was now obliged to conclude a peace with the two crowns against whom he had hitherto carried on a war, begun without necessity, and conducted without glory. The crown of France, though victorious over its protestant subjects, was weakened by civil dissensions among the princes of the blood: it was threatened by the greatness of the house of Austria, and upon the point of being engaged in a war with Italy; in short, Lewis wanted a peace as much or more than Charles did; and it was privately agreed, that the Venetians should interpose their good offices for a peace between the two crowns. Georgi and Castarini, the two ministers employed by the republic for that purpose, had therefore very little more to settle than mere matters of form in their negotiation. At last, on the fourteenth of April, the articles were agreed on; but contain nothing in them remarkable enough to claim a place here. In Charles's present circumstances, he could not pretend to insist on any terms for the Huguenots; and they were accordingly left to the mercy of their sovereign.

Peace was soon after made with Spain. It is said that Reubens, the famous Flemish painter, who was then in England, painting a kind of apotheosis of James, for the roof of the noble banqueting-house of Whitehall, was ordered by the archduchess to sound the inclinations of Charles.

This is by no means unlikely. The war, which about two years before had broke out in Italy on account of the successions to the duchies of Mantua and Montferrat, had been unfavourable to the Spaniards; and that court, suspecting they should be deserted by the emperor, and being assured of the dispositions of Charles for peace, gave a public character to don Carlos de Colomos, for putting an end to the negotiations which Reubens had begun. It required very little dexterity to conclude this peace; the articles of which only confirmed the former treaties we have already seen, and was sworn to on the seventeenth of December, sir Francis Cottington being sent to Spain to take that sharp oath and ratification of the same.

In this peace nothing was stipulated in favour of the prince Palatine, except that Philip III. promised in general to employ his good offices for the restoration of the elector. Charles, however, did not desist from his endeavours to procure some relief to that unhappy family; he had a great affection for his sister, and had supported her husband and her in a court at the Hague, at a vast expence; and had expended large sums, as subsidies, in her service. Having settled his plan of governing without a parliament, he now imagined it would be in his power to give them effectual assistance. With this view, in the Spring of the year 1630*, in conjunction with France, he brought about a peace between the kings of Sweden and Poland, in hopes of inducing the former to undertake the cause of the protestants in Germany.

This was the famous Gustavus Adolphus, whose heroic genius, assisted by the wisest policy, rendered him, in a little time, the most celebrated monarch of the age. To encourage and support him in his intended invasion of Germany, Charles engaged to furnish him with six thousand men; but, that he might save appearances with the house of Austria, he employed the name of the marquis of Hamilton, a nobleman allied to the crown. Hamilton entered into an agreement with Gustavus; and, having levied these troops in England and Scotland, at Charles's expence, he landed them in the Elbe.

Soon after was fought the important battle of Leipzig; where the Imperial army, under count Tilly, was totally defeated by the victorious Swede. Gustavus proceeded in his conquests with such an amazing and rapid progress, as is scarce to be paralleled either in ancient or modern history; and, in a short time, made himself master of the greatest part of Germany.

Charles was all this while studying the means of raising money, and establishing his own power by making examples of those who durst oppose it. Among other methods practised by Charles to raise money, was that of appointing commissioners to compound with those who, though summoned at his coronation to come and receive the honour of knighthood, had neglected to appear. In the reign of Edward II. an old custom was enacted into a law, importing, that every man possessed of twenty pounds a year in land, should be knighted: almost all the succeeding monarchs had put this law in execution. Charles, considering the

* On the twenty-ninth day of May this year, the queen was delivered of a prince, who was baptised by the name of Charles; and was afterwards king Charles II.

difference of value in money between that reign and the present time, summoned those only whose yearly rent amounted to forty pounds; yet, even this mitigation was deemed a hardship, because the value of twenty pounds in the days of Edward, was equal to four times that sum in the reign of Charles: a great number had therefore refused to obey the mandate, and these were now fined for their disobedience. A considerable sum was likewise exacted, by way of composition, from those who declined the order.

If these proceedings caused great discontents and murmurings among the people, they were not a little increased by Charles's giving orders for tonnage and poundage to be levied with great rigour. The custom-house officers were empowered to enter houses, and break open warehouses, chests, and closets, to search for goods which had not paid the duty: and, on this pretence of searching, they committed numberless acts of fraud and oppression. In order to prevent the popular clamours from producing insurrections, the council issued orders for arming and reviewing the militia, that the people might be intimidated by their appearance; while, on the other hand, they were amused with public orders for putting the laws in execution against papists. At the same time, the king endeavoured to fill his coffers by granting exclusive privileges for the sale of commodities and provisions; so that the whole kingdom was filled with monopolies, to the unspeakable prejudice of trade and manufactures. Presbyterianism having made great progress in England, the king, by the advice of bishop Laud, sent instructions to the prelates of the kingdom, enjoining them, among other things, to take especial care that no puritan minister should be admitted into the church; and to discover all such as should neglect the rites prescribed by the canons. The presbyterians conceived the most implacable hatred against Laud, for this, and other instances of his enmity; and he severely felt their resentment in the sequel.

In the spring of the year 1631, Mervin Touchet, lord Audley in England, and earl of Castlehaven in Ireland, was tried before his peers, for rapes and practices upon the body of his wife, which he partly forced and partly invited others to commit; which out-did the most shocking ideas of lust and infamous contrivance; and was found guilty. He was a nobleman descended from the illustrious lord Audley, the friend and companion in all his wars to Edward III. He had been ingenious enough to debauch the mind, as well as prostitute the body, of his lady; for, after his execution, she was pardoned for adultery, in terms not very advantageous to her virtue. On this occasion, Charles shewed a seasonable piece of justice, as he would grant no other favour to the criminal, than to change his punishment from hanging into beheading. But neither this exhibition of impartiality, nor the great zeal which Charles discovered in repairing and rebuilding the cathedral church of St. Paul (which had been lately burnt down), atoned, with men of sense and property, for his other impolitical and unpopular measures. Laud was so much in favour with him, that he acted as if his head had been turned, by introducing into religious worship many popish fopperies: for the particulars of which the reader may consult the common collections and histories of the times.

In giving an account of the third parliament held in this reign, we have often mentioned sir Thomas Wentworth, knight of the shire for the county of York: this gentleman several times, in the house of commons, gave proof of his zeal for the maintenance of the liberties of the people, and the privilege of parliament. By this means he became formidable to the court; though he took care not to run into any excess with regard to the king and his minister; on the contrary, he always softened his opinion with some honourable and respectful expressions, though he seldom failed to oppose the pretensions of the court. As he was one of the greatest geniuses then in England, the king soon perceived that his parts and capacity might be very serviceable to him, if he could gain him to his interest; he endeavoured it, therefore, after, or perhaps before, the dissolution of the parliament, and succeeded so well, that Wentworth became one of the most zealous promoters of the royal authority. About the same time also were gained sir John Saville, who was made a lord, and comptroller of the household; sir Dudley Diggs, who was promoted to the mastership of the Rolls, and was also made attorney-general; and sir Edward Littleton, who was made solicitor. Sir John Elliot, some time before his death, was tampered with, but he was proof against the temptation.

As sir Thomas Wentworth, since his conversion, had shewed himself a zealous defender of the prerogatives of the crown, the king thought him the fittest person to be trusted with the presidency of the council in the North; a court of judicature established at York in the reign of Henry VIII. for the relief of poor suitors in the counties of York, Cumberland, Northumberland, Westmoreland, and the bishopric of Durham, who could not afford to bring their causes into the courts of Westminster. This council had long acted chiefly as a criminal court; but, besides some innovations introduced by James, Charles ventured, at this time, to enlarge its powers, and to invest it with a kind of civil jurisdiction, which, in some respects, was even unparliamentary. In consequence of this illegal measure, all the northern counties were deprived of the protection of the common-law, and subjected to an authority which was wholly arbitrary.

It was now the year 1632, in which the great Gustavus, continuing his victorious projects through Germany, at last brought the elector Palatine to Munich. This unfortunate prince now saw himself on the point of being restored to his palatinate, and even to the crown of Bohemia, by the hand of the conqueror; when, in the second battle near Leipzig, fought in the plains of Lutzen, on November the sixth, this year, Gustavus was slain in the midst of a victory he had already gained.

His death proved fatal to the palatine Frederic, who now despairing of any farther resource, fell into a fever, occasioned by his immoderate grief, which, in a few months, put a period to a life of continual crosses and disappointments. This year Wentworth was created viscount Wentworth, and sent over lord-lieutenant of Ireland; where affairs were still in great disorder, through the insolence of the Roman catholics, who greatly abused the royal clemency in relaxing certain penal statutes against them.

The king having now governed the nation three or four years without a parliament, began to find himself more at ease than he had ever been since his accession to the throne; and therefore chose this season of tranquility to visit his ancient kingdom of Scotland: he accordingly set out for that kingdom in the month of May, 1633, where he was received with great magnificence; and the Scottish parliament, assembled at Edinburgh, granted a larger subsidy than ever had been given to any other king of that realm. Charles inherited his father's design, of bringing religion in Scotland to a conformity with the English church; and bishop Laud accompanied him in his journey, to facilitate the execution of his scheme. As a preparatory step, he passed two acts in the Scottish parliament, the first intituled, "An act concerning the king's prerogative, and the habit of the clergy:" this was no other than the confirmation of a statute enacted in the preceding reign, empowering the king to give such directions as he should think proper, with regard to the dress of the clergy. The other ratified and improved all the statutes which had been made concerning the liberties and franchises of the true church of God, and of the religion at present professed in the kingdom. Both these acts met with opposition from the presbyterians; they looked upon the first as a prelude to the use of the surplice, which was an abomination to their eyes; and the words "at present professed," they considered as an equivocal expression, calculated to restore episcopal government. Their church was governed by provincial synods and general assemblies; but the bishops still subsisted, though without the least jurisdiction or influence. The bills were passed, but they produced heats and discontent in the nation.

The Scottish religionists were not mistaken in their conjectures; the king's purpose was really to introduce the rites of the English church, and re-establish episcopacy in its former power and splendor. Bishop Laud preached, in the royal chapel at Edinburgh, on the benefit of conformity, and the reverend ceremonies of the church. He proposed to the Scottish bishops, that the English liturgy should be received into their service. They objected to this proposal, that such a step would alarm the jealousy of the nation, which would be apt to look upon the English liturgy as the forerunner of English laws, and an encroachment upon the independency of the kingdom: they therefore desired that another might be composed for the use of the Scottish church, that should be the same in substance, but different in some immaterial particulars. The king embraced this advice, though contrary to the inclination of Laud: he was himself jealous of the independency of his native kingdom, and appointed a select number of the Scottish bishops to form a new liturgy for their own service. He erected Edinburgh into a bishopric, created the archbishop of St. Andrew's chancellor of the kingdom, and he admitted several other prelates to seats in the privy council, and in the college of justice; a very unseasonable mark of his regard for the hierarchy; for the bishops, by this promotion, incurred the hatred and envy of the noblemen, who, though they respected them in their ecclesiastical capacities, could not bear to see them in civil stations, to which they thought themselves better entitled.

Charles returning to England in the autumn of this year, bestowed the dignity of archbishop of Canterbury (vacant by the death of Abbot in his absence) on his favourite Laud; who, by this accession of authority, was now enabled to support ecclesiastical discipline with great rigor: and to inflame the general discontent of the nation, the Book of Sports to be used on Sundays after evening prayers, was again ordered to be read in churches; and many ministers, for refusing to read it, were either suspended, deprived, or prosecuted, before the high-commission. The articles of visitation published by Neale, bishop of Winchester, one of Laud's party, were no other than so many traps, contrived for bringing all whom Laud hated into the ecclesiastical den, where they seldom met with mercy. Writers in prose and verse, in polemics and politics, were treated with the like severity; of which the reader will find particular instances in the collections of those days.

There is little more to add to the transactions of this languid year, unless it were to swell the work with proclamations, which now supplied the place of acts of parliament. As to the concerns of Charles's family, he had this year sent the earl of Ormond with a generous invitation for the queen of Bohemia and her family to come into England; but the loss that princess had sustained by the death of her husband, was too recent for her sorrows to suffer her to accept of the invitation for that time. It must not be forgotten, that on the thirteenth of October, this year, the second son of Charles, afterwards the unhappy James II. was born.

We shall begin the year 1634 with an account of a cause which came to a solemn hearing in the month of February, which made a great noise, and which shewed the extreme severity of the court against such as were thought to fail ever so little in the submission expected from them; the case was this: Mr. William Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, had composed a large quarto, of a thousand pages, which he entitled *Histrio Mastix*. Its professed design was to decry tragedies, comedies, interludes, music, and dancing; but the author had likewise directed his satire against hunting, public festivals, Christmas-keeping, bonfires, and May poles.

He had obtained a licence from archbishop Abbot's chaplain, for printing this book; yet he was indicted in the Star-chamber as a libeller. It was thought somewhat hard, that general invectives against plays, should be construed into satires against the king and queen, merely because they frequented these amusements, and because the queen sometimes acted a part in pastorals and interludes, which were represented at court.

The author, indeed, had taken occasion, in the most violent manner, to condemn the hierarchy, the ceremonies, the innovations in religious worship, and the superstitions introduced by Laud. In the course of his work, he gave such evident specimens of his fanaticism, or rather, indeed, of his frenzy, that his most proper punishment would have been to have sent him to Bedlam; but he was condemned to be put from the bar; to stand on the pillory in two places, Westminster and Cheapside; to lose both his ears, one in each place; to pay a fine of five thousand pounds to the king; and to be imprisoned during life.

The Dutch were at this time improving, equally with the English, in matters of commerce; and they were plainly rivals to one another in trade: flushed with success, the Hollanders, about this time, flatly asserted a right to fish on the British coasts, founded upon immemorial possession. Charles, shocked at the independent airs of that haughty republic, which had been nursed by the blood, and fed by the bounty, of England; and glad of a just and popular pretext for humbling her, resolved to fit out a fleet which should drive her subjects out of the Narrow seas. But the vigorous preparations necessary for this undertaking required to be supplied by a proportionable income, which Charles was by no means master of; he therefore referred it to Mr. Noy, attorney-general, to find out the ways and means; and Noy fell upon an expedient for raising an extraordinary supply, without the assistance of a parliament; which was, by the imposition of a tax upon the people, for furnishing a certain number of ships, for the defence of the seas. Noy died before the effects of his projects were known, after having engaged his master in an affair, which made him lose his people's confidence, and was one of the principal causes of his ruin.

The death of the attorney-general did not, however, hinder the king from putting his scheme in practice: to that end, writs were issued in October, this year, to all the port-towns and maritime counties of the kingdom, to furnish a certain number of ships, manned, victualled, and furnished with all necessary ammunition, for the defence of the realm. With these writs went instructions and directions, from the lords of the council, for the assessing and levying the ship-money. These instructions were directed to the sheriffs of the several counties; and by them it appears, that the ships assessed on the counties of Middlesex and Hertford were to cost three thousand pounds; and those who refused payment of their portion, were to be distressed, and their goods sold for the payment; and this without any respect of persons. The rest of those instructions contain only the particular manner of levying the tax, and gave very arbitrary powers to the officers of the peace. The writ being served on the lord-mayor of London, he immediately called a common-council, who voted the following petition to be presented to the king.

“ To the king's most excellent majesty,

“ The humble petition of your faithful subjects, the mayor, commonalty, and citizens, of your city of London, most humbly shewing,

“ That whereas your writ, bearing teste 20 Octobris last, commanded your petitioners, at their charge, to provide seven ships of war, furnished with men, victuals, and all warlike provisions, to be at Portsmouth the first of March next, and continue thence by the space of twenty-six weeks in your majesty's service, upon the defence of the seas, and other causes in the said writ mentioned.

“ Your petitioners do, in all submissive humbleness, and with acknowledgments of your sacred majesty's favours unto our said city, inform your majesty, that they conceive, that by ancient privileges, grants, and acts of parliaments (which they are ready humbly to shew forth) they are exempt, and used to be freed from that charge.

“ And do most humbly pray,

“ That your majesty would be graciously pleased, that the petitioners, with your princely grace and favour, may enjoy the same privileges and exemptions, and be freed from providing the said ships and provisions.

“ And they shall pray, &c.”

Notwithstanding the opposition of the city of London, Charles went on as if ship-money had been a matter of course, and not likely to give any disgust; and, his necessities increasing, he resolved that this tax should be extended to the inland, as well as the maritime, counties; but so great was the dislike that the nation shewed to this measure, which they thought to be against law, and a direct contradiction, on the part of Charles, of the Petition of Right he had granted in their favour, that the court thought itself under a necessity to quiet the people, by the use made of the money; for, in May of the following year, 1635, a fleet of forty sail was fitted out, under the command of the earl of Lindsey, admiral; sir William Monson, vice-admiral; sir John Pennington, rear admiral; and a Squadron of twenty ships was fitted out, under the earl of Essex. The admiral's instructions were to secure the Narrow seas, and the trade of England; and, on the twenty-sixth of May, the fleet set sail, in quest of the French and Dutch fleets, who were joined off Portland, as if they would have fought the English fleets: but Richelieu was too well informed by his spies, not to know that the real design of Charles was to drive the confederates out of the Narrow seas, and to destroy the growing marine of France, whom he considered as the prompter of the Dutch in all their insolencies: he looked upon the preservation of the sea-ports in Flanders to the crown of Spain, as being now of importance to his own crown; and his people likewise began to be extremely uneasy at Richelieu's ambition. The united fleets, at the approach of that of England, withdrew towards their own harbours; and the English admiral sent after them a bark, on the coast of Brittany, to observe their motions; which were all this year so pacific, that the English remained undisputed masters of the Narrow seas, to the infinite benefit of the nation. For the court of Spain reverted now to its natural connexions with England, who this year had, in all probability, saved the Austrian Netherlands from being over-run; and the immense benefits which the commons of England received by this friendship with Spain, would, if any thing could, have made the people overlook the proceedings of the court in the case of ship-money.

The king finding some inconvenience in the management of his treasury by commissions, which he had appointed on the death of the lord treasurer Weston, earl of Portland, last year, gave the office to Juxton, bishop of London, a creature of Laud's, who had persuaded the king, that he could not make a better choice than of that churchman, who having no family to raise, nor dependants to provide for, might better manage the income of the treasury to his advantage than had formerly been done by those who sought only to create vast estates to themselves. We shall conclude the transactions of this year, with observing, that Laud attempted to bring all the foreigners settled

settled in England to a conformity with her church, notwithstanding all the privileges and indulgences they had received from former princes, and the infinite benefit the nation acquired by their settling here. This attempt was vigorously opposed by the French and Dutch churches, who were joined by all the puritans; and they refused to pay any deference to Laud's authority, on account of the exemptions and privileges they had received from the crown. After many debates, Laud prevailed so far, that though the foreigners of the first descent were suffered to continue in their own way, yet, their descendants, born in England, of foreign parents, were ordered by the king, to repair to their several parish churches, under the penalty of being proceeded against by the ecclesiastical laws. In like manner, Laud endeavoured to oblige the factories abroad to conform themselves to the worship and exercise of the English church; but many of the merchants neglecting such conformity, he obtained the king's orders for it.

I shall only add, that Charles, prince elector Palatine, son of the deceased king of Bohemia, came this year into England, to visit his uncle, and to consult with him concerning his restitution to the Palatinate; and shortly after him arrived his brother, prince Rupert, whom, in the course of a few years, we shall find making a considerable figure, in the defence of Charles, against his rebellious subjects.

The great figure which Charles had made upon the seas in the year 1635, raised his hopes to a great pitch; and nothing could have defamed him, but his having made ship-money a tax assessable upon the inland, as well as the maritime, counties, and enjoined the collectors to levy it in the same manner, and with the same rigor, as if it had been a tax imposed by parliament: however, this expedient had, for the present, so far succeeded, that, in the spring of the year 1636, he was enabled to send to sea a fleet of sixty sail of large ships, which was the greatest naval force that England had ever seen of her own; the command of this fleet was given to Algernoon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, who, for the great attachment of his ancestors to the Stuart family, was, by Charles, created lord high-admiral of England. The earl, setting sail in May, came up with some of the Dutch ships, and sunk all he met who refused to leave the British coasts, and to discontinue their fishing. This spirited conduct struck such a terror into all Europe, that even the haughty Richelieu was obliged to drop his scheme of setting the Dutch and French up as rivals to the English upon the sea. The Dutch themselves applied to Charles in the most earnest manner; and, at last, consented to pay thirty thousand pounds for licence to fish that year, until a proper regulation should be made, by fixing an annual tribute for the like licence for the future.

But no advantages of commerce, reputation, or tranquility, could now make the people digest the odious tax of ship-money. Charles finding that doubts, difficulties, and dangers, multiplied every day, and was at length become so general, that there was an evident disposition in the nation, rather to submit to the insults of foreigners, than to chastize them at the expence of law and liberty; he endeavoured to remove all manner of objec-

tions, by getting the decision of the judges on his side; he therefore sent the case to be resolved by them, which he thus stated:

“ Carolus Rex.

“ Where the good and safety of the kingdom in general is concerned, and the whole kingdom in danger, whether may not the king, by writ under the great-seal of England, command all the subjects of our kingdom, at their charge, to provide and furnish such a number of ships, with men, victuals, and munition, and for such a time as we shall think fit, for the defence and safeguard of the kingdom, from such danger and peril, and by law compel the doing thereof, in case of refusal or refractoriness; and whether, in such a case, the king is not the sole judge, both of the danger, and when and how the same is to be prevented and avoided?”

To which they returned the following opinion.

“ May it please your most excellent majesty.

“ We have, according to your majesty's command, every man by himself, and all of us together, taken into serious consideration the case and question signified by your majesty, and inclosed in your royal letter; and we are of opinion, that when the good and safety of the kingdom is in danger, your majesty may, by writ under the great-seal of England, command all your subjects of this your kingdom, at their charge, to provide and furnish such a number ships, with men, victuals, and munition, and for such a time that your majesty shall think fit, for the trafic, defence, and safeguard of this kingdom from such danger and peril; and that by law your majesty may compel the doing thereof, in case of refusal or refractoriness; and we are all of opinion, that in such case, your majesty is the sole judge, both of the danger, and when and how the same is to be prevented and avoided.

John Bramston,

John Smith,

Humphrey Davenport,

John Denham,

Richard Hutton,

William Jones,

George Crooke,

Thomas Trevor,

George Vernon,

Francis Crawley,

Robert Berkley,

Richard Weston.

This decision Charles took especial care to have published and circulated through the kingdom. Notwithstanding this opinion, one Mr. Hampden, being taxed in twenty shillings, for an estate he had in Buckinghamshire, resolved to stand suit rather than comply with an imposition so contrary to the laws of the realm and the liberties of the subject. The cause was pleaded in the court of Exchequer, before all the judges, with great solemnity; and was, undoubtedly, the most important dispute that ever was handled in any court of justice; for the business was to ascertain or destroy one of the most valuable privileges of the subject; as such it was considered by every sensible individual of the nation; it became the universal topic of conversation, and people expected the issue with the most anxious impatience. After several hearings, protracted from November till June, the judges decreed that Mr. Hampden should pay the tax; and the whole kingdom was filled with indignation. Burton, a divine, and Bastwick, a physician, were condemned by the Star-

cham-

chamber to the same punishment which Prynne had undergone, for having published seditious and schismatical libels: and Prynne himself, for a second offence, was sentenced to pay a fine of five thousand pounds, and lose the mutilated remainder of his ears*.

While the interesting affair of Mr. Hampden and ship-money was depending, the public uneasiness was farther encreased by a torrent of divisions in the church of Scotland.

Charles resolved to perfect his designs with respect to religion as well as the state; episcopacy had not been abolished in Scotland at the time of the reformation before Mary Stuart, but the protestant bishops had always been kept in subjection by the presbyterians. The Scots were governed by a kind of republic of priests, who were all upon an equality with one another: this was the only country, perhaps, in the world, where riches and honours did not make the higher clergy powerful. The bishops retained their seats in parliament, their honorary rights, and the revenues of their sees; but they were pastors without flocks, and peers without credit. The Scottish parliament, which was wholly composed of presbyterians, only suffered the bishops to retain their dignity, in order to debase them. The ancient abbeys were all in the hands of seculars, who had seats in parliament in virtue of the title of abbot. By degrees, the number of these titular abbots was diminished. James I. (and VIth of Scotland), restored episcopacy, with all its privileges. The king of England was not acknowledged as head of the church of Scotland; but being born in that country, and having lavished English money in pensions and places to several of its members, he was more master at Edinburgh than at London. The presbyterian (or, as it is called, the general) assembly, still subsisted as before, notwithstanding the restoration of episcopacy; these two different bodies were always threatening each other; and the synodic republic generally got the better of the episcopal hierarchy. James, who looked upon the bishops as a body devoted to the crown, and the presbyterians as enemies to the regal prerogative, thought that he should be able to reconcile his Scottish subjects to episcopal government, by bringing their church to a perfect conformity with the English. With this view he had, in the year 1616, obtained an act of the general assembly, for the compiling a liturgy, or book of common-prayer, which was to be first presented to the king, and, after his approbation, universally received through the kingdom. This book was accordingly framed, and sent up to the king; who having perused and considerably altered it, in conjunction with his English clergy, it was returned to Scotland, to be recommended to the use of that church. His death prevented the accomplishment of his design, which his son resumed; and in order to effect this purpose with greater ease, he endeavoured to encrease the authority of the prelates, and had even made an attempt to revive the first institution of the college of justice, that divided equally between the clergy and laity the whole judicial authority.

The liturgy which Charles, of his own authority, intended to introduce into Scotland, was copied from that of England; but, not to shock the pride of his ancient subjects by a servile imitation of their

southern neighbours, he caused a few alterations to be made in it, by the assistance of archbishop Laud and others, and in that form transmitted it to the bishop of Edinburgh, with orders to begin the use of it. Easter-day, 1637, was by proclamation, appointed for the first reading of the service; but, in order to sound the dispositions of the people, the council postponed the matter till the twenty-third day of July, and they even gave notice the Sunday before of their design to commence the use of the new liturgy. As this intimation had been received quietly, they imagined that they might safely proceed in their purpose, and accordingly, in the cathedral church of St. Giles, the dean of Edinburgh, arrayed in his surplice, began the service; both archbishops, many of the privy-council, and others of the best quality in Edinburgh, being present.

But no sooner had the dean opened the book, than a number of the meaner sort, with clapping their hands and outcries, made a great uproar; and one of them, called Jane or Jannot Gaddis, flung a little folding stool, whereon she had sat, at the dean's head, saying, "Out, thou false thief! dost thou say the mass at my lug!" which was followed with so great a noise and confusion, that none could hear or be heard; whereupon the bishop of Edinburgh stepped into the pulpit, and, hoping to appease the people, by putting them in mind that the place in which they were was holy ground, and by intreating them to desist from the profanation of it, they were the more enraged, throwing at him cudgels, stools, and what else was at hand, even to the endangering his life. Upon this the bishop of St. Andrew's, the chancellor, called down the provost and bailiffs of the city from their seats to their assistance, who (not without some difficulty) put the unruly people out of the church, and made fast the doors. This done, the dean proceeded to read the liturgy, the multitude the mean while rapping and pelting the windows with stones, to disturb the service; but, notwithstanding all their clamour the service was ended; though not the people's rage, who waiting the bishop's retiring to his lodging, so assaulted him, as (had he not been rescued by a strong hand) he had probably perished by their violence.

The same morning the service-book was read in the next church to St. Giles's, though not without noise and tumult, yet not so great as in the latter: in the Gray Friars church, Mr. Ramsey refused to read it, and was afterwards suspended for the same; but the elect bishop of Argyll, his colleague began to read it, but was so menaced, cursed, and exclaimed against, that he was forced to give over.

In the college-church of Rollock, one of the preachers, who the Sunday before, at the intimation of the reading, had much commended the book, and undertaken this day to read it, upon notice how it was received at the church of St. Giles, broke the promise he had made to read it, chusing rather to incur the censure of those of his fraternity, than to offend the multitude, whose favour he sought: but he was likewise suspended. The morning this passed, the council assembled at the lord-chancellor's lodgings, and sent for the provost and bailiffs, to advise with them how to prevent the like tumults in the afternoon; which they promised to endeavour, and was so effected that the book was read in the

* The operation having been but partially performed the first time. See p. 529.

church of St. Giles, and some other churches, without any such disturbance as it had in the morning; only the bishop of Edinburgh, in his return to his lodging, was rudely treated by the populace.

No person of any rank was concerned in these violent proceedings, and every one affected to condemn the licentiousness of the giddy multitude: it was judged imprudent, however, to hazard a new insult, by any fresh attempt to read this liturgy, and the populace seemed for the present to be perfectly satisfied; but when it was known that the king, notwithstanding representations made to him on this head, still persisted in his resolution of establishing that worship, men began to contract a more inveterate prejudice against it; and the concourse of all ranks of people to Edinburgh on the first of October (the day on which the term begins there) was so great, that the council began to fear another riot, and published proclamations, signifying that the council should be transferred to Dundee; commanding all strangers to quit the city; and prohibiting a book, written against the English and popish ceremonies imposed upon the church of Scotland. These proclamations rather fomented than allayed the flame then begun; and the day after their publication, October 18, the populace broke out into the most violent disorder: they assaulted the bishop of Galloway, the earl of Traquair, lord high-treasurer, in the streets, and chased them into the chamber where the privy-council were sitting, and attacked the council itself: they treated the town-council in the same manner; and had it not been for the interposition of some popular lords, who had great influence with them, they would probably have proceeded to acts of the most desperate outrage. In this sedition the actors were of some better condition than in the former; though no person of rank seemed, as yet, to countenance them. Nevertheless the spirit of the people appeared so alarming, that the earl of Traquair repaired to London, in order to acquaint the king more fully of the matter: but Charles, listening only to the counsels of Laud, a man who seemed born for his destruction, resolved to carry every thing with a high hand, and to punish severely the authors of the late tumults, and ordered the earl of Traquair, on his return to Scotland, to publish a proclamation "declaring his abhorrence of popish superstition, and his intention to introduce nothing but what should tend to the advancement of religion in the kingdom of Scotland." He afterwards sent another to the council, which had been removed to Stirling, signifying his being willing to pardon the crime which the people had committed, in assembling, composing, signing, and presenting such petitions to the chancellor, provided they would return to their own houses, and live for the future as good and faithful subjects. He forbade them to assemble again, on pain of treason; ordered that no person should presume to approach Stirling without permission; and commanded all the noblemen, gentlemen, and others, not belonging to the council, or courts of justice, to quit that town in six hours; otherwise they should be declared traitors.

In the mean while the council had removed to Stirling, at a greater distance from Edinburgh.

Immediately after the publication of the proclamation, the earl of Hume and the lord Lindsey, accompanied by many other noblemen and a great

concourse of people, repaired to the market-cross (of Stirling), and, without regarding the presence and authority of the council, read publicly a protest, importing, "that they insisted upon presenting their grievances to the king: that they would not submit to the bishops or judges, until they should have acquitted themselves of the crimes laid to their charge: that no proclamation, or act of council, resolved upon in presence of those prelates, should prejudice the protestors: that none of their associates should be exposed to any dangers in their lives and fortunes, nor incur any penalty, civil or ecclesiastical, for having refused to acquiesce in the said acts, books, canons, rites, jurisdictions, and proclamations, composed and published contrary to the decrees of the general assembly, or against the laws of the realm: that in case this dispute should occasion any disorder, it should not be imputed to them, inasmuch as the council refused to receive a remonstrance and declinatory, which they had lately presented; and that their petitions tended to nothing but the maintenance of the true religion in Scotland and to the honour of his majesty." The same protest was read at Linlithgow and Edinburgh.

This was the first time that the men of quality had appeared to countenance the proceedings of the people; but the spirit of discontent, which had been gradually spreading among all ranks of men, now blazed out at once, and the authority of the king and council were treated with equal contempt; for the next step of these mutineers was to establish four tables, as they called them, at Edinburgh; one was composed of nobility, another of gentry, a third of ministers, and a fourth of burghesses: the table of gentry consisted of several subordinate tables, according to their different counties; orders were issued by them, and every where executed with the most implicit obedience. Among the very first acts of this new-fangled institution was the Solemn League and Covenant, as if all laws, divine and human, were about to be abolished; and thus the natural desire of the great to support their own schemes on one side, and the fury of popular opposition on the other, lighted up the flames of civil war, which soon after desolated this wretched island.

The Solemn League and Covenant was no sooner published, than the people ran in crowds to subscribe it, and it was signed by almost all the persons of consequence in the kingdom, except the privy-counsellors, the judges, the bishops, and those who enjoyed places under the crown. There was prefixed to it the confession of faith of the kirk of Scotland, which had been signed by the late king James and his household, when he was about fourteen years of age, and had been renewed ten years afterwards: then, after a long recital of the acts of parliament, and a great deal of jargon against popery, and in praise of presbyterian purity and of protestant persecution on religious accounts, this instrument mentions the coronation-oath, which obliges the king "carefully to root out of his empire all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God, who shall be convicted by the true spirit of God of the afore-said crimes:" and then it declares the true worship of God and the regal authority to be so strongly joined, as that they had the same common enemies, and did stand and fall together. The associates then proceeded to declare,

but

but in general terms, against all innovations in religion that had been introduced since the establishment of presbytery in that country; but without taking notice that the chief of those innovations had as much sanction, both from ecclesiastical and civil authority, as that establishment had, if not more. They then proceeded as follows to the material part of this association "We promise and swear, by the great name of the Lord our God, to continue in the profession and obedience of the foresaid religion; that we shall defend the same, and resist all those contrary errors and corruptions, according to our vocation, and to the utmost of that power which God hath put in our hands, all the days of our life. And in like manner, with the same heart, we declare before God and men, that we have no intention nor desire to attempt any thing that may turn to the dishonour of God, or to the diminution of the king's greatness and authority; but, on the contrary, we promise and swear that we shall, to the uttermost of our power, with our means and lives, stand to the defence of our dread sovereign the king's majesty's person and authority, in the defence and preservation of the foresaid true religion, liberties, and laws of the kingdom; as also to the mutual defence and assistance of every one of us of another, in the same cause of maintaining true religion and his majesty's authority with our best counsel, bodies, means, and whole power, against all sorts of persons whatsoever; so that whatsoever shall be done to the least of us for that cause, shall be taken as done to us all in general, and every one of us in particular: and that we shall not directly or indirectly suffer ourselves to be divided or withdrawn, with whatsoever suggestion, combination, allurements, or terror, from this blessed and loyal conjunction; nor shall cast in any lett or impediment that may stay or hinder any such resolution, as by common consent shall be found to conduce for some good ends: but, on the contrary shall, by all lawful means, labour to further and promote the same. And if any such dangerous and delusive motion shall be made to us, by word or writ, we, and every one of us, shall either suppress it, or, if need be, shall incontinent make the same known, that it may be timeously obviated. Neither do we fear the foul aspersions of rebellion, combination, or what else our adversaries, from their own craft and malice, would put upon us, seeing what we do is so well warranted, and ariseth from an unfeigned desire to maintain the true worship of God, the majesty of our king, and the peace of the kingdom, for the common happiness of ourselves and posterity."

I thought it indispensably necessary to give the reader some idea of this famous Solemn League and Covenant, which was so much extolled by its admirers, and decried by its opposers. Some writers have been pleased to represent it as a justifiable national effort, in defence of religion, and liberty; as the establishment of episcopal authority in Scotland had, according to them, been imposed by arbitrary power, the recognition of the people obtained by compulsion, in diametrical opposition to the sense of the nation: but, by the favour of these gentlemen, the civil liberties of the Scots had, so far as can be found by records, never been attacked by power; nor had prerogative (as in England) encroached upon the privileges handed down to them by their ancestors. The story of this famous

Covenant lay in a kind of latent defeasance to the royal authority, when not employed in defence and propagation of what they called, or fancied, the true religion; the king must not only comply with all the absurdities of the associators, but he must draw the sword against every man who should presume to differ from them in point of religion. This was a matter so endless, that it is plain the Covenant, considered as an act of the people, independent of the royal authority, was calculated for a pretext to withdraw their obedience from lawful government, by giving them the power to prescribe their own terms for their return to it: nor can I apprehend the reproach or censure of men of candor and enlightened understanding, in declaring it as my opinion, that it was as daring an insult as ever was offered to a king, and as rebellious a measure as ever was formed by a people. But to return from this digression, which I hope the reader will the more readily pardon, as it is meant to remove the mist of prejudice, and weaken the power of sounds, which are too often found to captivate the vulgar and unwary.

It was not then known who fomented the disturbances in Scotland, that prepared the way for the tragical end of Charles I. It was cardinal Richelieu, the most daring and most insolent minister that perhaps ever appeared in Europe. He had formed connexions with the prince of Orange and the States General for reducing the house of Austria; but despairing of success, unless he could prevail on Charles to stand neutral, he sent the count d'Estrades to England, the last year, to offer Charles his own terms, if he would engage in the interests of France; but having received a refusal from that monarch, rather more haughty than politic, it had exasperated him. There is a letter of the cardinal to d'Estrades (dated December 2, 1637,) in which are these remarkable words: "before the end of twelve months, the king and queen of England shall repent their having refused the offers you made them from his majesty, and shall soon know that I am not despicable." He had a priest, one Chambers by name, and by birth a Scotchman, who was his almoner; this man he sent to London and Edinburgh, in order to stir up a spirit of discontent among the presbyterians, partly by his rhetoric, and partly by the proper application of certain sums of money: all which is incontestably proved by the above letter.

It was now the year 1638. The king began to be apprehensive for the consequences of the commotions in Scotland; he therefore sent the marquis of Hamilton as his high-commissioner, and empowered him to treat with the covenanters, and offered them, in his name, a suspension of the canons and the liturgy, until they could be introduced in a fair and legal manner. Nothing is so despicable as a hated government when it becomes impotent: the covenanters, now sixty thousand strong, knew that Charles possessed no regular forces in either of his kingdoms; and therefore, when Hamilton proposed their renouncing and abolishing the Covenant, as a rebellious and undutiful association against their sovereign, they plainly told him, that "they could not acknowledge that they had ever departed from their obedience; and for their Covenant, they would rather renounce their baptism than abate one syllable thereof." Hamilton, finding all his endeavours to re-establish quiet in-

effectual,

effectual, returned to London, made another journey to Edinburgh, returned again to London, and was immediately sent back with still more satisfactory orders, importing, "that the king revoked the Liturgy, the Book of Canons, the High Commission, and the Five Articles of Perth; that, for the future the bishops should be censurable by the general assembly; that all subjects of Scotland should subscribe the confession of faith, with an oath annexed, very different from that of the Covenant." Then he convoked a general assembly at Glasgow, for the month of November; and a parliament at Edinburgh, to meet in May of the following year. The tables protested against the proclamation, because the new oath, obliging them to maintain the religion at present professed, would operate in favour of the innovations which had been confirmed by acts of parliament. An accusation signed by a great number of noblemen, gentlemen, ministers, and burghers, was presented by the presbytery of Edinburgh against the bishops, alleging, "that they had not adhered to the conditions on which the general assembly at Montrose, in the preceding reign consented to their being admitted to parliament." By these they were obliged only to act as deputies of the church; to propose nothing without express orders of the church: to consent to nothing but what should be to the advantage of the church, on pain of deprivation; and to be accountable to the general assembly for their conduct in parliament. When the day of meeting arrived, the commissioner plainly perceived that the lay interest predominated in the assembly, in the number of elders that were returned; and all that he could do for the service of the king, was to encourage and promote disputes, that would furnish him with a pretence to dissolve them. The bishops presented a declinatory, pronouncing the assembly null; and the commissioner entered a number of protests against their proceedings: at length, finding them determined to sit in judgment upon the bishops, he on the seventh day of their session, dissolved the assembly as illegal, "because they had not introduced lay elders to vote in their deliberations; because the members had been chosen by lay elders, contrary to custom; because those few members to whom the tables were averse, had been rejected, without reason; and the bishops were in danger of being tried by those who were their professed enemies." Notwithstanding this sentence of dissolution, the assembly of Glasgow continued itself by virtue of its own authority, and passed acts, by which they not only condemned the liturgy, canons, and high-commission, excommunicated fourteen bishops, and abjured episcopal government; but they likewise presumed to reverse divers acts of parliament in favour of episcopacy, and to annul the subscription of those who had signed the confession of faith, according to the king's order; nay, they even explained that confession as virtually implying an abolition of episcopacy. The commissioner published another explanation, to prove that episcopacy did subsist, and that every person who signed the commission was bound to support it: and this again was answered by the assembly. In a word, the whole fabrick, which Charles and James, in a long course of years, had been rearing with so much care and industry, was at once thrown to the ground; the Covenant was also ordered to be

subscribed by every one, under pain of excommunication.

The marquis seeing all things tending to a present rupture, sent to desire leave of the king to return to England, which he obtained: but before he went he saw an end to the Glasgow assembly, which broke up after having, by their own authority, ordained annual assemblies, the first whereof was appointed to meet at Edinburgh, the first day of July in the following year. As soon the marquis was gone the associators drew up a declaration, addressed to all good Christians of England, to justify their intentions and actions, which had so many undutiful expressions in it, that it was suppressed by the king's authority, who published a declaration to satisfy his faithful subjects of the seditious practices of those in Scotland who had, under pretext of religion, designed the subversion of his royal authority; which was commanded to be read in all churches.

Such was the state of affairs in Scotland at the end of the year 1638. As to the transactions in England, they are hardly worth mention, but so far as they relate to Scotland.

On the last of October this year, Mary de Medicis, widow of Henry IV. of France, and mother to the reigning monarch, Lewis XIII. having, by the cabals of cardinal Richelieu, the prime minister, been driven out of France, came into England, where she met with a noble reception from Charles and his queen. While she staid here, she was lodged in the king's palace of St. James's; but finding the king likely to be involved in great trouble to reduce his rebellious subjects in Scotland, after some months stay she departed for Holland.

Laud this year commenced a prosecution against Williams, bishop of Lincoln, late lord-keeper, to whom he was an implacable enemy; and, upon the shameful pretence of his having concealed a letter written to him by one Mr. Osbaldiston, in which mention was made of a "little urchin" and "a great man" which Laud interpreted to have been himself, was fined eight thousand pounds for receiving libellous letters: and Osbaldiston, who was master of Westminster school, by flight escaped his censure, which was, to have his ears nailed to the pillory, before his own school, and to be deprived of all his preferments, and fined five thousand pounds to the king. This unjustifiable severity swelled the load of popular clamour against Laud.

The laws of historical truth will not permit me to conceal, that Charles appears to have no great sincerity in the concession he had made to the Covenanters; and that he waited only for a fair opportunity to retract them. He had, for some months, by Hamilton's advice, been making warlike preparations, though with infinite caution and secrecy. When we consider the intriguing genius of rebellion, and that Charles had commissioned his arms and ammunition from Holland, we can scarcely suppose the heads of the Covenanters not to have received, both from France and England, information of Charles's designs: this may account for their proceedings during the latter part of the preceding year, and the beginning of 1639, when they began to make vigorous preparations for war on their side. They sent for succours to such of the neighbouring princes and states from whom they could expect any assistance.

sistance. They also invited home many eminent commanders of their nation from Sweden and Holland, to take employment in their armies; many of whom, at the beginning of the year came to them: they seized upon the castles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton, and all other places of strength in the kingdom; and took out of Dalkeith all the king's arms and ammunition, laid up there the year before by the marquis of Hamilton. Next they chose Alexander Lesly, an old experienced officer, to be captain-general of their armies, to whom all the chief of the confederates (who took arms) solemnly swore obedience in all orders of war; and he swore in like manner faithfully to exercise his charge. The marquis of Argyll was sent to take care of the frontiers opposite to Ireland; the earl of Montrose had the charge of Aberdeen and the most northern parts; and colonel Monro was sent towards the Borders of England, to keep all things quiet till the levies were perfected.

When Charles found that his designs were discovered, and had received the copy of their last declaration, he lost all patience, and formed a resolution of proceeding openly in the way of arms, and on the twenty-sixth of January, 1639, a writ was sent to the nobility to attend the royal standard at York. On this occasion the king had recourse to the English clergy, and even to the catholics of the kingdom, who equally hated the presbyterians, and only furnished the king with money, because they looked upon this as a religious war. The English nobility in general shewed great alacrity for his service; and those who secretly wished well to the Covenanters were obliged to dissemble, and vie with the others in forwardness; but nothing could exceed the generosity and loyalty of those noblemen who composed the king's privy-council, who, on this occasion, contributed the greatest part of their fortunes for their master's service. Laud and the marquis of Hamilton signalized themselves particularly by their contributions; and Wentworth, the lord-deputy of Ireland (about the same time created earl of Strafford) alone gave twenty-thousand pounds; he also drew down a body of men towards the sea-coasts of that kindom, opposite to the earl of Argyll's country, who had now joined the Covenanters, and thereby prevented a very dangerous junction between the disaffected of both kingdoms. Charles himself, by regular œconomy, had amassed a sum of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, which he reserved for any sudden emergency; and by all these means he was enabled to equip a very considerable fleet and army: the former consisted of sixteen large ships, was furnished with five thousand land forces, and was commanded by the marquis of Hamilton, who had orders to sail to the Firth of Forth, and to make a diversion in the forces of the enemy.

The army amounted to about twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and was conducted by the earl of Arundel, a nobleman of great family, but distinguished neither for his military nor political abilities; the earl of Essex, a man of strict honour, and extremely beloved by the soldiers, acted as lieutenant-general; and the earl of Holland was general of the horse.

The king himself repaired to the camp, and summoned all the noblemen of England to attend him. The whole had rather the appearance of a splendid court than a military armament; and in

this situation, carrying more show than real force with it, the army arrived at Berwick on the twenty-eighth of May, with the king at its head, and there encamped. The Scottish army, which was nearly equal in number to that of the king, marched, at the same time, under general Lesly, towards the borders of England, and encamped within four miles of Berwick.

The king had, in the beginning of this year, set forth a declaration, containing his reasons for this expedition, in which he displayed the insolent treatment he had met with from the Covenanters, and his own readiness to heal the disorders of the state, in such terms, that it had a wonderful effect in his favour in Scotland. The marquis of Huntley declared for him, and this was no small accession of strength, for Huntley had a large estate, but a much larger following; and was looked upon to be the only nobleman who could balance the numbers which Argyll could bring into the field. But, to the inexpressible misfortune of Charles's affairs, this nobleman was at this time, when he was most wanted, taken from his sovereign; for the marquis of Montrose, having enticed him to a conference, and positively refusing to sign the Covenant, he and his eldest son were sent prisoners to the castle of Edinburgh. This unlucky accident was generally attributed to Hamilton, who having secured Holy Island to the king's obedience, had entered the Forth, and published a proclamation from Charles, offering pardon to the rebels who should lay down their arms, but with orders to prosecute all others with fire and sword. Hamilton continued a shameful inactivity; and, while in Holy Island, he received a visit from his mother, a most rigid Covenanter. This, with the general tenor of his conduct, made many of the king's friends suspect his integrity; and the Scots themselves were commonly heard to say, "they knew the son of such a mother would not do them hurt."

The troops under Lesly were but ill armed, for they had not three thousand musquets amongst them all; so that, notwithstanding their vapouring, they were much better prepared for a treaty than a battle. But their countrymen about the king's person and in his army, most infamously betrayed him, by magnifying the strength of the rebels, and at the same time giving them intelligence of every thing that was transacted between Charles and his council; and the king seeing his noblemen and followers as generally averse to the prosecution of the war, expressed his wishes for an opportunity to terminate it without bloodshed. The Covenanters, apprized of his inclinations, wrote in a very humble strain to the earls of Arundel, Essex, and Holland, imploring their good offices with his majesty, and protesting that nothing was farther from their thoughts than any design to invade England. Essex, who both hated and despised the Scots, would not deign to answer their letter, which he sent to the king: but the other two noblemen were differently affected; they thought the Covenanters had reason on their side, and turned their thoughts towards a pacification. When those letters had produced their effect, the lord Dumfermling arrived from the Scottish camp with a trumpet, and presented to the king an humble application, beseeching his majesty to appoint commissioners for a treaty. Charles desired that the last proclamation he sent to Edinburgh should be read in the

Scottish

Scottish army; general Lesly complied with this request; and then he appointed six commissioners to treat with the insurgents. The conferences soon produced the following convention for peace, which was signed on the seventeenth of June.

“ I. The forces of Scotland to be disbanded and dissolved within twenty-four hours after the agreement of the king's declaration.

“ II. The king's castles, forts, and ammunition, to be delivered up, after the said publication, as soon as he shall send to receive them.

“ III. His ships to depart presently after the delivery of the castles; and in the mean time no interruption of trade.

“ IV. All persons goods and ships detained by the king since the first of November, to be restored.”

“ V. No meetings, treatings, consultations, or convocations, of any of the Scots, but such as are warranted by act of parliament.

“ VI. All fortifications to desist, and to be remitted to the king's pleasure.

“ VII. To restore to every one therein, liberties, lands, houses, goods, and means whatsoever, taken and detained from them by whatsoever means, since the first of November last.”

The next day the king, on his part, signed a declaration, in which he was pleased to confirm all that had been granted by the marquis of Hamilton, and “that all matters ecclesiastical shall be determined by the assemblies of the kirk, and matters civil by the parliament, and other inferior judicatories established by law; which assemblies shall be kept once a year, or as shall be agreed upon by the general assembly, and our commissioner for the time being.”

“ That a free and general assembly be kept at Edinburgh the sixth day of August next, where we intend (God willing) to be personally present; and thereafter a parliament the twentieth of August, and there an act of oblivion to be passed; and that upon their disarming and disbanding of their forces, dissolving and discharging all their pretended tabernacles and conventicles, and restoring to the king all his castles, forts, and ammunition, as also his royal honours; and to every one of his good subjects, their liberties, lands, houses, goods, and means whatsoever, taken and detained since the late pretended general assembly; the king will, presently thereafter, recall his fleet, and retire his forces, and cause restitution of their ships and goods, taken since the aforesaid time.”

The pacification being thus agreed, the king sent for some of the Scots lords, and informed them, that he had given orders to the marquis of Hamilton to draw off the fleet, and did intend to have been at Edinburgh at the opening of the assembly; but that he had received letters from the queen, which intimated a necessity of his presence in London about some parliamentary affairs; but he would depute the earl of Traquair, with full power and authority, as his high commissioner, to hold the assembly and the parliament.

It was generally thought, that the concessions made by the king would have brought the malecontents to a perfect submission, but they soon appeared to have entertained very different thoughts, and to have entered into treaty only to temporize, and that the overtures they made for a pacification were partly out of deference to their correspondents in England, and partly with a view to fix the

odium of any subsequent rupture upon the king and his council, for they did not punctually perform any one article; they disbanded their troops in such a manner that they could be re-assembled with the utmost facility and dispatch. A great part of the walls of the castle of Edinburgh being fallen down, and the lord Ruthven, who held that fortress for the king, setting about to repair the breach, the covenanters would not suffer the workmen and materials to enter; at the same time that they themselves went on repairing the strong holds in their hands, continuing their meetings and consultations, and terrifying or prosecuting all who were not their friends; and, in order to get the populace still more on their side, they published and dispersed a scandalous libel, intitled, “ Some conditions of his majesty's treaty with the subjects of Scotland before the English nobility.”

This paper consisted of eight heads, which were pretended to be drawn out of notes taken upon the several discourses held with the king about the subject of his declaration: the matter of it was highly scandalous, and derogatory to the king's honour; for all the substance of the royal declaration was thereby altered, and the intention of it perverted. This affair gave Charles great disquiet; and on the fourth of August he called a council, in which the paper was read; and the counsellors who had been present at the conference upon the treaty, unanimously agreed, that the contents of the paper were “ notoriously false, and contrary to what his majesty clearly expressed at the pacification.” His majesty likewise declared (as appears by the minutes of the council which were afterwards turned into a proclamation) “ That before his coming from Berwick, he shewed a copy of this scandalous paper to the earl of Lindsey, the earl of Holland, master treasurer, and master secretary Cook, who fully concurred in the aforesaid opinion with the lords; all which lords, and particularly the earl of Holland, avowed the falseness thereof before the faces of those Scottish lords who were believed to be the divulgers of it (the lords of the council of Scotland being the likewise present); all which considered, the whole board became humble petitioners to his majesty, that this false and scandalous paper might be publicly burned by the hangman; and that his majesty's pleasure might be published by proclamation, “ that no person or persons hereafter, of what degree or condition soever, presume to keep any copy thereof; but that within five days after the said proclamation published, every such person and persons shall deliver to the next justice of the peace, at his or their dwelling, all and every copy and copies thereof; the same to be by the said justices of peace immediately brought or sent to one of his majesty's principal secretaries, on penalty of incurring the uttermost of such punishment and penalties as by the law of this realm are to be inflicted upon those that keep such scandalous and seditious papers.”

Upon the sixth of August (old stile), the general assembly met at Edinburgh, according to the royal proclamation, and sat till the twenty-fourth: the chief matters were, the confirmation of the act of the Glasgow assembly, the abolishing of episcopacy, the five articles of Perth, the high-commission court, the liturgy, and the book of canons; and it ended with an address of thanks to the king, for his indulgence towards them, in the

assent of his commissioner to their acts; and then another assembly was appointed to be held at Aberdeen the next year, in the month of July.

The assembly now risen, the parliament, which had been prorogued from the twentieth to the thirtieth of August, came together; the first four days of its session produced a high debate about settling their constitution, to determine what estate should supply the order of bishops, now abolished; which being at last agreed, they fell upon other matters and measures, tending rather totally to eclipse the royal power, and new model the government, than to reform abuses or restore the public tranquillity; in fine, they were proceeding to the most unwarrantable, as well as undutiful, lengths, when Charles sent orders to Traquair, the high commissioner, to interrupt their proceedings, by proroguing them till the second day of June, in the following year; and, should he meet with any opposition, to declare those members who should continue sitting, guilty of high-treason. The parliament, upon receiving the order, immediately separated; but not before the members had drawn up a declaration, importing, "That the earl of Traquair and the council had violated the privileges of parliament; that though they had a right to sit, notwithstanding the prorogation, they were willing to separate, in order to give the king a proof of their obedience. Nevertheless, they left a committee to present an humble petition to his majesty, which was accordingly transmitted to London by the earl of Dumfirling and the lord Loudon, appointed their deputies for that purpose; but the king would not favour them with an audience, because they had undertaken their journey without the leave of the high-commissioner. After their return to their own country, Traquair being called to court, reported to the council the transactions which had passed in Scotland; and it was unanimously resolved, that the Scots should be reduced to their duty by force of arms. And thus matters stood between the king and that people at the close of the year 1639. Let us now look a little back to the affairs of England.

Charles, prince palatine of the Rhine, arrived at the court of England in July this year, in prosecution of a design he had to get the command of the army of Bernard duke of Saxe Weymar, lately dead; which consisted of a great number of Swedes, Germans, and other nations: the king approving the design, proposed it to the French ambassador, offering that the prince should join in a perpetual league with France, and that he would contribute what he could to his assistance. The French ambassador seemed to be very well pleased with the offer; and told the king that he doubted not but his master would approve of it, and that cardinal Richelieu, the chief minister of state, would be willing to serve the king and the prince therein; and thereupon he dispatched a messenger to Paris, to acquaint the French king with the matter: but in the mean while it was suggested to the king, that Richelieu clandestinely fomented the troubles in Scotland, whereby the confederate Covenanters had been encouraged to write a letter to that king for assistance; so that the good faith of Richelieu was not to be depended on: wherefore the prince was advised to go privately through France to the duke's army; but Richelieu getting intelligence of his being on the way, and deeming

this secret act a contravention of the treaty then depending, he had the prince arrested at Lyons, and kept under a strict guard.

In the summer of this year, while Charles was settling the affairs of Scotland, an accident happened upon the coast of England, which is of too great consequence to be passed over in history, this was a sea-fight between the two navies of Spain and Holland, in the Downs; which we shall insert in the words of sir John Pennington, the king's vice-admiral, who has left us the following narrative thereof.

"The Spanish Fleet, consisting of near seventy sail, bound and designed for Dunkirk, in Flanders, with a recruit both of men and money, met with the vice-admiral of the Holland fleet, having in his company seventeen small ships, September 7, and entered a very fierce dispute with them, until the Hollander, perceiving himself too weak, got to the windward, sailing alone towards Dunkirk, and continually firing their ordnance, to give warning to their admiral, who lay before that town with the residue of the fleet. In the first encounter the Hollanders had two ships sunk; and the next morning, by two o'clock, the admiral came up, and joining the vice-admiral between Dover and Calais, they attacked the Spaniards, and continued a very sharp fight till past noon, wherein they had much the better, having taken two galleons, sunk another, and much shattered the rest, though they were but twenty-five sail to sixty and upwards, and at length forced them upon the English coasts near Dover, where they left them, and bore off for the coast of France, not willing to attempt any thing against them within the king of England's liberties.

"The Spaniards being now got, as thought, under the lee of England's protection, began to plot how to get rid of their bad neighbour; and the Spanish resident importuned the king's protection two tides, that in the interim they might have an opportunity for slipping away for Spain; but the king being in amity with both nations resolved to stand neuter; and whereas the Spaniards had hired some English ships to transport their soldiers to Dunkirk, the king, upon the complaint of the Dutch ambassador, strictly commanded that none should take in any Spaniards, nor pass beyond Gravesend without licence: but the Spaniards and Hollands, plotting a great while counter the one to the other, the Spaniard at length somewhat outwitted his enemy, and, by a stratagem, in the night conveyed away fourteen Dunkirk ships, having on board four thousand men.

"In the beginning of October the king sent the earl of Arundel to the admiral of Spain, don Antonio d'Oquendo, desiring him to depart by the first fair wind, because he would not that they should engage within his seas; but the wind continued easterly so long (a thing not usual in that season) as the Hollanders got daily fresh supplies from Zealand, so at length their fleet was completed to an hundred ships, wherewith they encompassed their enemies within pistol-shot, for four days: but that which was so long an interview of those two fleets at length turned to an engagement.

"On the eleventh of the same month Van Trump, the Dutch admiral, charged the Spaniards with cannon and fireships so furiously, as made them all cut their cables; and being fifty-three in number, twenty-

twenty-three ran on shore and were stranded in the Downs, whereof three were burned, two sunk, and two perished on the shore; one of these was a great galleon, the vice-admiral of Galicia, commanded by don Antonio de Castro, which mounted fifty-two pieces of brass ordnance: the remainder of the twenty-three, stranded and deserted by the Spaniards, were manned by the English, to save them from the Dutch. The other thirty Spanish ships, under the command of the admiral, don Antonio d'Oquendo, and Lopez, admiral of Portugal, put to sea, and kept in close order till a great fog fell upon them, when the Dutch, taking the advantage thereof, interposed between the admirals and their fleets and fought them valiantly till the fog cleared up, when the admiral of Portugal was set on fire by two Dutch fire-ships; which d'Oquendo perceiving, he presently took his course towards Dunkirk, with the admiral of that place and some few ships more, for most of the rest were taken; of these thirty-two were sent to Holland, three perished on the coast of France, one near Dover, five sunk in their flight, and only ten escaped."

Charles did not fail to represent this conduct of the Dutch as an insult upon the British flag, and made use of it as an argument for enforcing the payment of ship-money, so as to be able to keep a sufficient fleet at sea, to curb the insolence of those republicans: accordingly new writs were issued throughout all the counties of England and Wales for collecting this hateful tax. Some time before this the lord-keeper Coventry, having with an unusual good fortune kept the great-seal many years, died in the exercise of that high office, upon which the great-seal was given to sir John Finch, chief-justice of the Common Pleas, a devoted tool to Laud, by whose violent counsels, and that of his faction, Charles was entirely guided, and pushed on to go forward, through all difficulties, to the establishment of prerogative. We now come to the year 1640.

The king having determined upon the war with Scotland, tried every expedient to raise a powerful army; but soon found that, his Exchequer being exhausted, and great debts contracted, his ordinary revenues would not be sufficient to maintain his forces; a parliament therefore, after above eleven years intermission, after trying many irregular expedients, after many and great disgusts given to the nation by arbitrary impositions, must now be assembled, in order to supply the exigences of the crown; and it was resolved by Laud, Wentworth earl of Stafford (now returned from the government of Ireland), and Hamilton, who were Charles's principal friends and counsellors, to issue writs for the great assembly of the nation to sit in the ensuing April. In the mean time the Dutch sent a splendid embassy, with excuses for the late conduct of their fleet on the British coasts, and a proposal of marriage between the prince of Orange and Charles's eldest daughter, of which more hereafter. The earl of Northumberland was appointed general of the army destined to act against Scotland.

The parliament meeting on the twenty-third of April, was opened by a speech from the lord-keeper Finch, to which Charles made a short preface, concerning the necessity of their meeting. When Finch had ended his speech, Charles inform-

ed them, that some time before the earl of Traquair having intercepted a letter wrote to the king of France by the Scottish malecontents, had transmitted it to him, and that he had thereupon committed to the Tower the lord Loudon, commissioner from the Covenanters, one of the persons who had subscribed the treasonable letter, which he now produced, hoping thereby to inflame the parliament by the indignity, and alarm them by the danger of this application to a foreign power. This letter, which was indeed a convincing proof that there was nothing too desperate for the Covenanters to stick at, for compassing their ends, was conceived in the follow terms;

" Sir,

" Your majesty being the refuge and sanctuary of afflicted princes and states, we have found it necessary to send this gentleman, Mr. Colvil, to represent unto your majesty the candour and ingenuity as well of our actions and proceedings, as of our intentions, which we desire to be engraven and written in the whole world with a beam of the sun, as well as to your majesty. We therefore most humbly beseech you (sir) to give faith and credit to him, and to all that he shall say on our part; touching us and our affairs, being most assured (sir) of your assistance equal to your wonted clemency heretofore, and so often shewed to this nation, which will not yield the glory to any other whatsoever, to be eternally, sir, your majesty's most obedient and most affectionate servants,

Roths, Montrose, Lesley,
Marr, Montgomery, Loudon,
Forrester."

When the commons returned to their house, they chose serjeant Glanville to be their speaker. The arguments of the king and his minister to get from them a speedy aid, and adequate to the great projects he had formed of reducing the malecontents of Scotland to a state of perfect submission, made no impression upon them: they knew, from former experience, that Charles would remember his promises no longer than he could be compelled by necessity, they therefore resolved to adhere to their old and constitutional maxim of redressing the grievances of the nation before they should grant a supply to the crown. This untoward disposition in the commons was chiefly imputed to the machinations of sir Henry Vane, who had been made secretary of state in the room of old Cooke, who, with many others had been turned out for advising the late pacification with the Scots. Vane, it seems, bore an inveterate grudge to the earl of Strafford, on whom the king had, at his creation, bestowed the additional title of baron Raby, to which the former aspired, as being a manor granted him, together with Barney castle, from the crown; and because he saw Strafford (at whose instance the parliament had been principally called) desirous for the king to gain the affections of the commons, in order to obtain from them the necessary supplies; he resolved to exert his utmost endeavours to frustrate this design. He had, in the king's name proposed to the house, that if they would vote twelve subsidies, amounting to about six hundred thousand pounds, to be made payable in three years, and pass it into a law immediately, with a clause that it should not determine the session,

his

his majesty would not only abstain from levying ship-money, but even consent to its being utterly abolished, in any manner they should judge convenient. Vane, inspiring Charles with an idea of making this proposal, seems to have been perfectly well acquainted with the disposition of the members of the house of commons, and how favourable it was to his design of embroiling the king with them. This proposal produced violent debates: the commons thought no argument, more unfavourable, could possibly be urged for a supply, than an offer to abolish ship-money; a taxation the most illegal, and the most dangerous, which had ever, in any reign, been imposed on the nation: and they imagined, that, by bargaining for the remission of that duty, they would seem, in a manner, to acknowledge the authority by which it had been levied; or, at least, give encouragement for assuming new claims of a like nature, in hopes of resigning them on like advantageous terms: and, for these reasons, they resolved to pay no regard to the king's solicitations, but to continue the examination and redress of the public grievances.

Things were now come to the crisis Vane wished for: Charles was incensed to the highest degree at the unreasonable obstinacy of the commons; and this treacherous member, taking advantage of his perturbation, insinuated that he had it from good authority, that in a day or two the commons intended to pass a vote against the war with Scotland; and Charles unhappily believing the report, which, by all that appears by the journals of the proceedings of the house, was entirely groundless, repaired on the morrow (being the fifth of May) to the house of peers, where he dissolved the parliament. The marquis of Hamilton has not escaped the censure of some well-informed historians on this action, which in the end proved fatal to Charles, in order to embroil the king's affairs, to confirm the Scots, and distract the English, with a view to work his own advantages on both.

Indeed no step could have been taken more proper to exercise the reigning spirit of discontent among the people, who usually repose the most entire confidence in their representatives, and expect from them the redress of all their grievances. But as if this had not been thought enough to ruin Charles in the minds of his subjects, he was, by his violent counsellors, prevailed on to renew those acts of arbitrary power which, from former experience, he might have learned were so dangerous and unpopular. Bellasis and sir John Hotham were cited before the council; and refusing to give any account of their conduct in parliament, were thrown into prison. Crew, the chairman of the committee of religion, was ordered to deliver up all the complaints and petitions presented to the committee; and on his refusing to produce them, he was sent to the Tower. The studies and even the pockets of the earl of Warwick and lord Brooke were searched, before the expiration of privilege, in hopes of finding some treasonable papers.

Though the parliament was dissolved, the convocation continued sitting, under the name of a synod, to the twenty-ninth of May, and enacted certain canons. Among these there was one that obliged all ecclesiastics, and such as had received degrees in the universities, to take an oath, importing, that they approved of the doctrine and discipline of the church of England; and that they

never would consent to any alteration of the church-government, by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, &c. After having settled their canons and this oath, which they had no legal power to impose, they granted a large subsidy, for the maintenance of the Scottish war, and then separated.

The dissolution of this parliament was by the people thought to be the work of the archbishop of Canterbury; this raised the popular hatred against him to the highest pitch: and on the ninth of May a paper was posted upon the Old Exchange, by one John Lilburne, exciting the apprentices to rise and rife his house at Lambeth on the Monday following; of which the archbishop having notice, made provision of some quantity of arms and ammunition for his defence. In the dead of the night preceding the appointed day, five hundred of the rabble beset his house, and strove to force an entrance, but were repulsed, and forced to depart with only denouncing their anger in seditious language against him, and breaking the windows of his palace. The next day many of them were apprehended, and confined in the White Lion prison, in Southwark: but within three days after, a number of their accomplices assembled, broke open the prison, and rescued them: nevertheless one of the ringleaders of the first riot was retaken, arraigned, condemned, hanged, drawn, and quartered on the twenty-first of May.

It seemed as if Charles had studied to set all ranks of people against him, for instead of soothing the city of London in the present delicate situation of circumstances, he prosecuted it in the Star-chamber for certain misdemeanors committed at Londonderry, in Ireland, which had been peopled by the city, and condemned it in a very heavy fine. He continued to raise all the taxes which had been so loudly inveighed against in parliament. Such a conduct in an absolute prince would have occasioned a revolt among his subjects, much more in a limited monarch. Unsupported by his parliament, he was now obliged to have recourse to the generosity of individuals, and so much interest did he possess among the courtiers and ministers, that above three hundred thousand pounds were subscribed in a few days.

The earl of Northumberland had been appointed general of the king's army, now augmented to twenty thousand men, the earl of Strafford lieutenant-general, and lord Conway general of the horse; but Northumberland being about this time seized with a dangerous illness, could not take upon him the command; as to Strafford, it seems his presence was absolutely necessary in England, to direct the affairs of the council; Charles therefore went himself in person so soon as the queen, then great with-child, was delivered of her son Henry, who was born at Oatlands, on the twentieth of July. But in the mean time the army was ordered to march northward; and lord Conway marched with the van some days before the rest could come up: and as he was advancing, news was brought him, that the Scottish army, under general Lesly, was marched to Dunce, not far from Berwick, where they had taken up their quarters the preceding year. Upon this advice he ordered the army to hasten towards Newcastle; but before they reached that place, intelligence came that the Scottish army had entered England on the twentieth

tieth of August. The king received advice of this on his way to York, and dispatched orders to Conway to do what he could to impede their march till the army could come up. Upon this Conway called a council of war, the result of which was, that they should seize the pass at Newborne upon Tyne, to prevent the Scots possessing themselves of Newcastle, where sir Jacob Astly had newly entered with his regiment, but had not time to erect any fortifications. The king made all the haste he could; but by that time he reached North Allerton, about two days march on this side Newcastle, the lord Conway sent to him an account of the defeat of the forces under his command, which he received at Newborne, on the twenty-seventh of August.

In consequence of their success at Newborne, the Scots entered Newcastle without opposition: as for Conway, he retired with precipitation to Durham, and thinking himself not safe in that place, returned to North Allerton, where he found the main army, which also retreated to York. In the mean while, the Scots entered Newcastle peaceably and under the most solemn protestation of friendship, which they soon violated by treating the inhabitants of the town and neighbouring country in all respects as a conquered people; nor does it even appear that any precautions were taken by the English officers to prevent the king's magazines of powder and ammunition from falling into the hands of the enemy.

Charles arrived at York on the twenty-third of August: and, after assembling the gentlemen there, he and the earl of Strafford did all they could to animate them to the service of their country. They had advanced as far as North Allerton with their whole army, when they heard of lord Conway's defeat, on which they retreated to York, that they might be joined by the troops that were marching from Newcastle to Durham; and the whole to all appearance, composed a very fine army.

It was doubtless mortifying to Charles to be reduced to submit to the insolence of rebels, and hold a parley with the avowed enemies of his royal state and dignity; but what could he do? he saw a visible coldness in the officers and common men of his army, which gave him the most dreadful apprehensions that they would not fight against the Scots: the great county of York, instead of raising men for his service, presented a petition against his measures: in fine, he saw no other method of stopping the progress of the Covenanters, than by complying with their proposal.

While these things were in agitation, an address was presented from the city of London, petitioning for a parliament, as the only method of healing the distempered state. This petition encouraged the earls of Bedford, Essex, Hertford, Warwick, Bristol, and Mulgrave, the lords Say and Seale, Howard of Escrick, Bolingbroke, Mandeville, Brooke, and Paget, to present another of the like tendency. In these, and a thousand other distracting circumstances, the only expedient that Charles and his friends could think of, was somewhat between a parliament and a council, and was revived from very remote antiquity; this was, to summon a council of the English peers at York.

On the twenty-fourth of September this great council met, and Charles opened it with a speech, in which he demanded their advice upon two

points: the first was, what answer to be given to the rebels, and in what manner they were to be treated; the second, how to get money for keeping his army together until a parliamentary supply should be raised. After various debates, it was resolved to name commissioners for treating with the Scots; these were, the earls of Bedford, Hertford, Essex, Salisbury, Warwick, Bristol, Holland, and Berkshire, viscount Mandeville, the lords Wharton, Paget, Brooke, Pawlet, Howard, Saville, and Dunsmore: the earls of Traquair, Morton, and Lanerk, were named as assistants to these commissioners, to remove any difficulties that could arise from their ignorance of the constitution and affairs of Scotland; and secretary Vane, Mr. Lewis Stuart, and sir John Burroughs, were to assist in like manner upon the part of the English commissioners. It was first proposed, as most consistent with the king's dignity, that the treaty should be held at York; but the Scots, not so much from any real apprehensions they had of danger, as to increase the odium against Strafford, refused to come to any place where he had power; and, after various consultations, Rippon was appointed to be the place of meeting. All this while the inhabitants of the northern counties, that had been laid under contribution by the Scots, made dreadful complaints to Charles of their oppression; and, in order to keep the English army together, instructions were given by the great council to the earls of Manchester, Pembroke, and Clare, the viscount Camden, with the lords Coventry and Goring, to treat with the city of London for the loan of two hundred thousand pounds. The commissioners for the Scots were the earl of Dumfermling, lord Loudon, sir Patrick Hepburn, sir William Douglas, Mr. Smith, Mr. Wedderburn, Mr. Henderson, and Mr. Johnston.

The conferences were opened at Rippon on the first of October, and the Scots commissioners presented the following propositions, in the form of a petition: "That his majesty would be pleased to cause the acts of the last general assembly to be ratified in parliament: that the castle of Edinburgh, and all places of strength in Scotland, should be employed for no other purpose but the defence of the kingdom: that the Scots in England and Ireland should not incur any penalty for having subscribed the Covenant, nor be subjected to oaths or subscriptions contrary to the laws of the realm: that the authors of these troubles should be punished as incendiaries, according to their demerits: that the ships taken from the Scots should be restored with all their merchandize; and all damage to be repaired: that they should be indemnified for all the losses they had sustained since the beginning of the troubles: that the proclamations declaring them traitors, should be revoked; and that his majesty would, with the advice of the English parliament, withdraw the garrisons from the frontiers: that a free communication and commerce between the two nations be restored." They likewise demanded, in an insolent manner, forty thousand pounds per month for maintaining their army, during the treaty. Charles would gladly have consented that both armies should have been disbanded, but he could not prevail; and he now saw that nothing advantageous to him could result from the interview at Rippon: he therefore endeavoured to transfer the conferences to York, where the great

council continued sitting; but he was again disappointed through the refusal of the Scots. His own commissioners pressed him to remove the treaty from Rippon to London, to which he was obliged to comply, and also to a cessation of arms, by which the Scots were assured of maintenance for their army; and the river Tees was made the boundary for both parties. This cessation was concluded on the twenty-sixth of October, and the commissioners returned to York, where Charles found himself obliged to ratify all they had done in granting the demands of the Scots. Thus was this unhappy prince humbled, to receive law from his rebels, and directions from his subjects.

Charles finding the general sense of the nation was so declared for a parliament, had in his speech to the great council acquainted them that he intended to summon one to sit on the third of November ensuing, and writs had accordingly been issued out for that purpose. There remained, therefore but a short time for him to return to London before the meeting of the parliament, which he did, leaving Strafford, who had joined his army, to provide for the peace of the North; and an army of rebels, whom he paid, to domineer in the bowels of his country; for it was understood that the Scottish army was neither to return, or be disbanded, till the treaty, begun at Rippon, was finished at London.

The parliament met, according to its summons, on the third of November, and the commons chose Lenthall, a lawyer of some reputation, for their speaker. The parliament at meeting was unusually numerous, every member looking upon this conjuncture as a national crisis: the speech of Charles, as usual contained reflections on the incredulity of those who had refused to trust to his personal assurances: he recommended to his parliament, first to drive out the Scottish rebels, and then he promised them a redress of grievances; and lastly he recommended to them to provide money for the payment of the army, which otherwise must be disbanded, while that of the rebels was kept on foot.

It would swell these sheets too much, were we minutely to set down the several steps taken by this parliament in the pursuit of the favourite object of humbling the kingly authority; we shall content ourselves with given a summary account of their proceedings, but so as not to omit any material incident worthy the knowledge of the reader. And here we shall beg leave to premise a general reflection on the characters and circumstances of men and things at this juncture.

The long intermission of parliaments had produced many mischiefs and inconveniences in the government, by the remissness of some and the rigor of others, in church and state, which inflamed the zeal of many good patriots of both houses to be very urgent for the redress of their errors: the eye of the whole nation was fixed on the proceedings of a parliament summoned at so critical a juncture, and during such general discontents as now rent the whole nation; a parliament which was to complete every thing left unfinished by former parliaments. Notwithstanding the vigorous efforts of the courtiers and ministers, the elections had run almost entirely in favour of those in the opposition: the members were generally bent upon an alteration in the government; the few moderate men amongst them sought only to ascertain

the liberties of the nation; others resolved to humble the royal prerogative; and there was a more violent party that extended their views to an utter extirpation of the hierarchy and monarchical government, but these at first carefully concealed their designs under the profession of rigid presbyterianism, and were afterwards known by the name of Independents. The two latter parties were in confederacy with the Scots, and sought, by fomenting the distractions of the state, to lift themselves into places of power and trust: the pursuit of these things made them exceed the methods and proceedings of their predecessors, and, by inspiring jealousies, countenancing and procuring tumultuous petitions and assemblies by menaces and force, they often obtained the accomplishment of their purposes, contriving without-door in private meetings, what they designed to carry within. The success they met with in these their proceedings enlarged their views and extended their ambition; it bred thoughts in them they had never entertained before; and this was that which drew on the ruin of the king, and with him, for some time, the subversion of all monarchy: but many of those who were in the beginning most active for reformation, had not in their prospect the calamity that ensued, and too late repented the error of having lent their assistance to those actions, when they could no longer stem the tide that the breath of violence and disaffection had swelled to so great an height. These matters will more plainly appear as we proceed in the history of this reign, whose horrors we are now about to describe.

The earl of Strafford was considered as the first minister of state, both on account of the great interest which he had with his master, and his own uncommon abilities. By a concurrence of untoward circumstances he had exposed himself to the hatred of all the three nations, which composed the British empire. The Scots, whose authority was now very great, regarded him as the capital enemy of their country, and one, whose councils and influence they had most reason to dread. He had persuaded the parliament of Ireland to furnish large supplies, in order to prosecute a war against them: he had raised an army of nine thousand men, with which he threatened to invade their western coast: he had compelled the Scots, who lived under his government, to renounce the Covenant, which they so much adored: he had in Ireland denounced the Scottish Covenanters rebels and traitors, even before the king had taken any such step against them in England: and he had ever given his opinion against the late treaty and suspension of arms, which he considered as dangerous and dishonourable. So highly were the Scots incensed at all these measures, that they had absolutely refused to send commissioners to treat at York, as was first proposed; because, they said, the lieutenant of Ireland, their capital enemy, being general of the king's forces, was there possessed of the chief command and authority.

Strafford, first as deputy, then as lord-lieutenant, had managed the affairs of Ireland for the space of eight years. His government had been extremely vigilant and active, but very far from being popular. His authority and influence, however, during the time of his prosperity, had kept his enemies in awe; but no sooner was he seized with adversity, then the concealed aversion of the Irish

blazed out at once, and the parliament of that kingdom employed every expedient in order to aggravate the charge against him.

All the grievances which the English had suffered for a number of years, were universally ascribed to the pernicious councils of Strafford; because he was known to be the minister whom the king most favoured and consulted.

Though descended from an ancient family, and born to a considerable estate, his sudden and great elevation was not exempted from envy; and his former associates in popular measures, finding that he owed his advancement to the desertion of their cause, pursued him with the most implacable hatred, and resolved to exert their utmost efforts in order to effect his ruin*.

The first five days of this session was taken up in settling the five standing committees for grievances, religion, courts of justice, trade, and privileges and elections; and in several declamatory speeches against the maladministration of government, both in church and state, the chief part of which were ascribed to the councils of the earl of Strafford and archbishop Laud: fanaticism seems to have taken possession of the minds of almost all ranks of people: at this time religion was become an universal fashion; the most eloquent speakers in the house introduced a kind of holy cant and jargon into their speeches, and all their allusions being scriptural, stamped them with an air of prophecy or inspiration.

The Scottish commissioners were now arrived in London, in order to put a finishing hand to the treaty that had been begun at Rippon. These had many conferences with their friends of the house of commons; and it was agreed by them, that the earl of Strafford should be impeached at his first coming to the house of peers, for he was as yet at York. This measure was thus suddenly resolved on, to prevent an impeachment that nobleman had ready against Mr. Pym and some others of the leading members of both houses, for holding intelligence with the Scots, which he intended to have offered in the house of peers as soon as he had taken his seat amongst them. It was the tenth of November, early in the morning, while the house of commons was in a debate about papists, that it was certainly known that Strafford was come to town; upon this a motion was immediately made, "that no member should leave the house; that the outward room, or lobby, be kept clear from strangers; and the outer door, upon the stair-head, be kept locked;" and all this upon pretext of examining Newton and Grey, two messengers, who had been concerned in taking up and discharging papists. This secrecy was somewhat interrupted by a message from the lords, who demanded a meeting with the commons, which the latter refused; and Pym and Clotworthy, with the other enemies of Strafford, were so vehement in their speeches, and so quick in their dispatch against him, that his impeachment, upon the notoriety of the facts contained in it, was carried up that very day by Pym, who at the bar of the house of peers accused him of high-treason. The earl was thereupon required to withdraw, and it was very warmly debated by the peers, whether he should be imprisoned on a general accusation as this was, without

any particular act of treason charged against him; but, upon the question, it was carried in the affirmative, and the earl, upon being called in, was put into the custody of the black-rod, until the house of commons should exhibit a more particular charge against him.

The next day the commons, considering the great pressures of the northern counties by the two armies that lay upon them, resolved that two hundred thousand pounds should be raised for their maintenance; and, till it could be regularly levied, one hundred thousand pounds were borrowed in the city of London, upon the credit of some of the members of the house of commons. Many petitions from all parts were now brought in for redress of grievances, and to be relieved against orders and decrees of the Council-table, Star-chamber, and High-commission court; which were referred to the proper committees: several persons also were released out of prison upon their petitions, among whom were Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick: and a while after, by the intercession of the lords with the king, Williams, bishop of Lincoln, was also freed from his imprisonment in the Tower, and admitted to resume his seat in the upper-house. In the mean time the king, willing to be rid of the Scottish army, hastened the commission to the lords who were employed in the treaty of Rippon, or any ten of them, to treat with the Scottish commissioners, or any seven of them, to take into consideration their demands, and compose all differences arising thereupon; which commission was passed under the great-seal of England on the twenty-third of November: and in a short time after the Scots presented their demands, which were eight in number; and afterwards they put in seventeen heads, wherein one (and that not the least considerable) was, that some Scotchmen of respect might enjoy places of trust about the king, queen, and prince. This was that which all their pretences aimed at, notwithstanding all their zeal to the reformation of religion: and though all they desired else was granted, they never attained to their ends in this; for the troubles which they raised, did not only bring after them a misery to this nation, but them also, and the ringleaders of them wanted not their part thereof: sir Francis Windebank, secretary of state, was aimed at, as one of the great delinquents in the opinion of the parliament, being suspected in his religion, a great favourer of the priests of the Romish church, for whom he had obtained many reprieves, and was thought to be guilty of misdemeanors of a higher nature; but he, thinking himself not sufficiently provided to ride out the approaching storm, made his escape into France, where he died a Roman catholic. In the consideration of grievances, the charge imposed upon the subject for providing and furnishing of ships, and the assessments for raising money for that purpose, commonly called ship-money, were voted by both houses to be against the laws of the realm; and all proceedings in the case, both at Council-table, Star-chamber, and courts of justice, declared null and void.

The debate of ship-money led the house to consider of the first occasion of raising it, which was, because the parliament immediately preceeding the last, was dissolved without granting the supplies the king

* Hume's History of Great Britain, Charles I.

expected from them; and from hence they were led into an enquiry of several violations of the privileges of parliament, by the commitment of divers members, and a judgment against them in the King's Bench: and then all the inconveniences were summed up, that happened through the long intermission of parliaments; to provide against which, it was resolved to bring in a bill for establishing triennial parliaments. The debates took up many days, and whilst these consultations were held for the reformation of the civil state, the Scottish commissioners, who acted in concert with the puritan party, were not idle in their endeavours to alter the hierarchy or ecclesiastical state: by the fanatical discourses of themselves and their emissaries they so worked upon the minds of the deluded people, that a great number of petitions were presented to the commons against ecclesiastical discipline, the ceremonies of the church, and the government of it by bishops: amongst which was one presented by alderman Pennington, subscribed by fifteen hundred citizens of London. This petition did not a little alarm the moderate party in the house of commons, who were not unwilling to have the abuses of church-government reformed, but could not approve of the alteration of that government itself; so that, after some debate, the petition was ordered to lie upon the table for farther consideration. The puritans however, though unsuccessful in this effort, fell a while after upon another expedient, more plausible, which was an inquisition into the legality of the new canons, the oath, and the tax upon the clergy, which had been created and imposed by the convocation, after the parliament had been dissolved, and it was voted by a great majority, "That such an assembly had no power to frame constitutions, canons, or any other acts, without consent of parliament; that the late canons contained matters contrary to the king's prerogative, the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the rights of parliament, and the liberty and property of the subjects; that therefore they tended to sedition, and were of the most dangerous consequences."

The very same day that the canons were thus voted down (December 17) the commons appointed a committee of thirty-nine members, to enquire who were the principal promoters of those canons, and to prepare an impeachment against the archbishop of Canterbury, for having endeavoured to overturn the laws and religion of his country. The Scottish commissioners, who acted in concert with the puritan party, at the same time presented to the lords an accusation against that prelate, charging him with being the author of all the troubles in Scotland, by imposing the book of canons and the liturgy upon the natives of that kingdom, and exciting a war between his majesty and his subjects. The archbishop being likewise impeached by the commons, was taken into custody, and afterwards committed to the Tower. Matthew Wren, bishop of Ely, being suspected of a design to quit the kingdom, was obliged to give security for ten thousand pounds. The lord-keeper Finch being threatened with a prosecution, fled into Holland and was declared a traitor by a vote of the house of commons, and the king committed the seals to the custody of sir Edward Littleton. Brampton, Davenport, and Crawley, three of the judges, were obliged to give bail. Such was the method taken to over-

awe the king's ministers: but what still more contributed to intimidate his adherents, was the practice of passing votes against any part of their conduct as contrary to law. From want of power, rather than inclination, to resist, the king was obliged to remain a passive spectator of all those violent proceedings. He hoped to regain his lost authority by a little flexibility, but herein he was mistaken: he imagined that the parliament would assist him in taking vengeance upon the Scots for their irruption into England; but instead of that, this very parliament made them a present of three hundred thousand pounds, to defray the expences they had been at in carrying on a civil war. He flattered himself likewise with suppressing the puritanical party in England: almost all the members of the house of commons were puritans. He had a tender affection for the earl of Strafford, who had devoted himself so generously to his service; and the commons soon after obliged him to sign the fatal warrant for his death, and thereby shew his subjects the way to shed blood still more precious.

We have already observed, that the States had proposed to Charles a marriage between his eldest daughter and the young prince of Orange. In the beginning of the year 1641, this prince renewed the demand, and the ambassadors had orders to propose to Charles, at the same time such a league as should be found most conducive to the interests of both people. Charles readily agreed to both propositions, and the articles of marriage were soon drawn up; but he thought proper to impart the whole to the house of peers, which he accordingly did, and the marriage was shortly after concluded, to the great satisfaction of the public.

About this time, or a few days before, the particular charge against the earl of Strafford was carried up to the lords by Mr. Pym, under twenty-eight articles. They had, on the twenty-eighth of November, in the preceding year, exhibited some general articles, to which he could not be forced to answer; but upon this farther impeachment the lords required him to answer to the whole: and though the charge was very long, yet were the commons so pressing for his answer, that, by the twenty-fourth of February, he delivered it to the lords. It appears that the Irish house of commons had by this time sent over a committee to assist in the prosecution of this unfortunate nobleman, who had been their governor; and, in a word, the three kingdoms seemed bent upon his destruction. Upon the carrying up the impeachment last-mentioned, he was taken out of the custody of the usher of the black-rod, and committed to the Tower. He moved the lords to have counsel allowed him, which was much opposed by the commons; but his accusation being found to have many points of law in it, he was at length indulged with a grant of his request.

The bill for triennial parliaments having passed both houses, was, on the sixteenth of February, offered to the king, under the title of "An act for the preventing inconveniencies happening from the long intermission of parliaments," and at the same time the commons presented an act for the relief of his majesty's army and the northern parts of the kingdom, to both which the king gave his royal assent. No act that had ever passed seemed better calculated for preserving the liberties of the subject, than the act for triennial parliaments; for it

it provided, "that in case the king should refuse to summon a parliament at the time therein limited, the chancellor or keeper might issue out writs to summon the peers, and for election of the commons; and if the chancellor or keeper should not do it, any twelve of the peers might summon the parliament; and if the peers should omit the issuing out of summons, the sheriffs in counties, and other magistrates, respectively, might cause elections to be made; and if the sheriffs should refuse, the freeholders in the counties might make elections of members; and the members so chosen were, under great penalties, obliged to attend:" with many other clauses to accomplish the end designed by the act.

It must be confessed, that this act had in it several expressions too much reflecting upon the prerogative; but Charles seems by this time to have been sensible of the many mischiefs arising from the too long intermission of parliaments, and seems to have resolved to communicate more freely and frequently in that way with his subjects. In a word, his so readily giving his assent to this act was highly pleasing to the people in general, who every where expressed their satisfaction by bonfires and other rejoicings: both houses also waited upon the king at Whitehall, with an address of thanks on the occasion. On the same day these bills were signed, the charge against the archbishop of Canterbury was carried up to the lords by sir Henry Vane, the younger, whereupon Laud was ordered to be sent to the Tower; but, upon his humble suit to the lords, his commitment was respited to the first of March.

The Scottish commissioners were all this while exerting their utmost endeavours for the overthrow of the hierarchy, and the introduction of their presbyterian discipline into the church of England, and had, by their confederates, made an active party in the house of commons, which was almost filled with puritans, who took every occasion of aspersing the bishops, and in their speeches spared not the episcopal order itself. The city petition, already mentioned, was now taken a second time into consideration, and, in the course of the debates, several motions were made for entirely abolishing the order of bishops: among those who argued for this measure, none distinguished themselves with so much vehement eloquence as Nathaniel Fiennes, the younger son of the lord Say and Seale; but the lord Falkland, the lord Digby, and many other noblemen of consummate integrity and deep erudition, so warmly opposed the motion, and by the strength and eloquence of their reasoning, so far prevailed, that the order of episcopacy was yet preserved, though its power was much lessened by a vote passed in the house of commons, preparatory to a bill, resolving, "that no bishop shall have any vote in parliament, or any judicial power in the Star-chamber, nor bear any sway in temporal affairs; and that no clergyman shall be in the commission of the peace."

About this time Charles, who seems to have had nothing else in view but the restoring the confidence of his subjects, by endeavouring to satisfy his parliament and smooth his measures, agreed to several considerable alterations in his court: he admitted into his council the earls of Hertford, Bedford, Essex, Bristol, and Warwick, the lords Say, Saville, and Kimbolton; Juxon, bishop of Lon-

don, had, with less envy than could be expected, for some years held the treasurer's staff, but he now resigned it. Oliver St. John was appointed solicitor-general: the king intended that Denzill Holles should have filled the places of secretary of state, vacated by the flight of Windebank; that Pym should be made chancellor of the Exchequer, in the room of the lord Cottington, who resigned for that purpose; lord Say, master of the wards; the earl of Essex governor, and Mr. Hampden tutor, to the prince of Wales: but the marquis of Hamilton, who had a great esteem for Strafford, whom Charles ardently wished to have preserved, persuaded the king that the delaying these promotions would be a strong bait in Strafford's favour, or that it was necessary to make some previous terms before the vacancies were filled up, for securing his life. This advice was fatally followed, and blasted the whole scheme: thus Charles lost the opportunity of at least making the opposition easy, by those popular acts, for that time, if not for ever.

The sops with-held from the Cerberusses of the party, and the sacrifices Charles had already made, did not one moment retard the prosecution of Strafford. That nobleman was considered as the chief support of the prerogative; the commons looked upon him as an apostate; the Scots, as the implacable and avowed enemy of their country. On the thirtieth of January, twenty-eight fresh articles had been given in against the earl, the particulars of which are foreign to a general history; it is sufficient to say, that they charged him with having exercised illegal power and oppressions in many instances, both as president of the North and as lord lieutenant of Ireland; with having been the cause of the war with the Scots (whom the commons had lately ordered to be styled on all occasions "our brethren of Scotland"), against whom he had unjustly irritated his majesty; with having levied an army of Irish papists to enslave the kingdom; and with having advised the king to establish an absolute government on the ruin of the constitution.

Westminster-hall was formed into a large court of judicature for the important trial; the earl of Arundel presided as high-steward, the peers sat in their robes as judges, the commons appeared as accusers, on which account it was determined that the impeachment should be managed by commoners: these were George lord Digby, (an Irish peer), John Hampden, esq. John Pym, esq. Oliver St. John, esq. sir Walter Erle, knight, Geoffrey Palmer, esq. John Maynard, esq. and John Glynn, esq. Whitlock was appointed chairman of this committee: we must not forget that the bishops declined being present, agreeable to the canon law, which forbids their assisting at any trial for life: at the upper end of the hall was a chair and cloth of state for the king, and on each side a close gallery, in which his majesty and the queen sat in private. The trial began on the twenty-second of March: the articles of accusation were enforced with all the virulence of malice. The earl behaved with great dignity, courage, and composure; his defence was noble, spirited, and effectual; he acquitted himself of every accusation, except a few acrimonious expressions, and some instances of indiscretion, which ought to have been forgiven, as the infirmities of human nature. Nothing had appeared against him to justify the charge of treason,

when, on the twelfth of April, Pym produced in the house of commons a paper of some notes taken by secretary Vane, of opinions delivered at the council-table. Young Vane pretended he had found them by accident in his father's cabinet; and, as they were thought to bear testimony against the earl, his accusers the next day read them openly at his trial. They were entitled "No danger of a war with Scotland, if offensive, not defensive." The earl had advised the king to borrow a sum of money: he said his majesty was absolved by all rules of government, as having tried all legal ways, and been repulsed; and that he had an army in Ireland, which he might employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience. The earl, in his defence, observed "that it was hard measure to be prosecuted, under the notion of treason, for opinions given in council: that his using the expression 'this kingdom' was not proved; as the marquis of Hamilton, the earl of Northumberland, the lord-treasurer, and the lord Cottington, who were present at the board, declared upon their honours that they never heard him speak such words. But, granting he had used the expression, the word *this* could not rationally imply England, which had not been guilty of disobedience; but Scotland, which was the immediate object of their deliberation, and in a state of actual rebellion." After making this answer, he re-capitulated the several parts of his former defence, and in his conclusion said, "My lords, I have troubled you longer than I should have done, were it not for the interest of these dear pledges a saint in heaven hath left me." Here he made a pause, pointing to his children and shedding some tears: then proceeded in these words; "What I forfeit myself, is nothing; but that my indiscretion should extend to my posterity, woundeth me to the very soul.—You will pardon my infirmity: something I should have added, but am not able, so therefore let it pass.—And now, my lords, for myself; I have been taught, by the blessings of the Almighty God, that the afflictions of this present life are not to be compared to the eternal weight of glory which will be revealed hereafter; and so, my lords, even so, with all tranquility of mind I freely submit myself to your judgment; be it life or death, *Te Deum laudamus*." The very chairman of the committee says, this great and good person spoke with such pathetic grace and eloquence as moved the hearts of all his auditors (a few excepted) to pity and remorse.

The accusation and defence lasted eighteen days: Strafford, in his replies was obliged to reserve a seeming respect for his most implacable enemies, the Scottish nation and the Irish parliament. He took only a short time to answer each article urged against him, yet he made such a noble and satisfactory defence, that the commons saw it impossible, by a legal prosecution, ever to attain their purpose against him. But the death of Strafford was considered as a matter of too great importance to be left unaccomplished. A bill of attainder was therefore introduced into the lower-house immediately after the conclusion of this pleadings, which passed the house on the twenty-first of April, after very warm debates, fifty-nine votes only dissenting, and was immediately sent up to the lords. On the first of May the king went to the house of peers, and, in a speech, earnestly requested both houses that

they would not proceed severely against the earl of Strafford, whom, in his own conscience, he said, he could not condemn of high-treason; but declared at the same time, that, for his misdemeanors, he should never serve him or the kingdom in any place of trust, "no not so much as a constable."

This speech was highly offensive to those who thirsted for the blood of this nobleman; and they were so hot in the pursuit of their designs, that the commons voted it a breach of privilege for the king to take notice of any bill depending before the house. At the same time they employed their emissaries without doors to spread about the city, and other parts of the town, papers containing the names of the fifty-nine members who voted against the bill of attainder: those names were affixed to public places, under the denomination of Straffordians and betrayers of their country, and thus exposed to the fury of the ungoverned multitude, made at this time so mad and violent, that, on the third of May, vast numbers from the city appeared at Westminster, armed with swords and cudgels, crying aloud for justice against the earl of Strafford; and such as were suspected of attachment to that unfortunate nobleman, were afraid to appear in public. About eighty peers had constantly been present at Strafford's trial, but so much were they intimidated by the popular tumults, that only forty-nine were in the house of lords when the bill of attainder was introduced; yet even nineteen of these had the courage to vote against it: a strong presumption that, had liberty of debate been allowed, the bill would have been rejected by a great majority. A new discovery, made about this time, increased still farther the fury of the people, and hastened the fate of the devoted Strafford: some principal officers of the king's army, partly from their attachment to the crown, and partly from an aversion to the parliament, had formed a plan for engaging into the king's service the troops under their command; with this view they entered into an association, bound themselves by an oath of secrecy, and maintained a close correspondence with the king's servants: the form of a petition to the king and parliament was composed, and it was resolved to procure the subscription of the army to this petition, in which, after representing the great danger to which the ancient constitution of the kingdom was subject, by the insolent proceedings of certain factious and turbulent spirits, the army offered to come up and protect his majesty and the parliament, "so shall the nation (as they allege in conclusion) not only be vindicated from present innovations, but be secured from the future which are threatened, and which are likely to be more pernicious than the former." The draught of this petition was transmitted to the king, who unhappily was persuaded to countersign it, as a mark of his approbation. One of the parties concerned (Goring), imagining the affair could not be kept long a secret, discovered the whole to the lords Newport and Dungarvon, and they to Pym, who instantly imparted the matter to the house. This discovery could not fail to excite the most violent indignation among the people. It was now given out that there was a wicked concert, a most dreadful plot, between the court and the army, to cut the throats of the parliament, and of all those who stood up for their liberties. The puritanical faction among the commons naturally improved this

singular

singular advantage: they instantly got the house to vote, that a protestation should be signed by all the members, to maintain the protestant religion against popery, to defend the king's person, the power of parliament, and the rights and liberties of the subject; and the commons, by their sole authority, issued orders that it should be subscribed by the whole nation.

It is incredible with what alacrity this protestation was taken, and what a spirit it raised against the earl of Strafford. A bill was next brought in for continuing this parliament, which should not be prorogued, adjourned, or dissolved without the consent of both houses, until the grievances should be redressed; but have credit to take up money. There can be no doubt, that by this bill the parliament dissolved the constitution, and henceforward are with justice to be considered as a faction against the commonwealth. The same day (Friday May 5), the commons sent to the king, desiring access to him, which was granted; and, about four o'clock, they attended in the Banqueting-house, at Whitehall, where they presented to him the bill of attainder against the earl of Strafford, and that for the continuance of the parliament, with an intimation that the present state of the kingdom would not admit of delay; and therefore they humbly besought him to give the royal assent to those bills: the king told them they might expect his answer on Monday, and so dismissed them.

Where ever the king turned his eyes he saw no remedy nor relief: his case, it is certain, called aloud for pity; he was racked with the pangs of conscience, about putting to death a minister whom he had esteemed, and whom he believed to be innocent; not a counsellor about him, Juxon excepted, had the courage to speak their mind, and all concurred in maintaining (a most manifest falsehood) that the king ought to satisfy his people in this demand, which would, it was presumed, finally content them. The good bishop, with a virtuous resolution, becoming the sacred character he bore, advised the king, if in his conscience he thought the bill unjust, by no means to give his assent to it. Strafford, informed of the extreme peplexity his royal master was in, carried his loyalty to such a height as to write a letter to the king exhorting him to consent to his death. "In this (said he) my consent will more acquit your majesty to God, than all the world can do besides. To a willing mind there is no injury. And as, by God's grace, I freely forgive all the world, with a calmness and meekness of infinite contentment to my departing soul; so, sir, to you, I can resign the life of this world with the utmost cheerfulness, in the just sense of your many, great, and exceeding favours." Charles had the weakness to take this trusty servant at his word, and he assented to pass the act, though he thought he was doing what merited eternal reproach here, and the vengeance of a just God hereafter; for it appeared that Charles, notwithstanding his passing the bill, had violent pangs about Strafford, since we find that, on the tenth of May, he sent the prince of Wales to the house of peers with a letter, in which he enjoined them to interpose their good offices with the commons, in order to procure a mitigation of Strafford's sentence, or at least a short delay; but, to the indelible disgrace of loyalty, humanity, and

every social or religious virtue; both his requests were flatly refused: could he, indeed, expect any other from the spirit of that opposition? A committee of twelve lords was appointed to satisfy the king, that even a delay of this illustrious criminal's execution would endanger his own and his family's safety; and Charles, with a reluctance to be felt but not described, yielded to the necessity of the juncture, and it was resolved that the earl should die on the twelfth of May.

He was assisted in his last moments by archbishop Usher, but was barbarously denied the comfort of speaking with Laud; and on the day appointed was brought to Tower-hill, where his head was cut off. It is hard to say whether he shewed himself more pious or brave in his death, or whether he was more blameable or laudable in his life; but it is certain, that, however great his personal failings or political demerits were, the abilities and virtues he possessed, with the penalty of his head which he paid, ought to claim the pity of impartial posterity for his fate, which, to his dying day, sat heavy upon his royal master. Even a few weeks after Strafford's execution, this very parliament, as if conscious of the iniquity, at least illegality, of his sentence, passed an act for restoring his children in blood and honour, and invested them with the possessions of their father's estates.

The commons having thus, by the death of the earl of Strafford, removed the grand obstacle, as they imagined, to their intended reformation of the state, proceeded to prosecute their projected plan with the utmost industry and vigour. All the taxes which the king had imposed, the Star-chamber and High-commission court, the extension of the forests, and the practice of imprisoning those who refused to comply with such impositions, were voted contrary to law, and the greater part of monopolies suppressed. The judges had hitherto enjoyed their patents only during his majesty's pleasure; the commons now petitioned the king to grant them patents during their good behaviour: and Charles was persuaded to comply with their request. The marshal's-court, which took cognizance of offensive words, and was extremely arbitrary in its proceedings, was for that reason, suppressed. The stannary courts, which exercised jurisdiction over the miners of Cornwall, being liable to a like objection, underwent the like fate. The council in the North, and that of Wales, were both abolished on the same principles. The authority of the clerk of the market, who had a right to inspect all the weights and measures throughout the kingdom, was transferred to the mayor, sheriffs, and ordinary magistrates. In a word, if we examine the proceedings of this memorable parliament during the first period of its operations, we shall find that we are indebted to it for many valuable liberties we enjoy at this day.

The treaty with the Scots being brought to a conclusion, Charles allowed the parliament of Scotland to assemble, and declared his intention of assisting at it in person. The commons, suspecting that he designed to put himself at the head of his army in the North, on pretence of his visiting his kingdom of Scotland, demanded a conference with the lords, and proposed that both armies should be disbanded before his departure, which the king at their request, postponed till the tenth of August,

Both.

Both were accordingly disbanded at the same time, and the Scots returned to their own country, very well satisfied with their expedition. Then the king set out on his journey; but their distrust still subsisting, the parliament proposed that a committee from both houses should attend the king in Scotland, on pretence of conferring with the Scottish parliament, though in reality to be spies upon his majesty's conduct. The earl of Bedford being nominated as one of the peers, declined the office, so that lord Howard of Escrick was the only member of that house who undertook the journey; and of the commons the committee consisted of Nathaniel Fiennes, sir William Armye, sir Philip Stapleton, and John Hampden. The commons still continued sitting, and took several grievances into consideration; then they resolved to adjourn from the ninth of September to the twentieth of October. This resolution was no sooner taken, than a great number of members from both houses retired to the country; and some rigid presbyterians took this opportunity to propose an alteration in the Book of Common Prayer, which was so vigorously defended by Mr. Hyde (afterwards earl of Clarendon), that no step was taken on the subject. The lords, during this dispute, voted that the Common Prayer should be used without any alteration. This vote produced a conference between the houses: the commons desired the lords would concur with them in publishing a declaration for suppressing all the late innovations in the church, and all diversions on the Lord's Day. The lords, on the other hand, demanded the concurrence of the commons in publishing an order of their house, prohibiting all change in divine worship as established by law: the lower-house absolutely rejected this proposal, and ordered their declaration to be printed and published through the whole kingdom; they at the same time appointed a committee of forty-three members to manage affairs of importance during their adjournment; the lords established another for their house, and then the parliament adjourned to the twentieth of October.

The king, attended by the duke of Lenox, lately honoured with the additional title of duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hamilton, and lord Willoughby, set out for Scotland on the tenth of August. On his arrival at Edinburgh, he was received there with great demonstrations of affection by the people; and, in return for this reception, he confirmed not only the articles of the treaty between the two nations by act of parliament, but all his former concessions also, and all such things as had been transacted by them in their general assemblies; and likewise, the more effectually to gain their esteem, he conferred titles of honour and dignity on some, and places of power, trust, and profit, on others; amongst these the marquis of Hamilton was created duke of Hamilton; and general Lesly was created earl of Leven, who was so transported with the sense of the king's favour and bounty to him, that he often protested, and once, at Perth, upon his knees, in the house of the earl of Kinnoul, that he would never bear arms against the king.

A while after, some information was given to the marquisses of Hamilton and Argyll, that there was some design upon their persons, which made them for some few days withdraw themselves from the parliament and retire from Edinburgh: but

their persons were of such quality and estimation in Scotland, that great pains were taken to discover the grounds thereof; and, after full examination by the parliament, they themselves and the great council were satisfied, that the information given to them could not be made good to the proof of any design against their persons; but the king, who was a little reflected upon in the first information, could not conceal his resentment of this carriage in Hamilton; and when he delivered his patent to the duke in parliament (according to the custom of that nation), he told him he had not deserved to be mistrusted by him, for he knew well, when he was accused to him of high-treason, he permitted him even to be in his bed-chamber. This reproof made no great impression upon the new duke, though he seemed outwardly much troubled for having given the king so just a cause of displeasure; yet, upon the first report of the business at London (without staying to hear the opinion of the parliament of Scotland, who had fully examined it) strange interpretations were made upon the matter, as highly and nearly concerning the peace of England; and a sudden resolution was taken, first by the committee during the recess, and after by the parliament, to have a guard for the defence of London and Westminster; and both houses of parliament instilled fresh apprehensions of danger into the minds of the people, when they were so lately freed from the fears of two armies.

While Charles resided in Scotland, he employed all his time and endeavours to compose the troubles of that kingdom; and he was now preparing to return to England, in order to perfect the same salutary work here, when he received intelligence of a rebellion which had broke out in Ireland. The catholics of that country thought they had found the fairest opportunity of shaking off the English yoke; and religion and liberty, those two sources of the greatest actions, hurried them into a design the most cruel history hath recorded. They plotted to rise throughout all the provinces in one day, and murder every protestant in the kingdom, after having surprized the castle of Dublin, which, though the grand magazine of the kingdom, and a place of such importance, was provided with no more than fifty men for its garrison. The execution of this scheme was delayed till the approach of winter, that there might be greater difficulty of transporting troops from England. Cardinal Richelieu had promised the conspirators a considerable supply of men and money, and many Irish officers had given assurance that they would heartily concur with their catholic brethren as soon as an insurrection should be raised. The design upon the castle of Dublin, which was to have been put in execution the twenty-third of October, was prevented by a timely discovery of the plot to the two lord-justices, the very night only before; and thus the capital was preserved; but the bloody part of the conspiracy was past prevention, for the conspirators were in arms the day affixed in all the counties of the kingdom, and actually massacred upwards of forty thousand defenceless protestants. It would shock the feelings of humanity to describe the particulars of this bloody tragedy; it may suffice to say, that death was the slightest punishment which those bigoted and blood-thirsty catholics inflicted upon the unhappy protestant victims.

Charles

Charles received intelligence of this insurrection by a messenger dispatched from the North of Ireland. He forthwith imparted the matter to the Scottish parliament, and demanded immediate succours for the suppression of the rebels, but the Scots referred the business to the English parliament, alleging, with justice, that Ireland depended upon England, who would undoubtedly provide for its security. The king therefore returned in haste to London, where, to his infinite mortification, he found that the Irish catholics, in excuse for this barbarous massacre, pretended to have received a commission from the king himself to take up arms; and thus Charles, who was soliciting assistance against them, both from his English and Scottish subjects, saw himself accused of the crime he was endeavouring to punish. The frenzy of the Irish gave their enemies infinite advantage: had they applied to Charles for relief from their grievances, had they drawn the sword in the just defence of those natural liberties, which no difference between papists and protestants ought to affect, and had they not at once rushed into barbarities which no provocation can justify, Charles might have found an asylum in them, and they a protector in him: for though I am as strongly convinced as any the most zealous partizans of that monarch's memory, that he detested the massacre of innocents that had been committed, yet I am entirely satisfied that he did not at all in his heart disapprove of their taking up arms upon the principles they professed: if they could have submitted to have been directed by him, I am farther of opinion, that, had they not put off the characters of men, he would have thought a public indulgence in matters either of religion or liberty, much safer with a papist than a puritan or presbyterian.

The king arrived in London on the twenty-fifth of November. The house of commons thinking, or at least pretending to think, that he was concerned in the Irish rebellion, sent but very slender supplies of men and money to that kingdom; and at the same time resuming the dispositions in which they had parted, they discovered in every vote their determined resolution to extend their own authority, and to abridge the power of the sovereign; and this they thought could not be so effectually brought about as by exasperating the people against the government. With this view, a few days after his arrival from Scotland, they presented to him at Hampton-court, that remonstrance which has made so much noise, and which was soon after productive of the most important consequences: it was not addressed to the king, but was plainly declared to be an appeal to the people; and the severity of the matter was exceeded only by the acrimony of the style. It was, indeed, a recapitulation of all the wrong measures and provoking steps that Charles had committed ever since the commencement of his reign, for which he had so severely atoned by the concessions he made, and the mortifications he had undergone. Amongst other things, they pointed strongly against the popish lords and the English prelates in the house of peers, to whom they attributed all the difficulties they met with from the peers in their measures. In conclusion, they petitioned the king for farther restraints and punishments upon the papists and their favourers; and they told him plainly, that unless he made use

of such ministers, both at home and abroad, as they could confide in, they would give him no support: they even let his majesty know, that he was to guess at their meaning, though they neither named nor impeached persons; and that it was enough to disqualify any man for his service if they distrusted him, or if he had ever been known to defend or countenance those who had been questioned in parliament.

Had all the oppressions complained of here still continued under Charles, this remonstrance had been the bravest and wisest measure that any parliament ever pursued, and must have done immortal honour to its framers; but as all those grievances had been already redressed; as the land-marks of the constitution had now been refixed; as Charles had been as liberal in granting, as his subjects had been importunate in asking: all this, I say, being the case, what can any unprejudiced person imagine the true end of this remonstrance to be? The answer is obvious! No wonder, therefore, that an appeal of such an invidious and malignant nature, should meet with a strong opposition in the house of commons, where it passed by a majority of only eleven, viz. one hundred and fifty-nine against one hundred and forty-eight. Indeed it was easy to see that the road must now divide, and that the well and the ill intentioned could no longer journey together. The proceedings of the opposition were very distasteful to many of their own friends in the house, who began more and more to mistrust their intentions. Mr. Capel, member for Hertfordshire, a person of great integrity and authority in parliament, had been very warm in the opposition, and had been as forward as any gentleman in the house for removing the real grievances of his country: the like may be said of the lords Falkland and Digby, sir John Culpepper, Mr. Hyde, and many others, whose concurrence against the court had given vast credit to the opposition. But they now thought the king had gone as far as in prudence, and perhaps farther than in duty, they could require, and that opposition ought to cease. They made no secret of these sentiments, and Mr. Capel had been called up to the house of peers; treaties were likewise on foot with many other noblemen and gentlemen, who were quite wearied out by the incroachments of the faction, but none had yet the courage, the lord Digby excepted, to break with the faction in the house of commons. It is said that Oliver Cromwell, who was at this time a member of the house, declared, that if the remonstrance did not pass, he would sell the little estate he had, and retire from England. I take notice of this speech, only to prove that this extraordinary man was then an enthusiast for that liberty which his ambition afterwards trampled upon.

When this remonstrance was presented to Charles, he received it with some impatience, but with great politeness and civility. It is remarkable, that it was carried to the king by sir Ralph Hopton, who became afterwards so great a convert to his cause. But the faction thought they could not completely effect their ends, unless they could have the bishops out of the upper-house: they easily stirred up the populace to their purpose, who filled the whole city with sedition, and, assembling in great multitudes before the house of lords, exclaimed "No bishops! no bishops!" Twelve prelates,

lates, intimidated by those riotous proceedings, resolved to retire, after subscribing a protest against all laws, votes, and resolutions which should be made in their absence. The lords, upon receiving this protest, committed them to the Tower; upon which the rest of the bishops afterwards withdrew from the house. The tumults about Whitehall became every day more violent and outrageous, in so much that the royal person itself seemed in danger from the mad licentiousness of the mob. In this scene of anarchy and confusion, some reduced officers, and gentlemen of the inns of court, offered their service to his majesty. Between them and the rabble there happened frequent skirmishes, which were sometimes attended with bloodshed. By way of reproach, these gentlemen stigmatized the rabble with the appellation of Roundheads, on account of the short, cropt hair, which they wore; and these, in return, gave the others the name of Cavaliers: and thus the nation, which was before sufficiently exasperated, as well by civil as religious quarrels, was likewise provided with party-names, under which the opposite leaders might range their adherents, and signalize their mutual hatred and resentment. The countenance which Charles gave to the disbanded officers to oppose the insults of the mob, proved a fatal measure to him, as it gave the commons an handle for publicly encouraging the tumults, and for making a formal demand to the king for a guard, commanded by the earl of Essex, to be set over the parliament. The king refusing the demand of a guard, they appointed a committee to sit at Guildhall, the center of the factious rout that now protected them. A few days afterwards the king committed another indiscretion, which was attended with more fatal and dangerous consequences; an indiscretion which, if it did not absolutely cause, at least greatly, accelerated all the disorders and civil wars in which the kingdom was soon after involved. Lord Digby, a man of great abilities, but of a warm and passionate disposition, shocked at the growing insolence of the opposition, represented to Charles, that if he exerted the authority, and displayed the majesty of a monarch, his insolent subjects would instantly shrink before him: the queen, and some of the courtiers, enforced this topic; and Charles, who, though commonly moderate in his temper, was ever indeed too hasty, and had moreover lately received insults, that no private gentleman, much less so great a prince, could well bear with patience, at last yielded to the fatal importunity of his friends and servants. He was encouraged to think that he could give the last blow to the popularity of the faction by producing evidences of their inviting the Scots to invade England; accordingly, on the third of January, 1642, Herbert, attorney-general, at the clerk's table in the house of peers, presented the following articles of high-treason against the lord Kimbolton and five commoners (the most active of those in the opposition), Mr. Denzil Holles, sir Arthur Haslerigg, Mr. John Pym, Mr. John Hampden, and Mr. William Strode. The articles exhibited against them were these:

"I. That they have traitorously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom of England; to deprive the king of his royal power, and to place in the subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical power over the lives, liberties, and estates of his majesty's liege people.

"II. That they have traitorously endeavoured, by many foul assertions upon his majesty and his government, to alienate the affections of his people, and to make his majesty odious to them.

"III. That they have endeavoured to draw his majesty's late army to disobedience to his majesty's command, and to side with them in their traitorous designs.

"IV. That they have traitorously invited and encouraged a foreign power to invade his majesty's kingdom of England.

"V. That they have traitorously endeavoured to subvert the rights and very being of parliaments.

"VI. That for completing of their traitorous designs, they have endeavoured, so far as in them lay, by force and terror, to compel the parliament to join with them in their traitorous designs; and to that end have actually raised and countenanced tumults against the king and parliament.

"VII. And that they have traitorously conspired to levy, and actually have levied war against the king."

The king seconded this attack, by another still more rash and inconsiderate: a serjeant at arms repaired to the house of commons, and demanded, in the king's name, the five impeached members; but he was dismissed without any positive answer: messengers were ordered to search for, and apprehend them; their trunks, chambers, and lodgings were sealed and locked. The house declared all these proceedings to be a breach of privilege; and enjoined every one to defend the liberty of the members. The lords concurred with the commons in these resolutions. Charles, stung with the united intention of the two houses, did the most unadvised thing that, perhaps, had ever been done by a king of England; he determined to support what he had begun, by one vigorous stroke of authority: unhappily, he forgot that this was a conjuncture in which he ought not to expose that authority to any new affront. He went the next day, attended by his ordinary retinue, consisting of about two hundred persons, armed as usual, some with halberts, others with small arms; and, leaving them at the door, advanced alone through the hall, while all the members stood up to receive him; and seating himself in the speaker's chair, he, in a speech he made to the house, insisted upon their delivering up the five members he had impeached; but looking round, and not seeing the accused persons, who had previously withdrawn themselves, he concluded his speech with telling the house, that since the birds were flown, he expected, as soon as they did come to the house, they should be sent to him, "otherwise, said he, I must tell you, that I shall take my own courses to find them."

It is impossible to describe the fury into which this act of Charles threw the house; the roof resounded with the cry of, Privilege! Privilege! Charles, like a bewildered person, who knows not whither to turn himself, went that same afternoon to Guildhall, in order to demand assistance of the city: the common-council, instead of complying with his desire, the next day presented a remonstrance against himself. On the eighth of January a new committee was appointed to sit at Guildhall; and this, perhaps, was the most masterly stroke of the party, because it increased the panic of the public, as if the members were not safe without the

King Charles 1.st in the House of Commons, demanding the five Members.



To his Grace
Duke of
This Plate is most



William Bentinck,
Portland.
humbly Inscribed.

the city. This committee, in which all who should come were to have voices, made strict scrutiny into every circumstance attending the king's entrance into the house: every passionate expression, every menacing look and gesture of any, even the meanest, of his attendants, was represented in the blackest and most odious colours; and an intention was thence inferred of offering violence to the parliament, of arresting the impeached members in the very house, and of murdering all those who should make any resistance; and they immediately produced a paper to be voted, as it was by the whole house, declaring the late act of the king to be "an high breach of the rights and privileges of parliament; and that the house cannot, with safety to their own persons, or regard to the said rights and privileges, continue to sit there any longer, without full satisfaction being made to them for this insult." Public directions were at the same time given for drawing down the trainbands of the city to Westminster on the second of January, to guard and bring in triumph the persons of the accused members (who had taken shelter in the city), as such worthy patriots that the commonwealth, at present, could not subsist independent of them.

The king being informed of these proceedings, and thinking his wife's, his children's, and his own life, in danger from the enraged multitude, took the fatal resolution of removing from Whitehall to Hampton-court, with his queen and family, which he did on the afternoon of Monday the tenth of January; and now, become sensible of the extreme folly of his late conduct, and dreading the farther effects of popular resentment, he endeavoured, if possible, to repair his errors, and to atone for the wrong step he had taken, and which he found himself incapable of supporting. He accordingly sent a message to the commons on Wednesday the twelfth of January, giving them to understand, "That he desisted from his prosecution of the five members, and that he would be as careful of the privileges of parliament as of his life or crown." He likewise, on the twentieth following, sent another message to parliament, desiring them "to digest into one body all the grievances of the kingdom, and to send them to him, promising his favourable assent to those means which should be found most effectual for redress; wherein he would not only equal, but exceed the most indulgent prince." There surely cannot, with any man of candour or common sense, remain the least doubt that these concessions were more than sufficient to have quieted the apprehensions of men whose inclinations were peaceable; but, unhappily, Charles had, by the violence of his former conduct, rendered himself odious to his parliament, and his present concession made them despise him.

The commons began now to take the whole management of the kingdom into their own hands; they ordered the governors of Hull and Portsmouth, to admit no man into those towns or forts, without an order signed by the parliament; they assumed the regal power of disposing the militia, and trained-bands of the city of London, and even to name lord-lieutenants for the several counties, nay, so much as the captains that were appointed to command the ships of war. During this confusion, the rebellion in Ireland triumphed over the

weak opposition which had been made to it; and the insurgents, reeking with the blood of their countrymen, carried on their barbarities under the king's name, and that of the queen his consort, especially the latter, as she was a catholic. Both houses now proposed to raise the militia, but, at the same time, insisted that it should be commanded by such officers only as they should nominate. Charles was now come from Hampton court to Greenwich, where the earls of Pembroke and Holland waited on him with a thundering declaration of the parliament, which consisted of a preamble of the cause of the present distractions, and the remedies for them, and in which they treated the king with their usual insolence. This declaration was delivered to him on the fifteenth of March; and the next day he delivered his full answer, in which he endeavoured to exculpate himself of the charge urged against him, and concluded with the following pathetic expression: "God so deal with me and mine, as all my thoughts and intentions are upright for the maintenance of the true protestant religion, and for the observation and preservation of the laws of this land; and I hope God will bless and assert these laws for my preservation."

The two earls, upon the king's delivering his answer, renewed their request, but all in vain, that he should come nearer his parliament; and the earl of Pembroke pressed him to grant the militia, as was desired by the parliament, for a time. "By God (replied Charles), not for an hour: you have asked that of me, in this, which was never asked of any king; and with which, I would not trust my wife and children." Charles then reproached the parliament for their conduct in the affairs of Ireland, and said that "had he been trusted with the management of them, he would have pawned his head to have finished that work; and though I am a beggar myself, concluded he, I can find money for that."

In the foregoing month of February, Charles's queen, Henrietta of France, daughter to Henry IV. had gone over to Holland, on pretence of accompanying her daughter, the princess Mary, to the prince of Orange, her husband; but, in reality, to solicit succours from that state, in case of emergency; as it was pretty evident, from the proceedings on both sides, that the appeal must soon be made to arms: she negotiated likewise at the northern courts; in a word, she sought every where for assistance, except in her own country, where cardinal Richelieu, her avowed enemy, and the king, her brother, were both dying. But to return.

Charles, now that he apprehended nothing from his queen, answered the numerous declarations, messages, and the like, that he was plied with from the parliament, with a spirit that drove the two houses into new perplexities; and having sent for the prince of Wales and the duke of York to come to him, he set out for York, which he was resolved for some time to make the place of his residence, till the tumults in his capital were somewhat subsided. Hither the principal nobility and gentry repaired from all quarters of England, to pay their respects to their sovereign, and to promise him their aid and assistance. As some ill meaning or ill informed historians of those times have, with an air of confidence, asserted, that all

the people of the kingdom were enemies to the king, except some officers of the army, the bishops, the catholics, and those who had been engaged in the Gunpowder-plot, we think it necessary to refute the calumny, by enumerating the principal persons who attended Charles at York, and declared in his favour: these were, lord Littleton, keeper of the seals, the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Southampton, Devonshire, Clare, Monmouth, Caernarvon, Cumberland, Salisbury, Cambridge, Westmoreland, Rivers, Newport, Lindsey, Bath, Dorset, Northampton, Bristol, Berkshire, and Dover; the lords Falkland, Newark, Rich, Coventry, Capel, Grey of Ruthven, Pawlett, Saville, Dunsmore, Mowbray, Maltravers, Howard of Carleton, Lovelace, Mohun, and Seymour. Many other noblemen were employed in behalf of the royal cause, in different parts of the kingdom; a great number of the most powerful commoners espoused it; and it was supported by the two universities: all in general, whose manners were polished, and whose minds were enlarged by a liberal education, adhered to the king. The opposite faction consisted of those whom the court had personally disobliged; of such as wanted to fish in troubled waters; of republicans and dissenters, comprehending a great number of corporations, manufacturers, and the lower class of people, inflamed with the spirit of fanaticism.

The civil war was not yet declared. The parliament had, by its own authority, appointed one sir John Hotham governor of Hull, a fortress on the sea-coast of Yorkshire, and which had, for a long time been a magazine for arms and ammunition: on the twenty-second of April, Charles, attended with three hundred horse, came before the place, and prepared to enter; but Hotham refused to open the gates of his garrison to admit him. At first he sent Charles a respectful message, desiring him not to approach; but his majesty continuing to advance, Hotham ordered the bridge to be drawn up, the gates to be shut, and the garrison to be drawn out in a posture of resistance. When Charles came near enough to be heard on the walls, he called for Hotham, and demanded entrance, which Hotham refused, under pretext of his being appointed to that trust by the authority of parliament. It was in vain for Charles to repeat the demand of admittance; all he could obtain, was that his son and friends in the place should be sent out to him; for the governor would not admit him, though he offered to reduce his train to twenty persons: and when he had tarried upwards of five hours before the place, he retired, about four o'clock in the afternoon, to Beverley, after proclaiming Hotham a traitor by two heralds at arms.

I shall not attempt to trouble the reader with those papers which flew between Charles and his parliament, after the former had demanded from the latter justice upon Hotham; it is sufficient to say that Hotham was not only vindicated, but rewarded for what he had done; and we are from this period to date the actual commencement of that unhappy civil war which afterwards followed.

The nation was at this time in a very miserable situation. The king issued out commissions of array all over the kingdom, and the execution of them was voted to be treasonable by the parliament.

The parliament made an ordinance, by which they took the militia into their own hands; and the execution of that was proclaimed to be treason by Charles: it was impossible for any man to be neutral between the two parties; but the parliament was amazed to find themselves mistaken in their own strength, and that so great a part of the kingdom held with Charles. Lord-keeper Littleton, when he repaired to the king at York, had brought with him the great-seal of England, without which it was supposed there could be no law enacted: however, the parliament continued to enact laws, which were obeyed by their partizans as effectually as if they had the royal sanction. The proceedings of the two parties being thus incompatible, both sides made themselves ready to decide the contest by force of arms. A little before, the parliament had sent to Charles nineteen propositions, which containing such demands as no crowned heads could accede to, he rejected; and, in a declaration he published, wrote such an answer as must have satisfied every person whose judgment was not biased by rancour and prepossession: but he had to deal with a set of men who had planned a total revolution of government, and who had proceeded too far in this design to recede with safety; for this reason, they no sooner received the king's answer, than they issued a declaration, representing the absolute necessity of putting themselves in a posture of defence against the violent designs of the king. They ordered an army to be raised for their defence, the command of which they gave to the earl of Essex, and they voted the earl of Bedford to be general of the horse; but both these and the other officers were to be under the inspection of a committee of the two houses, who were to fill up all commissions. Great names were engaged on their side: Hampden, Whitlock, Maynard, Grimston, St. John, and Selden, all of them great authorities in the law and constitution, accepted of parliament's commissions under the ordinance of the militia; but the great weight of landed interest operated for the king. Charles was furnished with money from the queen, on the jewels she had sold or pawned: but the parliament had a much better resource in public credit, upon which great sums were raised on loan; and little hostilities were already commenced between the royal and parliamentary party all over England. Luckily for the parliament, they had found means to get the important garrison of Portsmouth into their hands, and to secure the fleet; but Charles was baffled in an attempt to secure Hull, where the great magazine of arms still continued, and which, by a private concert between the lord Digby and Hotham, who now repented of his insolence to his sovereign, was to be delivered up to the king; but Hotham, either not having power or sincerity enough to perform his engagements, the matter came to nought.

On the first of August the king summoned the principal gentry of the county of York, and acquainted them with the parliament's preparations for war, and desired their advice and assistance: for the parliament had now published a declaration for the raising all power and force, by trained-bands or otherwise, to make head against all traitors and their adherents that opposed the parliament, and them to kill and slay as enemies to the peace of the kingdom; and in it they named

most of the king's lord lieutenants and commissioners of array in the several counties. The king then recommend to them the completing of a regiment for the prince; and that he might not be behind hand with the parliament, he published a proclamation, wherein the earl of Essex was pronounced a rebel and traitor to the king and crown; and all colonels and officers, authorized by the parliament, that should not instantly lay down their arms, were declared guilty of high-treason. To obviate this the parliament had declared, "that whosoever shall return from the king to the parliament's army, within ten days after publication, should have reception and pardon, excepting persons impeached of delinquency or treason, or such as have been eminent actors against them, and except the duke of Richmond, the earls of Bristol, Cumberland, Newcastle, Rivers, and Caernarvon, the viscounts Newark and Falkland, secretary Nicholas Endymion Porter, and Mr. Edward Hyde. The king hearing the parliament intended sending an army westward, gave commission, under the great-seal of England, to the marquis of Hertford to be his lieutenant-general within the counties of Devon, Cornwall, Somerset, Dorset, Wilts, Southampton, Berks, Oxford, Hereford, Monmouth, Radnor, Brecknock, Glamorgan, Caernarvon, Pembroke, and Cardigan; and sent to encourage colonel Goring, who commanded in Portsmouth at that time for him. Charles soon after left York, and nothing remarkable happened to him, excepting that the city of Coventry shut her gates against him and his troops; and, on the twenty-fifth of August, he set up his standard at Nottingham, but very few appeared, except a body of militia and about three hundred regular troops, and those very ill armed. Thus disappointed, he once more turned his thoughts to peace, and sent a message to the two houses by the earls of Southampton and Dorset, and some other gentlemen, in order to a treaty of accommodation. In this message the king signified, "that many mistakes had arisen by the messages, petitions, and answers, between him and the two houses of parliament, which might be prevented by some other way of treaty, wherein the matters in difference might be more clearly understood, and more freely transacted; he proposed that a certain number of persons might be sent, and enabled by the parliament to treat, in some indifferent place, with a like number authorized by him." Charles then, in a very pathetic manner, disclaimed all intentions to injure his people's liberties, and lays the guilt at the door of the parliament, if they refuse his offer. The parliament returned for answer, that they could agree to no terms, unless he would immediately take down his standard and recal his proclamations against them by a certain day. And here the correspondence broke off. This negotiation, unsuccessful as it was, did Charles no small service; every one saw by what spirit the parliament was influenced: they had treated the earl of Southampton, and the other messengers from the king, with infinite indignity, and without paying even common civility to their persons. The purport of the king's message was sufficiently public; and the parliament, instead of thinking upon peace, ordered all their officers to repair to their respective posts immediately, and Essex himself set out with all haste to the army: this was not all, for they

published a most insolent declaration in vindication of their own conduct, and vilely aspersing the character of the king and his friends. This, with many other papers that continued to pass between the king and the parliament, turned the tide of popular affection strongly in favour of Charles, whose wants and weakness were inexpressible, while the parliament had in their hands all the revenues of the crown, his bishops, the dignitaries of the church, the friends of his person, and an uncontracted power of raising what money they pleased. The earl of Essex had now drawn his army together at Northampton, and found it to amount to about sixteen thousand men, well armed and well provided with artillery, cloaths, money, and in high spirits. Charles had sent sir John Byron into Oxfordshire, with a small party of horse, to bring him the plate which had been presented him by that university: the lord Hertford and the loyalists in the West at first had vast appearance of success; and he now received intelligence from all hands of great levies that were making for his service: this gave Charles some hopes amongst many discouragements, and at last he resolved to leave Nottingham, and to put the issue to the fate of arms.

On the appearance of troubles in England, the princes Rupert (or Robert) and Maurice, sons to the unhappy Palatine, had made a tender of their service to the king, and the former at this time commanded a body of horse, which had been sent to Worcester, in order to watch the motions of Essex, while the king set out upon his march for Shrewsbury, which, indeed, was the most convenient part of the kingdom for his rendezvous. While he was upon his march every hour brought him great accessions of strength; and when he arrived at Wellington, within a days march of Shrewsbury, he ordered his army to be drawn up, and on reviewing it, found it to amount to about ten thousand men. Lord Lindsey, who in his youth had learned the art of war in the Low Countries, was general; prince Rupert commanded the horse; sir John Astly, the foot; sir Arthur Aston, the dragoons; sir John Heydon, the artillery. The lord Bernard Stuart was at the head of a troop of guards; their servants, under the conduct of William Killegrew, composed another troop, and always marched with their masters. On this occasion Charles made to them a speech, so full of affectionate expressions, as rendered him to their thoughts an injured prince; and moved their compassion and loyalty so much, that they swore one and all to conquer or die in his cause. Some little time after his arrival at Shrewsbury, he received the news of an action, the first which had happened in these wars, and wherein his troops were successful.

The earl of Essex had by this time marched with his army towards Worcester, upon intelligence that the king himself intended to secure that place: luckily sir John Byron had first taken possession of that city for the king, in spite of the endeavours of captain Fiennes, who strove to dislodge him with some troops of the parliament and county-volunteers, with whom he assaulted the town on the western side of the Severn: while they were engaged, prince Rupert arrived, with his brother Maurice, and had scarce alighted when he perceived five hundred horse of Essex's army, commanded by

colonel Sandys, advancing through a defile just at hand: he and his company immediately mounted, and, with admirable courage and presence of mind, attacked the enemy just as they came out of the same, and totally routed them, with the loss of their commander and thirty men killed on the spot, and took several of their officers prisoners. The success of this first skirmish wonderfully spirited the royalists, and impressed the enemy with a terror of prince Rupert, who gave such an early proof of his extraordinary courage and bravery. The prince, after the engagement, threw himself into Worcester; but hearing that Essex was marching thither with his whole army, he quitted it, and retired to Ludlow, twenty miles from thence: nor was this intelligence ill founded, for, immediately after the prince's retreat, Essex came to Worcester with his army, where he continued a month: from whence he detached the earl of Stamford, with a party, to Hereford, in order to impede the king's levies in South Wales; and sent other detachments to take possession of Gloucester and Bristol. The parliament began now to apprehend the king's strength; for many began to appear for him in several parts of the kingdom: in the northern parts of Yorkshire, the marquis of Newcastle, the earl of Cumberland, sir Marmaduke Longdale, sir Francis Wortley, and many others, had raised a great number of soldiers; and were so powerful, that the lord Fairfax, sir Thomas Fairfax his son, sir John Hotham and his son captain Hotham, who had assembled some men for the service of the parliament, were not able to make head against them. In Cornwall, a body was forming under sir Bevil Grenville, and sir Nicholas Stanning; and sir Ralph Hopton, a gentleman of good conduct and courage, was hastening to them, to assist in their levies: and many others in several parts of the kingdom were arming on both sides. Whilst the affairs of England were in a military posture, Ireland was neglected: some few regiments were sent over from Scotland, and the earl of Leicester's regiment, under colonel Monk, from England, but in no proportion to the necessities of that kingdom; nevertheless they made many impressions upon their enemies in Leinster and Ulster, but Munster was but meanly supplied.

It was now about the middle of October when the king, having raised such an army as he thought would enable him to act upon the offensive, began his march from Shrewsbury towards London; and in two days after his departure, the earl of Essex put himself in motion to attack his rear. On the twenty-second of October the two armies were within six miles of each other; the king, having received intelligence that Essex had advanced to Kempton, a village on the borders of Warwickshire, drew up his army on Edge-hill, about two miles from the enemy, and on Sunday the twenty-

third of the month, gave the earl battle. The engagement, which was carried on with great bravery on both sides, lasted till night parted the combatants: the next day both parties claimed the victory, but neither seemed inclined to renew the battle. Essex, however, first drew off, and retired to Warwick; the king returned to his former quarters. Each side had now time to discover its loss, but it was greatest on the side of the parliament; and no less than five thousand are said to have fallen of both armies in the fight. The earl of Lindsey, whose son, the lord Willoughby, was taken prisoner in attempting to rescue his father, was carried in his wounds to a barn, where he expired with great magnanimity, and with high sentiments of the justice of the cause he died for, before the surgeons could arrive, whom the earl of Essex humanely sent to dress his wounds. The lord Aubigny, brother to the duke of Richmond, and sir Edward Verney, the king's standard-bearer, were likewise among the number of the slain, on the king's part, and several other officers, but none of distinction. On the side of the parliament were killed the lord St. John and colonel Essex, one of their officers. The chief prisoners on the king's side were the lord Willoughby, sir Thomas Lundsford, sir Edward Stradling, and sir William Vavasor: no gentleman of distinction, except sir William Essex, father to the colonel was taken prisoner by the king.

The news of this action reaching London, the commons and their adherents were at first greatly alarmed; but expresses arriving from the army soon convinced them that their cause had received but a slight check; nay, they even assumed the merit of the victory, and ordered public thanksgivings for the same. Their next step was to order the king's children to be removed from St. James's into the city; orders were given to fortify the neck of land over against Durham-house; and that the papists in Lancaster should be secured. An ordinance, both by the lords and commons, passed for providing a maintenance for the wounded soldiers, and the families of those who should be killed, in their service. The prisoners in and about London were confined more strictly than ever; and all shops were ordered to be shut up, that the shopkeepers and apprentices* might be at greater freedom to attend the defence of the kingdom.

After the royal army was sufficiently refreshed, it was again put in motion. A party of horse advanced to Reading, which Mr. Martin commanded for the parliament; at the approach of which, both the governor and garrison were seized with a sudden panic, and fled precipitately to London. Charles, imagining that every thing would now yield before him, conducted his whole army to Reading; and, in a few days after, advanced to Colnbrook. While he lay here, the parliament

* As the body of London apprentices are frequently mentioned in the history of these troubles, and also in the succeeding reign, as a formidable corps of militia, it may not be amiss to insert the following character of them, as drawn up by a modern historian. "The London apprentices were a set which gained great honour to their party at this juncture: those hot-beds of education, so common now-a-days, which ripen childhood into youth, and youth into manhood, were then but little known; and apprentices were young men from sixteen to twenty-four years of age, vigorous in their bodies, and unbroken in their constitution, through temperance, regular diet, and moderate exercise. They borrowed their notions of reli-

gion and government from their parents and masters: and the parliament had given them a manumission from their services in the shop, to encourage their appearing in the field: they had been for several months daily exercised by Skippon, major-general of the parliament forces, and were now become so familiar with the ideas of war, that they thought its greatest hazards, in what they imagined to be the defence of their country, to be preferable to the toils of the counter. A body of active, stout, young men, thus taught, thus fed, thus principled, and thus disciplined, was far from being that awkward contemptible enemy modern writers have represented."

sent a message to him, by the earls of Northumberland and Pembroke, with three commoners, requesting his majesty to fix on some convenient place for his residence near London, till commissioners should attend him, with proposals for healing the present unhappy breach between him and his parliament. Charles named Windsor; and required that the garrison should be withdrawn, and his own troops received into the castle. Northumberland, and the rest, immediately posted back with this answer; and, on his arrival at Westminster, prevailed with the parliament to write a letter to the king, intimating a cessation of arms on their part, and requiring the like on his; but it happened that same night (November 11) that Charles had dispatched the parliament's messengers, news was brought, that Essex had, by long and hasty marches, advanced with his army and artillery, and had possessed himself of Windsor, Hampton, and Acton; and that he was now fortifying himself in Brentford; which if he was suffered to do, the king's army would be so straitened, that it could neither make any motion, nor, indeed, subsist. Whereupon a council of war being called, prince Rupert was ordered to attack the parliament's regiments and works at Brentford, which he did with irresistible fury; and notwithstanding the noble resistance the regiment of Holles made, they were all cut off, drowned, wounded, or taken prisoners; and prince Rupert remained master of Brentford. Loud were the complaints raised against this attack by the parliament party, as being an instance of the most apparent perfidy, and a breach of the treaty then negotiating on both sides. Inspired with resentment, as well as concerned for its own safety, the city marched its trained-bands, in excellent order, to reinforce the army under Essex; who drew up his forces, now amounting to twenty-four thousand men, at Turnham-green*, to oppose the march of the king towards London, for which Charles was now preparing; but finding the number of the enemy so greatly superior to his own, he thought it most prudent to retire over the bridge at Kingston to Otlands, and from thence to Reading, where he left a good garrison; and then marched with his army to Oxford.

While matters passed thus in the neighbourhood of the capital, the king's forces in the North became very considerable; the earl of Newcastle and the earl of Cumberland having joined each other with their troops, made up a little army of eight thousand horse and foot, which were daily encreasing; so that lord Fairfax and his son, Sir Robert Fairfax, and others who commanded for the parliament in those parts, were not able to make head against them, especially after the arrival of colonel Goring at Newcastle, with a supply of two hundred men and ammunition from Holland. Upon this, Fairfax applied to the parliament for assistance, and they found means to engage the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, and the city of Norwich, in an association, to stand by them with their arms and fortunes; and the lord Grey, of Werk, received a commission from Es-

sex, appointing him commander in chief in those parts, with an authority to raise forces.

About the beginning of February, 1643, the queen landed from Holland, at Burlington bay, with a considerable supply of artillery, arms, and ammunition; and, very shortly after, set out again in quest of new succours. Sir Hugh Cholmley, who had the government of Scarborough for the parliament, declared for the king, and with him three hundred men of his garrison. Sir John Hotham also, and his son, were at this time inclined to play the double traitor, and desert the parliament's service; but their intentions being discovered, they were both seized at Hull, and sent up prisoners to London, where they afterwards paid the forfeit of their treasons with their lives. The parliament, having fortified Gloucester with a good garrison, thought of enlarging their quarters towards Oxford; and had, in order thereto, thrown a strong body of forces into Cirencester. Charles, not liking this neighbourhood, ordered prince Rupert, with four thousand horse and foot, to make himself, if possible, master of that town. That active commander readily undertook the service, and succeeded, by taking the town by storm, cutting in pieces a whole regiment of the parliament's forces, taking eleven hundred prisoners, about four thousand stands of arms, and the enemy's whole magazine. Notwithstanding this success, Charles still hoped to relieve the calamities of his people, and wished to recover his own broken fortune by an equitable peace, and therefore proposed a treaty to the parliament; to which, after many debates, they consented; and about the beginning of March, the earl of Northumberland, Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. William Armyne, Sir John Holland, and Mr. Bulstrode Whitlock, attended him at Oxford with propositions of peace; but they were dictated in such an arbitrary stile, and so debased the very essence of majesty, that they seemed to breathe the language of successful traitors, not the desires of patriotic or peaceful subjects. Charles, however, resolved to have them discussed; but he found the commissioners so straitened in time, and tied to such particular instructions by the two houses, that nothing could be brought about that could conduce to compose the reigning disorders of the commonwealth, without absolutely sacrificing the kingly character; insomuch, that, after many messages between London and Oxford, the commissioners returned to the parliament on the seventeenth of April; upon which, the earl of Essex was ordered to advance with his army to besiege the king's garrison in Reading.

Essex had under him twenty thousand fine well-appointed troops; the town was but indifferently fortified, and had in it a garrison of three thousand foot, and about three hundred horse, commanded by Sir Arthur Aston, and under him colonel Fielding. The largeness, and ill condition of the place, but, above all, the consumption of powder which its defence must require, and with which Charles was very ill provided, had given him some thoughts of drawing the garrison and magazines off to Oxford; but before this could be done, the

* We cannot here omit the oration major-general Skippon made at the head of his Londoners, to animate them, as it is so characteristic, both of the man and the spirit of the party: "Come my boys, says he, my brave boys, let us pray heartily and fight heartily; I will run the same fortunes and ha-

zards with you; remember the cause is for God, the defence of yourselves, your wives and children: come, my honest brave boys, let us pray heartily and fight heartily, and God will bless us."

place was invested by Essex. His approaches were so indifferently carried on, that the parliament's engineers appeared to be very little acquainted with the business of besieging towns. They had, however, such advantages by the situation of the place, that their cannon played directly into the town, and one of their shot disabled Aston, to the irreparable loss of the king, who was now preparing to relieve the place; but while he was upon his march, the garrison, under Fielding, who had succeeded Aston in command, after killing, in their sallies, a great number of parliamentarians, found themselves obliged to capitulate, and to deliver up the town; for which, Fielding was afterwards sentenced to lose his head by a council of war at Oxford, but he was pardoned by Charles. The articles of capitulation were extremely advantageous for Charles, by giving him back his whole garrison; but they were very ill observed by the parliamentarians, which occasioned severe reprisals afterwards by the royal party.

At this time scarce one county in England was free from the horror of civil war; the royalists were victorious in most parts; in Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, and Staffordshire, many encounters passed between the king's forces under prince Rupert, and the earl of Northampton, the lord Brooke, Sir John Gill, and Sir William Brereton, for the parliament; in one of which, fought on Hopton heath, the earl of Northampton lost his life, and the lord Brooke was slain before the town of Litchfield, which was afterwards taken by his forces, and again retaken by prince Rupert. In Yorkshire, and the more northern parts, the lord Fairfax and his son, Sir Thomas, afterwards so famous under the title of General Fairfax, had success greater than could be expected from the small force they had with them; but at length the whole county was reduced by the king's troops, and Fairfax, with his followers, were obliged to shut themselves up in Hull. The greatest part of Wales remained firm to the royal cause; the parliament, therefore, in order to check the king's good fortune in that part of the country, dispatched the earl of Stamford with an army into the West, where Sir Ralph Hopton, with his forces, lay before Plymouth, in the parliament's possession. Sir Ralph, hearing of the earl's approach, drew forth his troops and gave him battle, in which he defeated the greatest part of his forces; and then a truce was agreed upon between the earl and him for three weeks; during which time sir George Chudleigh, who had been very active and successful for the parliament in Denbighshire, upon a due reflection on the views of both parties in the present unnatural contest, quitted the opposition, and joined himself to the king; but, to satisfy his friends of the reasons of this tergiversation, he published a short declaration, which we are persuaded our readers will be pleased to see, not only as it is doing great honour to the understanding, integrity, and patriotic loyalty of this gallant officer, but as it speaks

the sentiments of most of the moderate part of the opposition, in regard to the state of affairs between the king and parliament at this juncture.

"That petitions of right, says he, are commendable, and remonstrances may be useful; but arms, though defensive, are very doubtful. My lot (says he) fell to cast on the parliament side, by a strong opinion of the goodness of their cause, which, to my judgment, then appeared to be so. Religion, and the subjects liberty, seemed to me to be in danger; but the destruction of kingdoms cannot be the way to save it, nor can the loss of Christian subjects, nor the subjects loss of their estates by plunder or assessment, concur with piety, nor yet with propriety: as for religion, which is the chief, his majesty (whom God long preserve) has given us unquestionable security. I have cast myself at my sovereign's feet, and implored his gracious pardon; I will contend no more in word or deed. And this my resolution, with the indisputable grounds thereof, I thought good to declare to my friends and countrymen, that they may understand that my change doth proceed from no compulsion."

The parliamentarians, however, were not discouraged; they knew they had powerful resources, and though for the present unsuccessful, they still acted as masters against whom the king had rebelled. They condemned and executed for treason several of their fellow-subjects, who had delivered up to the king his own towns*; while the king, on his side, refrained from all cruel reprisals on his prisoners. This conduct may serve to justify, in the opinion of posterity, a prince who has been represented so criminal towards his people, and teach us to pity the unnatural persecution he suffered from his subjects, while we blame the causes of offence he had given them; for which, however, he had offered every atonement, every reparation, that majesty could make.

The two capital armies, that under Charles, and that under Essex, lay all this while inactive; the former about Abingdon and Oxford, the latter about Reading. Essex, in the whole of his operations against the king, seems to have been under the constant check of rencountering loyalty. According to the account given of the battle of Edge hill by the earl of Clarendon himself, he could have taken the king and the two princes prisoners, but forbore, most probably from the motives already assigned; in fine, a strong probability arises, that he was not yet in earnest in the opposition, and that he never intended to carry hostilities farther against the king and his party than was necessary for his own defence in the service he had embraced. However this might be, his conduct appeared very doubtful to his best friends, and the violent party in parliament could not help distrusting him; they now openly blamed him for not marching against Oxford; and, as the parliament officers who served under him were daily improving in military knowledge, he could find no pretext for longer inactivity, being lately joined by Sir William Waller, who had by this

* Yeamans and Boucher were executed at Bristol, for endeavouring to seize that town for the king; the like happened to several gentlemen and citizens of London, for a design laid to seize the city and several members of parliament, in order to have put a period to the civil war, by stopping the issues of it in the fountain. Edmund Waller, the famous poet, was on

this occasion expelled the house of commons, of which he was a member, imprisoned a year in the Tower, fined ten thousand pounds, and banished to France for ten years; the others concerned with him were publicly executed. See Journals of the House of Commons, anno 1643.

time reduced Hereford, and made an unsuccessful attempt upon Worcester; he made a march towards Oxford, and fixed his head quarters at Thame, upon the borders of Buckinghamshire, in order to over-awe that county, which now grew turbulent in favour of Charles.

While he remained in this post, colonel Urrey, a Scotch officer, who had served in Germany with general Ruthven, now created earl of Brentford, took this opportunity of deserting to the king, and persuaded prince Rupert to beat up the quarters of the enemy, after having particularly informed him of their disposition. To demonstrate the practicability of such an exploit, he proposed to go as a volunteer with a detachment, which he conducted to part of these quarters, where he defeated some regiments and brought a great number of prisoners to Oxford. Prince Rupert, encouraged by his success, complied with his advice in making a more vigorous attack upon that part of their army, which was quartered at Thame. They departed from Oxford with a strong body of horse, and taking a long circuit in the night, arrived, by break of day, at Wickham, where they cut in pieces two regiments of the enemy; they attacked another quarter with the same success, and attempted to retire by a bridge, at which they had left a sufficient guard. By this time the earl of Essex had taken the alarm and detached part of his cavalry to detain the prince till he should be able to advance with the infantry. They overtook him at the skirts of Chalgrave-field, where he wheeled about, and charged them with such impetuosity, that they betook themselves to flight, after having lost some of their best officers, and among the rest the celebrated John Hampden, who had acted as colonel of a regiment, since the beginning of the war, and proved in many encounters that his courage was equal to any other of his extraordinary endowments. The candour and moderation for which this gentleman was distinguished in the beginning of the opposition to the king's measures, had given way to a violent animosity against the ancient constitution, and the person of his sovereign, by whom he had been declared guilty of high-treason. This was an affront he never could forgive. He became passionate, and even ferocious; discouraged all overtures towards an accommodation, and now his death struck a damp into the hearts of the whole faction. Other officers were slain or taken prisoners. The army under Essex was dispirited by these checks, diminished by distempers and want of necessaries, so that he thought proper to remove from Thame and put his troops into quarters of refreshment at St. Alban's, Uxbridge, and other places in that neighbourhood. On the other hand, prince Rupert returned in triumph to Oxford, and recommended Urrey to the king in such warm encomiums of his courage and conduct, that he received the honour of knighthood, and was preferred to the command of a regiment.

The king's affairs still wore a favourable aspect in the western counties, where the neutrality was over-ruled as in the North by the votes and declarations of the parliament. Major Chudleigh, with a body of the enemy, made an attempt upon Launceston, but being repulsed, retired to Kingston. About the middle of May, the earl of Stamford marching into Cornwall, at the head of

seven thousand horse and foot, with a train of artillery, encamped on the top of a hill near Stratton, and detached sir George Chudleigh, with twelve hundred cavalry, to surprize the sheriff of the county at Bodmin. The Cornish loyalists, under lord Mohun and sir Ralph Hopton, seized this opportunity of attacking their infantry in the absence of their horse: they formed their small army into four divisions, and attacked the hill in as many different parts; after a very warm contest, they met upon the summit, disarmed major-general Chudleigh, routed the parliamentarians, and took possession of their cannon and camp, while the earl of Stamford retired with precipitation to Exeter, and sir George Chudleigh, with their cavalry, took the same route from Bodmin, as soon as he was informed of the earl's disaster. The victorious loyalists, having received orders to join prince Maurice and the marquis of Hertford, who had advanced as far as Somersetshire, began their march, and joining the marquis at Chard, the two bodies united, amounted to above seven thousand men, in excellent order, with a good train of artillery: thus strengthened, they took Taunton, Bridgewater, and Dunster castle, almost without opposition.

The reputation which the Cornish men obtained in this action, gave infinite spirits to the king's party; and the affair of the West became now the principal object both with Charles and the parliament; the latter put Sir William Waller at the head of a new army, to march into Somersetshire and retrieve their affairs. Waller was a man of spirit and fortune, and had served the parliament so effectually on many occasions, that, in the city of London, he obtained the name of William the Conqueror; he was a thorough paced republican, and was considered by the violent of the parliament party as the most proper officer to succeed Essex, if it should be found necessary to lay that general aside: in this expedition, however, he proved very unfortunate, for, in less than a fortnight, he lost two battles, one at Lansdown, on the fifth of July, wherein Sir Bevil Grenville was slain; and another at Roundway-down, on July the tenth; in the latter of which, his army was entirely routed, and so dispersed, that it was no longer serviceable; Waller himself fled to Bristol.

The affairs of the king in the North at this time went on very prosperously; the queen had again returned to England with a second supply of men, and a sum of money she had raised by pawning the crown-jewels in Holland; for which the parliament, agreeable to the usual spirit of their proceedings, had voted her guilty of high-treason. Matters, however, were so successful for Charles, that the queen ventured to obey him, by marching south, with all the troops, artillery, and ammunition, under her command, and found her royal consort at Edge-hill, on the very day his troops gained the battle of Roundway-down: from Edge-hill they entered Oxford in a triumphant manner, while the Cornish forces reduced Bath, and then marched to form the siege of Bristol, in conjunction with the troops under prince Rupert. It was the twenty-fourth day of July, before the approaches began; the place was rich, and garrisoned by two thousand five hundred foot, and a regiment of horse, under the command of

Fiennes

Fiennes, who was but an indifferent foldier. After some deliberation, the city was assaulted by the loyalists with such incredible courage, that the garrison beat a parley, and surrendered upon terms. Besides this important success, Charles, at this time, gained another, by prince Rupert's seizing the ships in which the most wealthy citizens of Bristol had embarked their riches, with a view of conveying them to London.

All this time Charles had subsisted his forces by contributions and assessments, or by loans, and voluntary presents from all parts of the kingdom; but the supplies, even including those brought him by his queen, were still very disproportionable to his pressing necessities. The resources of the parliament were more numerous, and more considerable: and, of consequence, all their military preparations were in much greater order and readiness. Besides a tax levied in London, amounting to the twenty-fifth part of every one's substance, they imposed on that city a weekly assessment of ten thousand pounds, and another of twenty-three thousand five hundred and eighteen, on the rest of the kingdom: and as their authority was very great in most counties, they levied these taxes with the utmost regularity.

A few days after the taking of Bristol, Charles went to view that city, in which he had not long arrived before he received news of the surrender of Dorchester to the earl of Caernarvon; and a day or two after, Portland, Weymouth, and Melcombe, submitted likewise; so that by the end of this summer, the royal party was in possession of all the western counties from the farthest part of Cornwall, except some few garrisons that were blocked up. In the North, even to the borders of Scotland, there was no army in the field to oppose the king, and his forces marched whithersoever they pleased. London was now greatly divided between the two parties; many of the wealthier and more creditable citizens favoured the king's cause; and most of the gentry of the associated counties already mentioned, were ready, upon the first appearance of the king at the head of his army, to have secured those counties for him. These considerations seemed naturally to point out, as the only rational step, that the king should have marched with his army to London, and have dispatched the earl of Newcastle, at the head of his victorious band, into the associated counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, whereby a speedy end would, in all probability, have been put to this civil war. But, in the midst of these hopes, the king calling a council at Bristol, to deliberate how he was next to employ his arms, it was resolved, that the Western army should be sent back to protect the loyalists in their own counties, and that the siege of Gloucester should be forthwith undertaken. Nothing could be more fatal to the king's affairs than this last resolution; a few days after which, the earl of Newcastle sat down before Hull, where the lord Fairfax had taken refuge, after several repeated defeats; and who, assisted by one colonel Meldrum, a Scotchman, defended the place with great bravery and conduct for several weeks, though he was vigorously attacked; at last, on the eleventh of October, the besieged made a grand sally, and after a very obstinate fight, which was several times renewed, drove the besiegers from their trenches, and seized upon their cannon; where-

upon Newcastle was obliged to raise the siege. The same day this sally was made by the garrison of Hull, part of the earl of Newcastle's army, commanded by the lord Widdrington, was routed at Horncastle, by the earl of Manchester, a general of the parliament's forces, who had with him Sir Thomas Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell, which latter, by a painful observance of the duties of the field, and a remarkable zeal for the cause, was now become a lieutenant-colonel under the parliament: he had never been in foreign service; and, if we may believe his contemporaries, his courage was rather the result of experience and reason, than the effect of his natural disposition; as he was a perfect judge of human nature, he began now to put in practice his favourite scheme, of inspiring those under him, and about him, with an enthusiasm that might overbalance all the sentiments of honour, loyalty, and duty, in the other party. How well this succeeded, the subsequent part of this history will demonstrate to us.

To the fatal siege of Gloucester the king in person, with his army, marched in the beginning of August; and about the tenth of that month he sat down before it, with about eight thousand horse and foot, and immediately ordered the approaches to be begun, which were frequently interrupted by the sallies of the besieged. The parliament greatly fearing the loss of this place, dispatched the earl of Essex instantly to its relief, who began his march from Hounslow Heath on the twenty-sixth of August. The rendezvous of his troops was at Aylesbury, where being joined by the lord Grey and reinforcements from the associated counties, he found himself at the head of eight thousand infantry, and half that number of horse; then he continued his march by Brackley, though he was a little incommoded by a detachment of the king's horse, sent on purpose to harass him with light skirmishes. He proceeded, however, with great expedition, and the king's forces abandoning their works at his approach, he entered Gloucester in triumph, when the garrison was reduced to extremity. Having supplied the city with provision, ammunition, and reinforced the garrison, he marched to Tewkesbury, whence he made a sudden motion to Cirencester, where he surprized two regiments of the royalists, and seized a great quantity of provisions prepared for the king's army: then he took his route through the northern parts of Wiltshire, having marched twenty miles before the king was informed of his motions. Prince Rupert was immediately sent after him, in order to intercept his march till the king could come up in person, with the rest of the army. This general came up with the earl as he was marching over Aubourn Chace, intending to have reached Newbury that night: a sharp conflict ensued, prince Rupert charged the earl's rear with such fury that it was put into great disorder. The marquis de la Vieuville, a French officer, who had attended the queen out of Holland, and served the king as a volunteer, was killed in this action, which, by its ill success obliged Essex to take up his quarters at Hungerford. The next day he continued his march towards Newbury, but found that the king had prevented him by two hours, and had posted himself near that town. Prince Rupert, after the action of the foregoing day (September 18), went and joined the royal army. It is certain that

Charles

Charles was possessed of advantages in consequence of this situation, which, had he known how to preserve them, must have proved decisive in his favour; but his officers had such a contempt of the London apprentices, which composed a great part of Essex's army (and whose character we have already mentioned), that, forgetting all the advantages they had, they attacked the parliamentarians in strong parties, till a general engagement became unavoidable; for Essex, finding his soldiers eager to return the affronts of the royal army, led them on in person to the fight, about six o'clock in the morning of the twentieth of September, which was continued with great gallantry on both sides till night put an end to the dispute. In this engagement, which was known by the title of the First Battle of Newbury, the royal army suffered greatly, and its loss was much aggravated by the quality of those that fell in the fight, there being slain, besides twenty officers of note, Ralph Dormer earl of Caernarvon, Henry Spencer earl of Sunderland, and Lucius Carey viscount Falkland, secretary of state, a nobleman universally respected by all who knew him, for his great parts, ingenuity, and honour; he was a zealous promoter of all endeavours towards peace between the king and parliament: he fell in the thirty-fourth year of his age. Whatever lord Clarendon may please to assert, the victory was certainly on the side of the parliament: Charles recalled his troops from the field, and left Essex to pursue his march to Reading unmolested, where he arrived, after the battle of Newbury, to be at hand to protect the city of London, the very thing Charles wanted to prevent him from doing. Upon the whole, it was no wonder if Essex, at his arrival at Reading, on the twenty-second of September, ordered public thanks to be given in the town, and was moreover welcomed with his army into London with triumphal honours by the city and parliament; while the king, with a disconcerted, disconsolate army, took up his winter quarters about Oxford. It appears, by the Journals of the House of Commons, that the faction there were unwilling their army should quit Reading; nor, indeed, does it appear to me why it was abandoned to the royalists, unless it was owing to the impatience of the Londoners to return home. Massey and the garrison of Gloucester were nobly rewarded, and the several committees were appointed to look to the recruiting the army, as if their intention had been that very winter to have attacked Oxford itself, where every thing was in the utmost confusion and despair.

During the interval between the king's laying siege to Gloucester and the battle of Newbury, several transactions happened, which we shall now briefly mention. The two houses received Waller, after the defeat in the West, with the warmest expressions of esteem: he was appointed commander in chief of the forces and militia of London; and they declared they would enable him to take the field again, to relieve their distressed friends in the West. They passed an ordinance to raise a new army under the command of the earl of Manchester, to oppose the earl of Newcastle, and protect the associated counties of Essex, Hertford, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdon, and Lincoln: then they sent a committee of both houses to soothe the earl of Essex, who had been for some time disgusted, and had indeed conferred

with the moderate party upon expedients to force the two houses into pacific measures. Whatever arguments the committee used, he was persuaded to re-adopt their sentiments; and his other friends, fearing he would discover their design, withdrew themselves from the parliament. The earl of Portland, lord Lovelace, and lord Conway, repaired to Oxford; and their example was followed by the earl of Clare; the earls of Bedford and Holland escaped to the king's garrison at Wallingford; and the earl of Northumberland retired to his own house at Petworth, in Sussex.

While the king was employed in the siege of Gloucester, the towns of Dorchester, Weymouth, and Portland surrendered to the earl of Caernarvon, who left his army under the command of prince Maurice, and repaired to the king, in discontent for some outrages which the troops had committed with impunity. Sir John Digby routed a party of the parliament's forces at Torrington; Barnstable and Biddeford were surrendered to him without opposition; and prince Maurice undertook the siege of Exeter, which was delivered into his hands by capitulation by the earl of Stamford. About the time we are now speaking of, the parliament resolved upon a very extraordinary action, which was the making a new great-seal: this innovation was at first very warmly opposed, but at length it was resolved upon by a majority of voices in both houses; yet, to preserve some colour of decency, they passed an order, "that if the lord-keeper Littleton did not, upon summons, return with the great-seal within fourteen days, he should lose his place; and whatever should be sealed therewith by him, after that time, should be null and void in law." But this menacing vote did not bring the great-seal from Oxford, so that the new great-seal was made, and some few months afterwards the use of it authorized by ordinance of both houses.

The court of France penetrated with the helpless situation of Charles, sent the count d'Harcourt (a prince of the house of Lorraine, and a great general) as ambassador to England, to offer the mediation of France to compose the differences between the king and the parliament. He came first to London, and addressed himself to both houses for a safe-conduct to Oxford, to the king, which they granted; and on the eighteenth of October he made his entry into that city, and three days after he had a public audience in the great hall at Christ-church, where the king and queen received him with great state and magnificence; and, whilst he staid at Oxford, he and his retinue were lodged in St. John's college: but finding himself unable to effect any thing by his embassy, after a few months stay he returned.

The parliament continued still stubborn and inflexible; and, what is very extraordinary, an assembly of a few men conducted their designs with more steadiness, than a king at the head of his army. The puritans having got the majority in both houses, threw aside the mask; they entered into a solemn league with Scotland, and signed the famous Covenant with that people. By this Covenant the subscribers bound themselves to support the reformed religion in the three kingdoms; to establish a uniformity in doctrine and discipline; to extirpate popery and prelacy; to maintain the privileges of the parliament and people; to defend

his

his majesty's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberty of the kingdom; to discover and punish incendiaries and malignants; to establish a firm peace and union to all posterity; and to renounce neutrality and resist temptation: to repent of their sins, amend their lives, and vie with each other in the great work of reformation." This Covenant was read in St. Margaret's church, at Westminster, in presence of both houses, by whom it was subscribed; and the commons ordered that it should be taken the following Sunday by all persons who lived under their jurisdiction.

It was plain by this covenant that the Scottish and English puritans wanted to erect themselves into a republic: this was the spirit of Calvinism, which had long been at work in France upon the same good design; it succeeded in Holland, but in France and England this darling scheme of the people could not be effected without shedding oceans of blood. The rage of civil war was cherished by the gloomy and austere behaviour, which was affected by the puritans. The parliament took this opportunity to oblige their Scottish friends by ordering the Book of Sports, composed by king James I. to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman; they thought by this action to shew their religion, and to offer a stabbing insult to the reigning prince. In the course of this year the parliament likewise ordered that each family should deprive itself of one meal in the week, and contribute the value of it for carrying on the war. One of the strongest proofs of the inflexible stiffness which had taken possession of all minds at this time, is the punishment of William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, who was condemned by the parliament, after having been four years in prison: when this prelate was brought to his trial, he made such a vigorous defence, that the commons perceiving that he could not be capitally convicted in the common course of evidence, declared him guilty of high-treason by an act of attainder; although it remains a fact upon record, that the chief crime proved upon him, was his having made use of some of the ceremonies of the Romish communion at the consecration of a church in London. He pleaded the king's pardon, which had been conveyed to him from Oxford; but it was declared null by both houses. Being sentenced to the death of a common felon, he petitioned that, as he was a bishop, a privy-counsellor, and a peer of the realm, he might be indulged with decapitation, a request which the commons granted with difficulty. He suffered on the tenth of January, 1644, in the seventy-third year of his age.

Both kingdoms having agreed to the Covenant, the states of Scotland appointed commissioners to treat with the English, concerning the aid they desired, which was that they would bring into England to their assistance an army consisting of twenty-one thousand horse and foot; towards the raising of which the parliament sent one hundred thousand pounds into Scotland, and great levies of men were made for this army, which entered England the beginning of the year 1644, and took possession of Berwick: they were commanded by Lesly, an old officer under the earl of Leven. Charles finding the parliaments of England and Scotland both united against him, and being hard pressed between the two armies, thought it necessary to conclude a

truce with the Roman catholics of Ireland; and prince Maurice and the earl of Antrim were sent to Ireland to bring over two thousand troops from thence to the west of Scotland by the first of April, where they were to be joined by the king's friends, and commanded by the earl of Montrose. At the same time the marquis of Ormond was ordered to send over some of the best regiments to the west of England. Lord Byron at the head of the forces brought over from Ireland, soon reduced the castles of Howarden, Breepton, Acton, and Dedington. Sir Thomas Fairfax, informed of these proceedings collected a body of four thousand men in Yorkshire, and, being reinforced by sir William Brereton, advanced against the enemy: the swelling of a rivulet, by an excessive rain, divided one part of Byron's army from the other; that part opposed to Fairfax being driven from their post, took shelter in the church of Acton, and were all made prisoners; the other fled with the utmost precipitation: and thus was dispersed and rendered useless that body of forces which had been transported from Ireland; and the parliament recovered their former footing in the north-west of England.

In the mean time the king, that he might weaken the authority of the parliament, issued a proclamation requiring the parliament to assemble at Oxford, at the same time recounting all the tumults, by which he and his partizans in both houses had been driven from London: and he thence inferred, that the assembly at Westminster was no longer a free parliament, and, till its liberty was restored, had no right to exact obedience to any of its orders. As this declaration was an obstacle to all treaty, of which, however, the king was extremely desirous, it became necessary to elude it by some kind of contrivance. A letter was accordingly sent to the earl of Essex, and subscribed by the prince, the duke of York, and forty-three noblemen. They intreated him to use his endeavours for restoring peace to the country, and to promote that happy end with those by whom he was employed. Essex, though much dissatisfied with the conduct of the parliament, though apprehensive of the extremities to which they were driving, though willing to agree to any reasonable accommodation; yet was more anxious to discharge with fidelity the trust reposed in him. He replied, that as the paper sent him, was neither addressed to the two houses of parliament, nor acknowledged the authority of that assembly, he could not, by any means, impart it to them. Like proposals were repeated by the king during the ensuing campaign, and still met with a like denial from Essex.

In order to make another attempt towards a treaty, the king sent a letter directed to the lords and commons of parliament convened at Westminster: but as he likewise mentioned, in the letter, the lords and commons of parliament convened at Oxford, and expressed his desire that all the members of both houses might safely meet in a free and full assembly; the parliament, perceiving the conclusion which he meant to draw from this distinction, refused all treaty upon such terms. And the king, who despaired of all hopes of accommodation, would not forgo the pretensions, which he had assumed, nor acknowledge the two houses, more openly, for a parliament. About this time died the celebrated Pym; a man as much esteemed by one party, as hated by the other. The parliament considered

considered him as the victim to national liberty, who had impaired his constitution and shortened his life by his constant and unwearied application. The royalists believed him to have been struck with an uncommon disease, and to have been consumed with vermin; as a mark of divine vengeance for his numerous crimes and treasons.

The invasion of the Scots was productive of the most important consequences. They had entered England on the nineteenth of January, with an army of eighteen thousand foot, three thousand horse, and between five and six hundred dragoons; Alexander Lesly earl of Leven was general, John Bowley lieutenant-general of the horse. Leven advanced to Newcastle, on the twenty-second of February, and having in vain summoned the town, which was defended by a strong garrison, he crossed the Tyne, to force the earl (lately created marquis) of Newcastle, who was encamped at Durham, with an army of fourteen thousand men to stop the progress of the Scottish army, and he would have succeeded in all probability but for a great misfortune which happened to his forces in Yorkshire: colonel Bellasis, whom he had left with a considerable body of troops, was entirely defeated at Selby, on the nineteenth of April, by sir Thomas Fairfax, who had returned with his victorious forces from defeating the army under the lord Byron. Apprehensive of being shut up between the two armies, Newcastle retired, and Leven joined his troops to those of lord Fairfax. They invested York, in which the army of the royalists had taken shelter: but as the Scottish and parliamentary forces were not sufficient to besiege in form so large a city, divided by a river, they contented themselves with forming a kind of blockade; and affairs remained for some time in suspense between these opposite armies.

Mean while the other parts of the kingdom were not free from the calamities of war: the lord Hopton was beat by general Waller, at Alresford, in Kent; and prince Rupert, on the other hand, gained a signal victory over the parliamentary forces who had formed the siege of Newark, under the lord Willoughby and sir John Meldrum, by which he preserved a free communication between the king's northern and southern conquests. After this the prince attacked Liverpool, a sea-port town on the edge of Cheshire, of which he made himself master: here he received a letter from the king, pressing him to relieve York, the siege of which was by this time begun, the earl of Leven and general Fairfax having been joined by the earl of Manchester, with a numerous body of infantry, who, on their march, had reduced the city of Lincoln. On the approach of prince Rupert, the parliament's generals immediately raised the siege; and drawing up their troops on Marston Moor, resolved to prevent the junction of the royalists; but prince Rupert approached the town by another side, and keeping the river Ouse between him and the enemy, safely joined his troops to those of the marquis of Newcastle. In a conference between the two generals the latter endeavoured to demonstrate that the Scots and English, being at variance, would separate in a few days of their own accord, and that he expected a reinforcement of five thousand men from the North: the prince on this occasion behaved in so imperious a manner as greatly incensed the marquis, who the next day, when the

prince ordered the troops to be in readiness to engage, told him that he should not hesitate to obey his majesty's nephew, but insisted on resigning his authority, and serving only as a volunteer. On the third day of July the prince advanced against the enemy, and about two o'clock in the afternoon the action began, and lasted for some hours with great fury, and victory seemed ready to crown the efforts of the royal army, when the battle was restored by Oliver Cromwell (now made a lieutenant-general), who commanded the choice troops of the parliament, enured to danger under that undaunted leader, actuated by fanatic zeal, and regulated by the most severe discipline: in a word, after a very sharp conflict, in which the marquis of Newcastle, at the head of his regiment, performed miracles of valour, the royal army was entirely broken and dispersed, and a most complete victory was obtained by the parliament. The prince lost six thousand men, half of whom fell in the battle, together with all his artillery, baggage, and ammunition. After the battle the marquis of Newcastle, still resenting the insult he had received by the haughty carriage of prince Rupert, took shipping at Scarborough, and repaired to the continent, where he remained till the Restoration. Prince Rupert, confounded at his late overthrow, retired with the remains of his army into Lancashire abandoning York to its fate, which was in a few days yielded up to the parliament's forces by Glenham, the deputy-governor; Fairfax, entering the place, supplied it with a strong garrison, and detached a thousand horse into Lancashire, to reinforce the parliamentary army in that quarter, and attend the motions of prince Rupert: the Scottish army retired northwards, in order to meet the earl of Calender, who was coming to join them with ten thousand additional forces; and to besiege the town of Newcastle, which they took by storm: the earl of Manchester, with Cromwell, who had a capital share in gaining this great victory, and who was wounded in the action, repaired to the Eastern association, in order to recruit his army.

During these transactions in the North, the king's affairs wore a tolerable aspect in the South: two armies, under Essex and Waller, being by this time completed, those generals were ordered to advance with their combined forces towards Oxford, and, if the king took refuge in that city, to invest it, and by one enterprize finish the war. The king, leaving a sufficient garrison in Oxford, passed the enemy unnoticed, and bent his route to Worcester, and thereby the two parliament generals posted their armies between him and Oxford. The condition of Charles was now looked upon as desperate; and was certainly so, had he not been saved by the differences which, happily for him, subsisted between Essex and Waller, by the former taking upon him to prosecute the expedition to the West, which had been allotted to Waller, and ordering him to pursue Charles. Waller complained bitterly of Essex thus usurping his command, and produced his orders from the committees of both kingdoms (for the Scots were now indulged with having a committee in the English parliament, to act in conjunction with their friends there); but Essex was absolute, and threatened to try Waller by a council of war, if he should disobey. While they were debating this point, Charles got full two days march of the parliament army, and had reached

Worcester; but fearing to be shut up there by Waller, who by this time, was got as far as Evesham in pursuit of him; he went west with his army to Bewdly, as if he had intended to gain Shrewsbury, were it was practicable for him to have joined prince Rupert. Waller, who expected a large reinforcement, moved towards Broomsgrove and Kidderminster, and, extending his quarters all along the east side, by degrees got between Charles and the town of Shrewsbury. By this he did the very thing which Charles wished for; for he immediately returned to Worcester, and from thence to Evesham, breaking down the bridges as he passed along, by which means he left Waller two days march behind him, in a heavy country. Upon his coming to Evesham he punished some of its magistrates for their so readily admitting Waller into that place, and marched that same day towards Camden; from whence he sent to his friends in Oxford, where he had left most of his foot in garrison, to meet him with his cannon and infantry, being determined to fight Waller if he should come up. In a few hours he was joined by his forces from Oxford, and then went in quest of Waller, in his turn. On the twenty-ninth of June the two armies approached each other at Cropedy bridge, and were only divided by the Charwell. Next day the king dislodged and proceeded towards Daven-try. Waller ordered a large detachment to cross the bridge, and attack the rear of the royalists. They were repulsed, routed, and chased to a considerable distance. Stunned and discouraged by this blow, his troops began to desert in great numbers; and the king thought he might safely leave them, and march westward against Essex.

Five days after the fight of Cropedy bridge, the king, being at Evesham, caused to be drawn up a message for peace, to both houses of parliament; a copy whereof was sent to the earl of Essex by the marquis of Hertford, to be communicated to the parliament, it being intimated that the French agent had the original to deliver, if required. This message, directed "To the Lords and Commons of Parliament, assembled at Westminster," contained a general offer to treat of peace; and if commissioners should be sent to him, he would grant them a safe-conduct. The two houses, ever jealous of the king, thought there was some artifice concealed in sending them only a copy of his message, and that his aim was to engage them to demand the original of the French agent; besides, they did not conceive themselves to be owned, by the direction of the message, as the two houses of parliament; and therefore imagined the king had a mind to reserve to himself the power of saying he did not acknowledge them for the true parliament of England; and indeed he ought not, according to his principles, since he had published the fore-mentioned declaration against them: wherefore they resolved to take no notice of the message, nor return any answer.

Essex having compelled prince Maurice, who commanded the king's forces in the West, to abandon the siege of Lyme, and having reduced Weymouth and Taunton, proceeded still in his conquests without meeting with any interruption; but hearing that the king was marching into the West against him, he retired into Cornwall, and sent to the parliament, desiring them to dispatch an army to attack the king in the rear. General

Middleton was sent with a good body of troops, for that purpose; but arrived too late to do any effectual service. On the first of August, the king entered Cornwall, where he was joined by prince Maurice with his army; and now Essex saw himself cooped up in a narrow corner, at Lestwithiel; destitute of forage and provision, and despairing of all hopes of relief, he was reduced to the last extremity. The king pressed him on one side; prince Maurice on another; sir Richard Grenville on a third. On the thirty-first of August, Essex, Robarts, and some of the principal officers, got on board a boat, and fled to Plymouth: Balfour with his cavalry escaped the king's guards in a thick mist, and arrived safely at the garrisons of his own party. The infantry, under major-general Skippon were obliged to surrender their arms, artillery, baggage, and ammunition; and, being led to the parliamentary quarters, were set at liberty.

By this time the earl (now created marquis) of Montrose, was very successful for the king in Scotland, having obtained a great victory over the Covenanters upon Newbiggin Moor, and taken Perth; and within fourteen days after that, he gained another victory near Aberdeen, soon after took that city, and marched from thence into the earl of Argyll's country, which he wasted with fire and sword, and performed many great services, even to admiration considering the smallness of his beginning, and the little assistance he had from England. But we shall leave a while the narrative of his fortune, to return to the transactions in England, which were, the remaining part of this year, prosecuted in several places with various success. In the West, after the great victory over Essex's army, Ilfracomb, Branstaple, and Saltash submitted to the king's arms; and Basing-house, which had been eighteen weeks besieged, was relieved by a party from Oxford, under sir Henry Gage: and a little after, he, with the earl of Northampton, raised the siege of Banbury castle, which had been a month invested by colonel Fiennes, and slew and took many of his men and one piece of ordnance. But the good fortune of the parliament in several parts balanced this success with advantage: Monmouth was, in September, taken by colonel Massey; and the town and castle of Newcastle, which had long sustained the utmost efforts of the English and Scottish armies, was taken by storm, to the great loss of the assailants, on the twenty-seventh of October; and a while after Liverpool, in Lancashire, was surrendered to sir John Meldrum. But the great business that concluded this year were the important battle of Newbury and the treaty at Uxbridge, which will come next to be related, interwoven with some other of the most remarkable occurrences that then happened.

Though the earl of Essex might have been justly upbraided for the two errors he had committed, in obstinately pursuing his march into the West, contrary to the orders of both houses, and preposterously going into Cornwall, he was not insulted for his misfortunes, but, at his return, was very civilly received: it was then no proper time to examine his conduct, the point was to recruit and arm his ruined army, as well as that of Waller; and accordingly both houses applied themselves to it with all possible diligence. They ordered also colonel Middleton to repair speedily to the earl of Essex's army, and the earl of Manchester to march

the same way with his forces. On the twenty-first of October the three armies joined, and were far superior to that of the king, who was by this time come out of the West, and was advanced as far as Newbury, while the parliament forces lay at Reading. Essex, either through disgust or indispotion, or both, absented himself, on the twenty-third from the parliament army, and there was little or no unanimity in their counsels: however, the proximity of the opposite armies would not permit them to be long inactive; and on the twenty-seventh of October was fought the second battle of Newbury, one of the most obstinate that had happened during the whole course of this war. The royalists were defeated: the loss on Charles's side, however, was not very considerable; the parliament lost about a thousand men. After the battle the king retreated to Wallingford, from whence he marched to Bath, near which place he was joined by prince Rupert, and then they put their troops into winter-quarters, as did the parliament on their side.

Oliver Cromwell, who had already signalized himself by several acts of extraordinary valour, was a great instrument of gaining the late advantage over the king's army. It is said, that at this battle of Newbury, the corps, commanded by the earl of Manchester, having given way, the earl likewise being carried along with the rest in their precipitate flight, Cromwell, who was himself wounded, rode up to him, and cried "You are mistaken, my lord, the enemy is not this way," and immediately brought him back to the charge: in a word, most writers agree, that the fortune of this day was chiefly owing to Cromwell. This is certain, that Cromwell had as much influence in the house of commons as he had reputation in the army; and publicly accused his general of not having done his duty.

While these things were transacting, the queen retired into France; and the elector Palatine, who had withdrawn to Holland in the beginning of the troubles between the king (his uncle) and the parliament, came over in the month of August, and put himself under the protection of the parliament; the king hearing of it, wrote to him, to know the reason of so extraordinary a proceeding. It does not appear what answer the elector returned; but probably, not knowing how to subsist, and considering the king (his uncle) was not able to maintain him, he believed he should find more assistance in the parliament, which had ever expressed a great affection for his house. He was not deceived in his expectations, for the parliament granted him an honourable pension, which was more regularly paid than the former from the king. He

afterwards desired, and obtained leave, to hear the debates in the assembly of the divines: probably, he did not care to be concerned in military affairs, but sought to spend his time in conversing with the learned, and improving himself in matters of religion.

Amongst the many tentatives for peace this summer, one was made by the States General, whose ambassadors came to London about the sixth of July. Upon their arrival, they wrote (being three in number, Boreel, de Reede, and Joachimim) to the speaker of the house of commons, to demand an immediate audience in full parliament. As they had addressed the letter to him as speaker of the commons of England, and as their credentials ran in the same stile, the commons were so well pleased, that they ordered them a very splendid introduction, with no less than ten coaches to attend them to both houses, and in their audience they offered the mediation of their masters between the king and his parliament: at the same time, they complained of the detention of some of their ships by those of the parliament; and the whole, after a very ceremonious audience, was referred to a committee of both houses. Those maritime differences seem to have been very complicated, and of so great importance, that neither side chose to proceed, at this time, in the mediation, till they were previously settled.

The fondness of the English for every thing new or strange, brought to light, the latter end of this year, a new scheme of a most extraordinary nature, and which perfectly explained Cromwell's true character, and proved at once the source of his greatness, the downfall of the parliament and hierarchy, the murder of the king, and the abolition of monarchy. The sect of independents began now to make some noise*. The most violent of the presbyterians had joined this sect, which resembled that of the quakers, in condemning the ordination of ministers, and allowing every one to preach and expound the scriptures according to the talents he had received from nature; but they were at the same time as turbulent as the quakers were mild and peaceable. They gave a loose to the wildest imaginations they had formed, the extravagant design of levelling all distinctions among men, and, in order to establish this projected equality, they had recourse to force, which ever implies a superiority on the one side. Oliver Cromwell looked upon these people as fit instruments to be made use of in the great plan he was mediating.

The city of London, which was divided into several factions, complained bitterly that the parliament had loaded it with all the burthen of the

* The independents, called at first congregationalists, owed their rise chiefly to Goodwin, Nye, Bridge, Sympton, and Burroughs; who transported themselves into Holland, for liberty of conscience; from whence, upon the downfall of episcopacy, they returned to England, and addressed the parliament with an apologetical narrative for indisturbance and toleration. In this apology they declare, That they consulted the scriptures without any prepossession; they look upon the word of Christ as impartially and unprejudicedly, as men of flesh and blood are like to do at any juncture of time they having no temptation to any bias; as to church government, they said they confined themselves to scripture precept and precedent, leaving room for alterations upon farther enquiry. Pursuant to these grounds, they held a middle course, between presbyterianism and Brownism; the first they counted too arbitrary, the other too loose. Their main characteristic was the

disallowing parochial and provincial subordinations, and forming all their congregations upon a scheme of co-ordinancy. As to the manner of their service, they prayed publicly for kings and all in authority: they read the scriptures, and expounded the lessons upon proper occasions; they administered the sacraments, they sung psalms, and made collections for the poor every Lord's day. Their public officers were pastors, teachers, ruling elders (which were ecclesiastics), and deacons. As for church-censures, they had none but admonition and excommunication. The five abovementioned independents were all, or most of them, members of the assembly of divines. Rapin seems to confound them with the Brownists. See their Apologetical Narrative, and Collier's Eccles. Hist. tom. ii. p. 829. — They were called Independents, from their declaring against the dependency of churches, which, as has been already said, was their main characteristic.

war; and not only so, but that they had of late greatly neglected the city. This circumstance occasioned some warm debates in the house of commons; and Cromwell took the opportunity to expose, with great freedom, the licentiousness and ill government of the army, the officers of which, he said, could not well be called to an account, by reason that most of them were members of the house of commons. He then made a motion for taking into consideration the new modelling the army; in which he was warmly seconded by Sir Harry Vane, Mr. Nathaniel Fiennes, and Oliver St. John, the solicitor-general, all of them furious independents. In order to effect this scheme, it was proposed that the members of both houses should resign all their employments, civil and military. Almost all the offices of profit were in the hands of the members of one or the other house; the three generals of the parliament's army were peers*; the greatest part of the colonels, majors, the treasurers, the purveyors, and commissioners of all departments, were members of the lower-house. How improbable then did it appear, that so many persons in power could be prevailed upon, by the soothing of a religious cant, to resign their posts and incomes; and yet this was effected in a very short space of time: the commons, in particular, were dazzled with the prospect of gaining an ascendancy over the minds of the people, by this rare example of disinterestedness. The lords, at first, refused to concur in passing the bill, but were soon overpowered by the commons; and on the nineteenth of December, this year, was passed the act called, the Self-denying Ordinance, by which the members of either house were deprived of all offices whether civil or military, except a few, which were particularly mentioned. The earls of Essex, Denbigh, Manchester, and the lord Fairfax, finding they could not stem the torrent, voluntarily resigned their commands; and the army, being augmented to twenty-two thousand men, the chief command was bestowed on sir Thomas Fairfax, he not being a member of parliament.

This was just what Cromwell wanted; he had an absolute ascendancy over this new general, as indeed he had over the whole house of commons, who continued him in the command of his regiment, notwithstanding he was a member; and even ordered the general to give him the command of a detachment of horse, which was directed to march to Oxford. This very man, who had so artfully deprived all the presbyterian members of their military employments, had likewise the address to get the independent party continued in their posts; and thus the latter, though much inferior in number, obtained a complete victory over the presbyterians; and from that time it was easy to perceive that the army could give law to the parliament; for though the power of the sword was, in appearance, conferred on Fairfax, in reality it rested with Cromwell. By his assistance Fairfax new modelled his whole army, incorporated some regiments into others, made a total change in all the military departments, and established a new discipline. All this, which at any other time would have excited a revolt, now passed without the least resistance.

In the mean time, a treaty of peace was begun and carried on between the king and parliament, but with little hopes of success. Upon his majesty's return to Oxford, after putting his army in winter quarters, the two houses required and procured a safe-conduct for their deputies, with proposals of accommodation, which they had framed in the summer. Charles, on their being presented to him, required, in his turn, a safe-conduct for the duke of Richmond and the earl of Southampton, who should carry his answer to the two houses; but this favour he could not obtain, until he had addressed himself to them by the title of The two Houses of Parliament assembled at Westminster, and to the Scottish Commissioners. On this occasion, Charles employed an artifice which does no honour to his sincerity, and which his warmest advocates will find it difficult to justify or excuse. He entered a secret protest in his council-book, importing, that though he had called them a parliament, he did not acknowledge them as such. This spirit of equivocation had always brought ruin upon Charles's affairs, and was indeed shameful. On the nineteenth of December, the parliament and the Scottish commissioners returned their answer to the king, in which they consented to a treaty. Uxbridge, a town betwixt London and Oxford, was named for the place of treaty, and Charles, on his part, appointed the following commissioners: the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earl of Southampton, the earl of Kingston, the earl of Chichester, the lord Capel, the lord Seymour, the lord Hatton, the lord Culpepper, secretary Nicholas, Mr. chancellor of the Exchequer, sir Edward Hyde, the lord chief-baron, sir Edward Lane, sir Orlando Bridgeman, sir Thomas Gardiner, Mr. Joseph Ashburnham, Mr. Geoffery Palmer, Dr. Steuart, and their attendants; in all, the number of one hundred and eight. The commissioners for the parliament were, Algernon earl of Northumberland, Philip earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, William earl of Salisbury, Basil earl of Denbigh, Thomas lord viscount Wenman, Denzil Holles, William Peirpoint, sir Henry Vane, junior, Oliver St. John, Bulstrode Whitlock, John Crew, and Edward Prideaux, for the lords and commons assembled in the parliament of England, at Westminster; and John earl of Loudon, lord chancellor of Scotland, Archibald marquis of Argyll, John lord Maitland, John lord Balmerino, sir Archibald Johnson, sir Charles Erskine, George Dundas, sir Joseph Smith, sir Hugh Kennedy, and Mr. Robert Berkley, for the estates of the parliament of Scotland, together with Mr. Alexander Henderson.

The conferences were opened on the thirtieth of January, 1645; by mutual agreement they were to last twenty days; and the propositions were reduced to the three articles, of religion, the militia, and Ireland. The propositions offered by the two houses were no other than the most severe conditions they could have imposed upon a prince, whom they intended to strip of all the power, and indeed of all the ensigns, of royalty. In a word, they demanded that the hierarchy should be abolished, and presbyterianism established in both kingdoms; that the king should subscribe the covenant; aban-

* The earls of Manchester and Essex, and lord Fairfax.

don his best friends as traitors; give up the militia, and even his own children, to the direction of the two houses; which engrossed the whole sovereign authority. Though no peace was to be expected from such proposals, the king's commissioners, in the course of the conferences, agreed that every person should enjoy liberty of conscience touching the ceremonies of the church; that no bishop should exercise any sort of jurisdiction; that no person should be admitted into holy orders without the consent of the presbytery; that episcopal jurisdiction, with respect to marriages and wills, should be regulated by the king and the two houses; that proper laws should be enacted for the regulation of episcopal visitations, the expence of ecclesiastical suits, frivolous excommunications, and other abuses of the spiritual courts; that the militia should be put into the hands of twenty commissioners, one-half to be named by the king, and the other by the two houses; and, that the commission should continue for three years. These concessions were deemed not satisfactory by the two houses: nothing material was proposed relating to the affairs of Ireland, and the twenty days being expired, the conferences broke up without having produced any prospect of accommodation.

The disposition of the forces on both sides, at the beginning of the year 1645, was as follows: part of the Scottish army was engaged in reducing Pomfret, and other towns in Yorkshire; part of it invested Carlisle, bravely defended by sir Thomas Glenham. Chester, where Byron commanded, had been long besieged by sir William Brereton, and was now almost on the point of surrendering. The king, reinforced by the princes Rupert and Maurice, lay at Oxford, with an army of fifteen thousand men. Fairfax and Cromwell were stationed at Windsor, with the new-modelled army of twenty-two thousand men. Taunton, in the county of Somerset, defended by Blake, sustained a long siege from sir Richard Grenville, who headed an army of eight thousand men; and though the defence had been very vigorous, the garrison was now destitute of almost every necessary. Goring, in the West, conducted an army of nearly the same number.

The parliament's army was by this time new modelled according to the plan of Cromwell, and was composed entirely of a set of fanatics, inspired with that blaze of enthusiasm which makes men fight with the most eager zeal, even in the worst of causes, and die in full confidence of obtaining the crown of martyrdom. It was with a detachment of such warriors that Cromwell marched from Windsor, on the twenty-fourth day of April. In the neighbourhood of Islip, he cut in pieces four regiments of the king's cavalry; Buckingham was surrendered to him, at the first summons, by colonel Windebank (son to the secretary of that name), who was thereupon tried by a court-martial, and shot for cowardice; but Cromwell was repulsed in his attack upon Farringdon. Taunton, besieged by sir Richard Grenville, was relieved by colonel Welden, one of the parliament's officers, with a body of horse and foot; but sir Richard, being afterwards reinforced by a strong party under Goring, he resumed his operations against the place, in which the detachment under Welden was now shut up. The king opened the campaign on his side, by marching with about eight thousand men

towards Chester, to relieve that place, besieged by sir William Brereton; but hearing by the way the siege was raised, he marched to Leicester, which he took by storm, on the thirtieth of May. Here Charles received advice, that Fairfax was ordered to besiege Oxford; he therefore marched to Harborough, where he was informed that general had abandoned his design upon Oxford, and had been repulsed with great loss in assaulting the garrison of Borstal-house (in Buckinghamshire). The king continued his march, in expectation of being joined by colonel Gerard, with two thousand men from Wales; as well as by Goring, at the head of three thousand cavalry. In this situation of affairs, prudence seemed to dictate the waiting for the coming up of these supplies, and, till then, to act only on the defensive; but the head-strong and impetuous temper of prince Rupert, and the fiery and impatient humour of the young nobility under Charles, rendered fruitless the advice of the more grave and experienced officers of the council; and it was resolved, by a majority of voices in the cabinet, to attack Fairfax. The royal army accordingly marched back; and, on the fourteenth day of June, came in sight of the enemy, who were drawn up in order of battle, on a rising ground in the neighbourhood of Naseby, a village near Rothwell, in Northamptonshire.

At this place was fought, with forces nearly equal, that great and important battle between the king and parliament. The main body of the royalists was headed by the king, the right wing by prince Rupert, the left by sir Marmaduke Langdale. Fairfax, assisted by Skippon, commanded the main body of the parliamentarians; Cromwell conducted the right wing: Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, the left. The charge was begun by prince Rupert, with his usual impetuosity, and his usual success: notwithstanding the brave resistance of Ireton, who, even after he was run through the thigh with a pike, still continued to fight with undaunted courage, till he was taken prisoner, that whole wing was totally broke, and chased to a considerable distance by Rupert: he was even so imprudent as to waste time in attacking the artillery of the parliament, which had been left behind with a strong guard of infantry. Mean while the king, at the head of his main body, attacked Fairfax and Skippon; and the fight was, for some time, maintained with equal bravery on both sides. Skippon, being dangerously wounded, was desired by Fairfax to quit the field; but declared he would not retire so long as one man kept his ground. At last the infantry of the parliament was thrown into disorder, and hard pushed by the king; till Fairfax, with great prudence, brought up the reserve, and restored the battle. By this time Cromwell, with his right wing, having fallen upon Langdale, had repulsed the royalists, and by his conduct improved that advantage, which he had obtained by his valour. Having chased the enemy about a quarter of a mile, and detached some troops to continue the pursuit, he turned back upon the king's infantry; and, at the first onset, threw them into the utmost confusion. One regiment alone, though twice assaulted by Fairfax, still maintained its ranks unbroken; and that general, provoked at so stubborn a resistance, commanded Doyley, the captain of his life-guards, to assail them once more in front, while he himself attacked

attacked them in rear. By these united efforts the regiment was broke. Fairfax, with his own hands, slew an ensign, and having taken the colours, gave them to a soldier to keep for him. The soldier afterwards pretending that he had gained the spoil himself, was reprimanded by Doyley, who had seen the action: "Let him retain that honour (said Fairfax) I have to-day acquired enough beside."

Prince Rupert, convinced too late of his error, abandoned the fruitless attack on the enemy's artillery, and returned to the king, whose infantry was now totally defeated. Charles endeavoured to animate this body of cavalry to a fresh attack, and cried aloud to them, "One charge more, and we recover the day." But the danger of such an attempt was too great and apparent; and they could by no means be persuaded to renew the battle. At the same time, the Scottish earl of Carnwarth, who rode by his majesty's side, seizing the bridle of his horse, turned him round, saying, "Will you go upon your death in an instant." The troops seeing this motion, wheeled off to the right, and immediately fled with the utmost precipitation. Charles, finding it impossible to make any farther resistance, was obliged to quit the field, and abandon the victory to his enemies. The number of killed on the side of the parliament was greater than on the side of the king: they lost a thousand men; he not above eight hundred. But Fairfax took five hundred officers, and four thousand private men, prisoners; seized all the king's artillery and baggage, and totally dispersed his infantry: so that no victory could be well more complete, than that which was now obtained by the parliament.*

It would be as irksome as improper, in this history, to enter upon a detail of all the little actions and skirmishes, the sieges of castles, and the taking of houses, that happened during this active year. Let it suffice then to inform the reader, that Charles, having escaped from the fatal field of Naseby, gathered together some part of his scattered forces, but never was able to make head against the conquerors; losing this year one garrison after another, till his whole strength was almost reduced to Oxford. We shall only mention some of the principal places taken from him by the victorious parliamentarians, namely, Leicester, Carlisle, Pomfret castle, Bridgewater, Scarborough, Hereford, West Chester, and Bristol; on which a great part of his affairs chiefly depended. This latter place was well supplied with men, provisions, and ammunition; and every body concluded, from the known valour of prince Rupert, that he would make a very vigorous defence. He even wrote to the king, that he should be able to hold out four months, unless mutiny should compel him to surrender. Notwithstanding this promise, and the general expectation, he offered to capitulate at the first summons; and actually delivered up the place before the besiegers had begun to make their approaches. The unhappy monarch, in the first transports of his grief, ordered his nephew to quit the kingdom, and revoked all his commissions.

During these transactions, the unfortunate king underwent a surprising series of dangers, mortifications, and distresses, which he bore with un-

common fortitude and dignity. Amongst his other misfortune was that of losing his cabinet of papers, which was taken from the lord Digby, in an engagement near Newark, and sent up to the parliament; and from which they made great discoveries to the king's prejudice. It was no little aggravation to the calamities which Charles suffered, that his forlorn estate encouraged some of his principal officers to forget all respect to the person of their general and their sovereign; of which the following is a melancholy instance. While Charles lay at Newark, on his march back to Oxford, prince Rupert and prince Maurice, with a train of their friends and officers, contrary to the express orders of Charles, came to that town, and even forced their way into his presence, with an intention that prince Rupert might be cleared for the surrender of Bristol. Charles thought proper to suffer a council of war to acquit him both of cowardice and treachery; but as he behaved to the prince with great coldness, the latter entered into a conspiracy with sir Richard Willis, the governor of Newark, who was so extremely disagreeable to the gentlemen of the county, that Charles was forced to give his government to the lord Bellasis. Though Charles was so far from intending this as any affront to Willis, that he had appointed him to command his life-guards, in the room of the earl of Litchfield, who had been killed at Chester; yet, it was so far resented by him, the two princes, and all his friends, that they broke into the king's bed-chamber in a body, and demanded public reparation for the injury that had been done to Willis, in taking from him his command. Charles behaved on this occasion with so great spirit and presence of mind, that the mutineers were ashamed of what they had done, and left his presence covered with confusion. Charles, next day sent them passes, to carry them wheresoever they would go. After their departure, he put in execution an admirable plan: he had formed his retreat to Oxford, at which city he arrived, through infinite dangers and difficulties, in the beginning of November.

The year 1646 began as unfortunately for Charles as the preceding one had concluded. After the reduction of Bristol, Fairfax and Cromwell having divided their forces, the former marched westward, in order to finish the conquest of Devonshire and Cornwall, where the prince of Wales commanded the royal forces. After a rapid and uninterrupted success, during which he twice obliged the prince of Wales to retreat before him, he at length obtained a complete victory over the lord Hopton, at Farrington, on the tenth of February; and, pushing that nobleman in his retreat, he improved the advantage he had gained, cooped up the royalists in Truro, and compelled the whole army, amounting to five thousand men, chiefly cavalry, to surrender, on the fourteenth of March, upon terms: then laying siege to Exeter, he obliged that city to capitulate on the ninth of April. This finished the conquest of the West. And the victorious Fairfax returned with his army to the center of the kingdom, and pitched his camp at Newbury. The king, seeing his affairs irretrievably ruined, wrote to the prince of Wales, to consult his own safety by flying the kingdom;

* Hume's History of Great Britain, vol. i. reign of Charles I.

and accordingly the young prince withdrew to Scilly, then to Jersey, from whence he went to Paris, where he found the queen his mother, who had escaped thither from Exeter, at the time the earl of Essex first led the parliamentary forces into the West.

In the mean while, Montrose, who acted for the king in Scotland, having penetrated into the southern counties, the covenanters, having collected their whole force, opposed him with a numerous army, and gave him battle at Kilsyth, but without success. This was the most important victory which Montrose ever gained. The royalists killed above six thousand of their enemies, and left them no appearance of an army in Scotland. The whole kingdom was rent with these repeated convulsions; and many noblemen, who were secretly attached to the royal cause, now espoused it openly, when they saw a force able to support them. The marquis of Douglas, the earls of Anandale and Hartfield, the lords Fleming, Seton, Maderty, Carnegy, with many others, immediately joined the royal army: Edinburgh opened its gates to them, and released all the prisoners whom the covenanters had confined in that city: amongst the rest was the lord Ogilvy, son to Airlie, whose family had a principal share in the victory gained at Kilsyth.

The covenanters, alarmed at the rapid progress of Montrose, recalled David Lesley from the army in England; and this able general immediately repaired to the relief of his distressed friends in Scotland. Montrose continued to penetrate still farther into the southern provinces, encouraged by the vain hopes of exciting to arms the earls of Hume, Traquair, and Roxborough, who had engaged to assist him, and of procuring from England some supplies of cavalry, which he much wanted: but Lesley, at Philip-hough, in the Forest, came suddenly upon him, and obliged him to give battle. After a sharp conflict, in which Montrose performed the most heroic acts of valour, his troops were entirely defeated by Lesley's cavalry, and he himself forced to fly, with the scattered remains of his army, into the mountains; where he again prepared himself for attempting some new enterprize.

After all these repeated calamities, which every where befel the royal party, there remained only one body of troops on which fortune could exercise her cruelty. Lord Astley, with a small army of three thousand men, chiefly cavalry, was advancing to Oxford, in order to reinforce the king; when he was encountered, at a place called Donnington, near Stow on the Would, on the twenty-first of March, by colonel Morgan, by whom he was entirely routed, and himself taken prisoner; and, with him, all the king's hopes of preserving Oxford, till he could better his condition, were lost.

It is now time to see what passed in the Scottish army, whilst the parliament forces were employed in reducing the places which held for the king in the southern and western parts of the kingdom. The Scots, having taken Newcastle in October, 1644, divided themselves into two bodies, one whereof besieged Carlisle, which surrendered upon articles in June, 1645.

The other part of the army durst not engage in a siege, because the marquis of Montrose, who

served the king in Scotland, having had great success there, it was to be feared the king would be sending him reinforcements; wherefore the Scots always kept in a readiness to oppose it. This became still more necessary after the battle of Naseby; there being great likelihood of the king's resolving to join the earl of Montrose with his cavalry. Besides, the Scots, by keeping thus in the middle of the kingdom, prevented the king from making new levies in those parts. At last, after the taking of Carlisle, the two bodies being joined, they besieged Hereford, about the end of July; but, after having in vain carried on the siege above a month, they raised it in the beginning of September. The earl of Leven, their general, published, upon this occasion, a sort of apology, wherein, amongst other things, he said, that for six or seven months past, they had received but one month's pay; that they had been promised to be supplied with all things necessary for a siege; in which they had been extremely disappointed, since they had received but three pieces of cannon, with fifty balls to each; that they had but few horse; and being informed the king was marching towards them with three thousand horse, it was impossible to continue the siege. Lastly, that general Lesley was obliged to go into Scotland with his whole party of horse and dragoons, to oppose Montrose.

After the siege of Hereford was raised, the Scotch army retired into Yorkshire, complaining pretty openly of being entirely neglected; whereupon the parliament assigned them thirty thousand pounds, provided they appeared before Newark upon the first of November; and ordered that the eastern association should pay them fourteen hundred pounds a week. The Scots agreeing to these terms, the siege of Newark was begun about the end of October, 1645, and lasted till May, 1646.

The king, during the whole course of the preceding winter, and great part of this spring, was in the most wretched and deplorable situation; all the attempts which he made for a reasonable accommodation with the parliament, answered no other purpose, than to shew that victory was entirely in their hands, and that they were determined to use it as conquerors. From the fifteenth of December to the twenty-third of March following, Charles had sent nine or ten messages to the parliament, with offers of peace; and for the better accomplishment thereof, he even proposed to have a personal treaty with them at Westminster. At last, on the thirtieth of March, a message came to him from the parliament, in which they told him, "That it would be unsafe for him then to return to Westminster, until he had assented to the propositions which they were framing," &c. And, to prevent his coming to London without their knowledge and consent, they voted, "That if the king should come, or attempt to come, within the lines of communication, that then the committee of the militia of London should have power, and were thereby enjoined, to apprehend and secure such as should come with him, to prevent resort unto him, and to secure his person."

Fairfax was all this time advancing with a numerous army, and, it was well known, with an intention to form the siege of Oxford, which must of necessity fall into his hands. In this most dread-

ful situation, no wonder that he embraced a measure which at any other time would have been looked upon as foolish or imprudent. Monsieur Montreuil, the French ambassador, had always espoused the king's interest with all the warmth of humanity that his station would admit; he had lately founded the Scottish generals and commissioners, who were greatly disgusted at the treatment they had met with from the parliament; and as the presbyterians were great enemies to the independent party, who now assumed the management of all affairs, he had received many general promises and professions of their affection to their distressed sovereign, and their inclination to protect him, if he thought fit to place his confidence in them. In consequence of the report of Montreuil, and by his earnest advice, Charles was induced to adopt the resolution of quitting Oxford, and repairing to the Scottish army, which at that time lay before Newark. Accordingly, on the night of the twenty-seventh of April, this year, he left Oxford in disguise, attended by Mr. Ashburnham, and one Hudson, a clergyman, who knew the bye ways; and after travelling, in the garb of their servant, a great deal of the country, he arrived, on the fifth of May, at the Scottish camp.

The Scottish generals and commissioners were confounded at the sudden appearance of his majesty; they, however, behaved as well as could be expected. The earl of Leven received him respectfully; and general Pointz, who commanded the English forces before Newark, was so apprehensive of their intentions, that he cut off the communication between his and the Scottish camp. The Scottish commissioners, however, were excessively puzzled how to behave; but, at last, they resolved to join in a letter with the earl of Leven, informing the parliament of the king's being in their hands. The parliament, before they received this letter, or another from Pointz, to the same purpose, knew of the king's escape from Oxford, but being ignorant how he directed his course, they passed several severe votes against concealing his person, and against all his party who should be found within the lines of circumvallation about London.

Charles had little reason to be satisfied with his condition; he was so narrowly watched, under the shew of respectful attendance on his person, that not one of his friends could get to the speech of him in private. The Scottish generals represented to him, that it would be proper, for the safety of his person, for the army to remove farther North, and that as this could not be done before the reduction of Newark, they desired him to order that town to surrender. The king, persuaded by this reason, gave orders to lord Bellasis, the governor, to surrender; which was accordingly done, on the ninth of May; and then the Scottish army decamped, and marched with the king to Newcastle. Here they desired him to send orders to Oxford, and all his other garrisons, both in England and Scotland, to submit to the parliament; and the king, conscious that it was in vain to make any resistance, readily complied with their request. His orders were readily obeyed; and thus was concluded a most cruel war, which had now continued almost four years, during which, the British nations had been engaged, by their civil and

religious quarrels, in shedding the blood of their friends and relations, and in wasting and destroying their native country.

We must not forget to mention, that Montrose, after a variety of other attempts, in which he sometimes failed, and sometimes succeeded, threw down his arms and abandoned the kingdom.

I shall not here trouble the reader with the numerous manifestos and declarations that passed between the Scottish army and the parliament, on the subject of the king; nor their disputes about the disposal of his person; nor with the repeated concessions of the latter towards bringing his rebellious subjects to some equitable terms, for restoring the tranquility of the nation, which were as often rejected with the most inexcusable insolence on the part of the independents, now the prevailing faction in both houses: I shall only observe, that the life of the unfortunate Charles now hurried to its catastrophe.

As the Scots agreed with the parliament in enforcing all the severe conditions they required of the king, it is not probable that they ever really intended to set him at liberty; nor indeed, had they been so inclined, could they have carried their scheme into execution: they therefore resolved to deliver him up to his English subjects, but not, however till they had obtained those arrears to which they laid claim, and which they were not likely, in the present situation of affairs, to procure by any other expedient. After much debate and controversy, concerning the demands of the Scots, which were very exorbitant, it was agreed by the house of commons to give them four hundred thousand pounds, one half to be paid immediately, and the other within a twelvemonth. This agreement, which was accepted on the part of the Scots, passed the house on the sixteenth of December, by a majority of one hundred and forty-nine against one hundred and one; for the independents opposed every vote for getting rid of the Scots by way of treaty, adopting the maxim of Camillus, the Roman general, that it was for the dignity of their country to drive out an unwelcome guest rather by steel than by gold. Matters being thus compromised between the Scots and the English, and the first payment of the money being made at Newcastle, according to the compact, the former delivered the royal captive, on the thirtieth of January, to the earls of Pembroke and Denbigh, the lord Montagu, sir James Harrington, sir John Holland, sir Walter Erle, sir John Cook, Mr. Crew, and major-general Brown, who were appointed by the parliament their commissioners to receive him. The two houses had voted that his majesty should reside at his house at Holmby, in the county of Northampton, where he arrived on the sixteenth of February, 1647. The commissioners had instructions to keep the king close prisoner, and to send to Fairfax for what forces were necessary for that purpose. All this was opposed by the independents, who wanted that he should, without any other ceremony, be delivered up to Skippon. His majesty was allowed no more than nine servants, and those of the parliament's choosing, to attend him: he was treated by the commissioners and sir Thomas Fairfax, who escorted him from Newcastle to Holmby, with all the marks of outward respect; but very strict care was taken to deprive him of all intercourse with his friends, which

Charles

Charles often attempted privately, but was as often disappointed by the vigilance of the committee. The parliament of Scotland sent up a declaration consenting to his residing at Holmby, or in any other of his houses near London, "provided (say they) no violence should be offered to his person; that no new change should be made in the government; and that his posterity should suffer no prejudice in their succession to the throne of England."

The Scots having now completely done their business, marched from Newcastle, which was taken possession of by an English garrison; and shortly after they put Berwick and Carlisle into the parliament's hands, and marched quietly home to Scotland.

All the writers in the royal cause have represented this transaction of the Scots as highly injurious to the character of that nation, as if they had sold their king to his inveterate enemies, and bargained the life of their sovereign for money. That the delivery of this ill-fated prince to the two houses was a private stipulation between them and the English parliament, is scarce to be questioned: that it was criminal in the Scots, must in some measure be allowed; but the candour and impartiality which ought ever to be the guide of the historian, obliges me to observe, that what has chiefly rendered this measure odious, are the fatal consequences with which it was at last attended; and that it ought to be remembered, that these consequences were neither natural nor necessary, nor, indeed, at this time probable: neither the Scots, nor the majority of the English parliament themselves had the least intention of proceeding to the violent extremities which were afterwards pursued. It was, as a modern writer* very justly observes, the independents, determined enemies both to the king, the parliament, and the Scots, who twice seized the king by force, and at last brought him to a cruel and ignominious death, at the very time when the Scots and the presbyterians, which latter now composed the majority in parliament, were exerting their utmost endeavours, and even risking their lives and fortunes by rising in arms, in order to restore him to his throne.

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ful situation, no wonder that he embraced a measure which at any other time would have been looked upon as foolish or imprudent. Monsieur Montreuil, the French ambassador, had always espoused the king's interest with all the warmth of humanity that his station would admit; he had lately founded the Scottish generals and commissioners, who were greatly disgusted at the treatment they had met with from the parliament; and as the presbyterians were great enemies to the independent party, who now assumed the management of all affairs, he had received many general promises and professions of their affection to their distressed sovereign, and their inclination to protect him, if he thought fit to place his confidence in them. In consequence of the report of Montreuil, and by his earnest advice, Charles was induced to adopt the resolution of quitting Oxford, and repairing to the Scottish army, which at that time lay before Newark. Accordingly, on the night of the twenty-seventh of April, this year, he left Oxford in disguise, attended by Mr. Ashburnham, and one Hudson, a clergyman, who knew the bye ways; and after travelling, in the garb of their servant, a great deal of the country, he arrived, on the fifth of May, at the Scottish camp.

The Scottish generals and commissioners were confounded at the sudden appearance of his majesty; they, however, behaved as well as could be expected. The earl of Leven received him respectfully; and general Pointz, who commanded the English forces before Newark, was so apprehensive of their intentions, that he cut off the communication between his and the Scottish camp. The Scottish commissioners, however, were excessively puzzled how to behave; but, at last, they resolved to join in a letter with the earl of Leven, informing the parliament of the king's being in their hands. The parliament, before they received this letter, or another from Pointz, to the same purpose, knew of the king's escape from Oxford, but being ignorant how he directed his course, they passed several severe votes against concealing his person, and against all his party who should be found within the lines of circumvallation about London.

Charles had little reason to be satisfied with his condition; he was so narrowly watched, under the shew of respectful attendance on his person, that not one of his friends could get to the speech of him in private. The Scottish generals represented to him, that it would be proper, for the safety of his person, for the army to remove farther North, and that as this could not be done before the reduction of Newark, they desired him to order that town to surrender. The king, persuaded by this reason, gave orders to lord Bellasis, the governor, to surrender; which was accordingly done, on the ninth of May; and then the Scottish army decamped, and marched with the king to Newcastle. Here they desired him to send orders to Oxford, and all his other garrisons, both in England and Scotland, to submit to the parliament; and the king, conscious that it was in vain to make any resistance, readily complied with their request. His orders were readily obeyed; and thus was concluded a most cruel war, which had now continued almost four years, during which, the British nations had been engaged, by their civil and

religious quarrels, in shedding the blood of their friends and relations, and in wasting and destroying their native country.

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carefully pointed out to Fairfax, the divisions and distractions both in church and state; he represented to him, that the army was now the only principle of unity, and the center to which all lines must point; that the soldiers were the chosen of God, and had with them that unerring light of grace which set at nought all sublunary institutions, and corrected all human errors: in a word, he engaged Fairfax to countenance a petition from the army against their being disbanded.

Matters stood thus between the parliament and army when the former, encouraged by the assurances they had from Cromwell, Jackson, Skippon, and other officers, of the fidelity of their respective troops, determined, by one bold stroke, to attempt to preserve their authority. Accordingly on the twenty-first of May, eleven regiments were voted to be disbanded, at different times and places, under the direction of Fairfax and Skippon; and that the others should be sent to Ireland. Instead of the obedience which the parliament flattered itself would have been paid to this decree, a council of officers met at St. Edmundsbury, to consider thereof; at the same time ten soldiers out of each regiment of horse and foot were chosen as agitators (or agents) for their respective regiments; and these all consulting together, it was unanimously resolved not to submit to this decree; and the council of the army appointed a general rendezvous for all the regiments, in order to provide for their common safety. The independent party began now to prevail more and more in parliament, and the presbyterians were so much intimidated, that many of them joined with the former in giving a commission to Cromwell to go to the head-quarters of the army, in order to quiet the dissatisfied soldiers; and a declaration was issued, that if the subscribers to the petition against disbanding the army, should proceed no farther in their opposition to that measure, now resolved upon by the house, they should be retained in the parliament's good graces; and that those who should continue their present disorderly conduct, should be proceeded against as enemies to the state.

In the mean time the council of agitators struck a blow of the last importance, and which must be allowed to be the most sensible measure that men in their circumstances could pursue. They thought they had as much right as the parliament to be jailors to the king, and that his person was the only pledge they could have for their safety, in their design of coming to an open rupture with their masters. This was suggested by the genius of Cromwell, who endeavoured to persuade the agitators (who were a body of men distinct from the council of war, and acted for the common soldiers), to take both the glory and the danger of the enterprise. Accordingly, on the fourth of June, a party of five hundred horse was detached in private to Holmby (where the king then resided), under the command of one Joyce, who, before the commencement of the war, had followed the trade of a taylor, but was now raised to the rank of a cornet, and was an active agitator in the army. Though it was late at night when they arrived, and the king was gone to bed, Joyce, having gained admission into the house, went with very little ceremony into the king's room, with a pistol in his hand, and told his majesty he must forthwith go with him to the army. It was in vain to

resist: the king, after protracting the time as long as he could, stepped into his coach, and was immediately conveyed to the army, which was now on its march to the general rendezvous, at Triplo heath, near Cambridge. The parliament apprized of this event by their commissioners, who had the charge of the king at Holmby, were struck with fear and consternation. Fairfax himself was no less confounded at the king's arrival: that bold exploit performed, by Joyce, had never been imparted to the general; but Cromwell, by whose direction it had been done, and who was now arrived from London, cleared up all doubts and difficulties. The army being thus masters of the king's person, in a little time became masters of the parliament likewise, and managed all things just as they pleased, agreeable to what Cromwell is reported to have said to some of his intimate friends, "that now he had the king in his hands, he had the parliament in his pocket."

On the sixteenth of June the army drew up a charge of treason against eleven members of the house of commons, the chief of the presbyterian party, accusing them with betraying the cause of the parliament, endeavouring to break and destroy the army, &c. these were Denzil Holles, esq. sir Philip Stapleton, sir William Lewis, sir John Colworthy, sir William Waller, sir John Maynard, major general Massey, Mr. recorder Glyn, colonel Walter Long, colonel Edward Harley, and Mr. Anthony Nicholls. This round dealing of the army with the parliament, frightened the city of London so much, that, in great hurry, they sent a deputation of the aldermen and common-council to St. Alban's, into the neighbourhood of which the mutineers were now advanced, to disclaim any intention to raise forces or oppose the army. The parliament had settled the militia of London, according to the desire of the citizens, in the hands of the presbyterians, but being now over-awed by the army, they revoked their ordinance, and settled it as was before; upon this the common-council petitioned to have it settled their own way; and at the same time (July 26) a great multitude of the city apprentices, stirred up, no doubt, by the leading presbyterians in the city, came in a tumultuous manner to the parliament-house, and compelled them by threats and violence to do it, and also to vote that the king should come to London. The crafty Cromwell enjoyed this storm, which he saw would soon sweep before it the obstacles to his ambition: and indeed the transactions of the parliament at this time were so inconsistent, so tumultuous, and so contradictory, that they deserve no mention in history: to-day the independents mob, to-morrow that of the presbyterians prevailed. The parliament had no longer with it those able men who could direct the tumult, for the tumult now directed the parliament, which really had no will of its own. The commons, on the twenty-seventh of July adjourned to the thirtieth; and in the mean while not only Lenthall, speaker to the house of commons, but the earl of Manchester, who was speaker to the house of peers, with a great number of the members of both houses, fled with their regalia to the army, which, upon their arrival, and the news of the Westminster tumults, immediately directed its march towards London, in order, as they gave out, to restore the violated privileges of parliament.

Lenthall

Lenthall and Manchester were both presbyterians, and such a step in them was altogether unaccountable; but they probably thought that the army must in the end prevail, and they were willing to secure the interest of that party which was likely to have the ascendant.

The parliament, driven from their temporizing maxims, and obliged, either to abandon at once, or support by force, their power and liberty, prepared themselves for a vigorous defence, and resolved to oppose the violence of the army. On the thirtieth of July both houses met, and immediately elected new speakers, lord Hunsdon, and Henry Pelham; they repeated their former orders for levying troops: they constituted Massey commander: they ordered the trained-bands to guard the lines; and nothing was to be heard through the whole city but the sound of military preparations. It soon appeared, however, that all their resources were unequal to the present occasion. As the army advanced, Rainsborow, being sent over the river with a party of horse, presented himself before Southwark, and was readily admitted by some soldiers who were posted there for its defence, and who were determined not to divide their interests from those of the army. It was in vain to attempt resistance. The army marched through the city in triumph on the sixth of August; but observed the greatest order and regularity. They conducted to Westminster the two speakers, who took their seats without opposition. The eleven secluded members, being charged as the authors of the tumult, were expelled the house; and most of them abandoned the kingdom: seven peers were accused of high treason: the mayor, one sheriff, and three aldermen, committed to the Tower: several citizens and officers of the militia confined in other prisons: every decree of the parliament reversed from the time of the tumult till the return of the speakers: the lines about the city levelled: the independents re-established in the command of the militia: regiments stationed in Whitehall and the Meuse; and, in a word, the parliament reduced to a state of the most abject and deplorable slavery.

As to the king, he was obliged to attend the motions of the army since his late seizure, till, upon their approach to London, he was conducted to Hampton-court, where he was treated with great respect and civility by the heads of the army, and had all due honours paid him; though, in reality, he was no better than their prisoner. The parliament, or rather the army, who directed all their votes, put the command of the Tower into Fairfax's hands, declaring him at the same time generalissimo, with a power to put in or displace such officers as he pleased: but they were still at a loss how to dispose of the king's person. The independents had him in their power at Hampton-court. Cromwell and the presbyterian party both entered into treaty with him; the Scots likewise, by the earls of Lauderdale, Loudon, and Lanerk, their commissioners, proposed to carrying him off. Charles, who equally dreaded all those parties, was under a dreadful perturbation of spirit: at last perceiving that he had been the dupe of Cromwell, and being secretly apprized that the latter was forming dangerous designs against his life, resolved to withdraw himself from the army, and, accompanied only by sir John Berkeley, Ashburnham, and Legg, he privately left Hampton-court, in the night-time,

on the thirteenth of November, and his escape was not discovered till near two hours after his departure, when those who entered his chamber found on the table some letters addressed to the general and the officers who had attended him.

The parliament was struck with the news of Charles's escape, and made it high-treason and death without mercy for any one to conceal him. But on the fifteenth they were eased of their fears by a letter from Hammond, governor of the Isle of Wight, acquainting them that the king was then at Cowes. This Hammond had espoused a daughter of the famous Hampden, and was entirely devoted to the interest of Cromwell; but as he was at the same time a nephew to Dr. Hammond, the king's favourite chaplain, and was generally reputed a man of honour and integrity, it had been judged proper by Charles and the companions of his flight, to apply to him in the present necessity, when no other expedient could be devised. Accordingly Charles went over to the Isle of Wight, and put himself under Hammond's protection, hoping there to find an asylum, instead of which he only met with a new prison.

Some historians have imagined that the king's retreat to the Isle of Wight was entirely voluntary; others think his going thither was the effect of Cromwell's artifice, who tried to urge him to this measure by groundless alarms, purposely conveyed to him, as if the agitators had sworn to take his life. Be this as it will, certain it is Charles was never guilty of a weaker step, nor one more agreeable to Cromwell and his enemies. He was now, by orders of the parliament, confined in Carisbrook castle, with orders that none of his friends or adherents should be admitted to his presence, or to remain on the island. He was now in a place removed from his friends, at the disposal of the army, whence it would be almost impossible to deliver him, either by force or stratagem. Charles, however, in this melancholy situation, was not without an appearance of a resource: he held a secret correspondence with the lord Inchiquin, who commanded for the parliament in Ireland; he had private assurance of a strong support from abroad; he was even at this time, by his agents, tampering with the chief officers of the navy; he was carrying on intrigues with the presbyterians in the city; by Cromwell's connivance he held intelligence with officers about his (Cromwell's) own person; and he had now concluded a treaty with the Scots, in all respects disadvantageous and dishonourable; and therefore, by the vicious logic of the Scottish commissioners, who persuaded him to sign it, not to be observed farther than as it served the present turn. By this treaty he approved of their solemn league and covenant, and confirmed all they had done against episcopacy in Scotland; and made some other concessions, which in his soul he abhorred; in consideration of which the Scots engaged themselves to pour a new army into England, and the king was to protect all his subjects of his three kingdoms who should join him.

During the anarchy which now prevailed, the fatal consequence of a divided capital, an insolent army, and the flight and imprisonment of their lawful sovereign, the same spirit which had so long animated the independents, on a sudden took possession of several of the common soldiers of the army, who formed themselves into a body under

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the name of Levellers, an appellation which signified their design of reducing every thing to an equality, and acknowledging no superior in church, army, or state. They did no more indeed than what the commons had done before them; they copied the examples of their officers, and their pretensions seem to be full as well founded as those of the others. Their numbers were considerable: Cromwell, finding that they were likely to become very dangerous, as they acted upon his own principles, and that, if they were suffered to go on, they might deprive him of the fruit of all his policy and labour, formed the sudden resolution to quell them at the hazard of his own life. He repaired to a meeting of those levellers, with a guard of chosen men, with whom he had always been victorious, and began to expostulate with the mutineers, in a canting speech, about the reason of their violent proceedings. Receiving an insolent answer from one of the most licentious, he knocked down two or three of them with his own hand, and falling on the rest with incredible fury, he dispersed the whole body, caused some of them to be hanged by sentence of a court-martial, and sent a considerable number prisoners to London. By acting with the same vigour and intrepidity on several other occasions, he subdued the mutinous spirit of this dangerous sect, and reduced the army to submission.

While these things were in agitation, Charles, in order if possible, to satisfy the wishes of his people, had promised, by a message sent from Carisbroke castle, to relinquish, during his own life, the power of the militia, and the appointment of all the officers of state; on condition that, after his death, these prerogatives should be restored to the crown: but the parliament, directed by the independents and the army, instead of agreeing to these terms, drew up four propositions, which they sent him as preliminaries, and to which they demanded his positive assent before they would engage in any treaty.

By the first of these he was desired to bestow upon the parliament the military power for twenty years, together with an authority to raise whatever money should be found necessary for supporting the forces; and, even after the expiration of the twenty years, they reserved a right of resuming the same authority, whenever the safety of the kingdom should seem to require it. By the second, he must revoke all the proclamations and declarations which he had issued against the parliament, and acknowledge that assembly to have taken arms for their own just and necessary defence. By the third, he was to repeal all the acts, and cancel all the patents of peerage, which had passed the great seal, from the time of its being carried to Oxford by the lord-keeper Littleton. By the fourth, he must grant the two houses power to adjourn as they pleased: a demand, in appearance of no great moment; but calculated by the independents with a view of removing the parliament to places where it would be wholly under the direction of the army. The king thought it hard, that he should be obliged to make such concessions, while nothing was stipulated in his favour; and to depend entirely on the generosity of his enemies, for what he should afterwards obtain. He requested, therefore a personal treaty with the parliament, and begged that the terms, on both sides, should be

previously settled, before any concessions were demanded.

The refusal of Charles so exasperated the independent party, that many bitter speeches were made against him in the house of commons, particularly by Cromwell and his son-in-law Ireton, the former of whom seemed now to have resolved upon the taking the life of Charles. He durst not, however, impart the depth of his design to any but Ireton, and one or two bosom favourites; but though he concealed it from Fairfax, yet he soon preached and prayed him and the other officers into a spirit that was fit for his purposes. Having thus fixed the army, he knew he should have no difficulty with the parliament, where, upon the king's rejecting the propositions, sir Thomas Wroth had the boldness to move, not only that he should be removed close prisoner to some inland castle, but that articles of impeachment should be drawn up against him, himself deprived of the government, and a new form of government established. This motion was seconded by Ireton and Cromwell, with great warmth, but in general terms; for they only recommended it to the house to settle the kingdom without the king, who had rejected all these propositions, promising the army in such a case would stand by the parliament: "but (says Cromwell, with a stern look, clapping his hand to his sword) teach not the army, through despair to seek their safety by some other means than adhering to you who will not stick to yourselves; and how destructive such a resolution in them will be to you all, I tremble to think, and leave you to judge."

In fine, the house, over-awed by his menaces, resolved, on the third of January, 1648, "that no more addresses should be made to the king, nor messages received from him: and to this the lords some days after agreed; the army now promising, in an address to both houses, to stand by the parliament against the king, on whom Hammond was ordered to have a stricter guard than ever, upon an information that a fleet of Dutch ships had anchored near the Isle of Wight, with a design to rescue him.

The king being reduced to this melancholy condition, by the insolence of the army, began to be deeply pitied by the more moderate part of his subjects, many of whom began to stir for him in several parts of the kingdom, in which they were joined by the presbyterians, from their hatred to the independents. Even the parliament, who were still mostly presbyterians, though they had lost their leaders, had not gone such lengths against the king, if they had not been over-awed by the army. What much encouraged the insurrections in England, was a prospect of a powerful assistance from Scotland; for the Scottish commissioners having entered a strong protestation against forcing upon the king the four propositions already mentioned, and their protest being disregarded, provoked at this and many other indignities to which they were exposed, and touched with compassion for the misfortunes and sufferings of their sovereign, had undertaken to arm Scotland in his favour. In this they succeeded so well that they procured a vote of the Scottish parliament to raise forty thousand men for the rescue of the king's person, and to give the command thereof to the duke of Hamilton, contrary to the sentiments of the kirk commissioners and

the zealous covenanters under the marquis of Argyll; who were apprehensive; that if this scheme should succeed, it would effect the restoration of monarchy without the establishment of presbytery.

While the Scots were preparing for the invasion of England, every part of that kingdom was filled with tumults, insurrections, conspiracies, and discontents. The presbyterians, who, by their credit and interest, had chiefly supported the war, were provoked to find themselves over-reached and over-powered by the fraud and chicanery of the independents. The royalists, incensed at the cruel treatment which the king suffered from the army, were strongly prompted to restore him to liberty, and to regain the advantages, which they had formerly lost. All orders of men were fired with indignation at seeing the civil subjected to the military power, and the king and parliament at once enslaved by a mercenary army. But though the whole nation seemed to unite in their hatred of military usurpation, the views entertained by the several parties were so different, that little concert was observed in these insurrections.

Langhorne, Poyer, and Powel, presbyterian officers, who headed bodies of troops in Wales, were the first who declared themselves, and, early in the beginning of the year 1648, assembled a considerable army in those countries, which were warmly attached to the royal cause: young Hales and Goring, who had been made earl of Norwich, excited commotions in Kent: an insurrection was raised in Essex by lord Capel, sir Charles Lucas, and sir George Lisle: the earl of Holland, who, since the beginning of the civil wars, had frequently shifted sides, endeavoured to collect forces in Surry: Morrice had surprized the castle of Pomfret, in Yorkshire.

What seemed of the greatest importance, was the general spirit of discontent that had seized the navy. No less than seventeen ships, lying in the mouth of the river, declared against the army; and setting Rainsborow, their admiral, on shore, sailed over to Holland, and put themselves under the command of the prince of Wales. About the same time the king's second son, the duke of York (afterwards king James II.) who was then about fifteen years old, and was a kind of a state prisoner in St James's palace, escaped more fortunately from his confinement than his father had done from Hampton-court, and retired to Holland, where he joined his brother the prince of Wales. All these events however seemed only as the means to hasten the ruin of the unhappy king.

The genius of Cromwell, or the anger of Heaven upon a nation so bespotted with crimes of the foulest dyes as England now was, prevailed over every human precaution. Cromwell marched in person into Wales; and, after taking Pembroke castle, which stood a siege of four weeks, he put an end to the commotions in that part of the country: Langhorne, Poyer, and Powell, who surrendered prisoners at discretion, were tried by a court-martial, and condemned to draw lots for their lives; the lot falling on Poyer, he was accordingly shot to death. General Fairfax (now a lord by the death of his father) successfully opposed the royal party in Kent, under the earl of Norwich: he defeated him at Maidstone, and drove him with his men into Essex, where those who had taken

arms under lord Capel, sir Charles Lucas, and sir George Lisle, were forced to shut themselves up in Colchester, where they endured a long siege, and at last were compelled to surrender. Lucas and Lisle were shot to death; Goring (earl of Norwich) and Capel were sent prisoners to Windsor castle. In the course of this summer the earl of Holland, Villiers duke of Buckingham, and his brother Francis, were defeated at Kingston upon Thames, by colonel Livesey: the earl was taken prisoner, the duke fled into France, and the lord Francis was slain.

Cromwell now saw his bloody policy of governing by the sword, succeed beyond expectation: it was not now as formerly, when he had the unarmed authority of parliament, and the timorous citizens of London to deal with, for the nation now on every side was in a blaze, which could be quenched only with streams of blood. Besides Kent, Essex, Wales, and the northern counties, the Cornishmen were up in arms, but were defeated at Penzance by sir Hardresse Waller, who afterwards took possession of Exeter. In like manner the inhabitants of Rutlandshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and the neighbouring counties, took arms, and were assembled near Stamford. Sir John Owen had renewed the war in Wales, and besieged Caernarvon castle; but was defeated and taken prisoner by colonel Carter. From these circumstances the reader may conclude how expert six or seven years daily experience had made the parliament's army in the trade of murder, since about thirty thousand of their troops could keep upwards of a million in subjection, for the army was now actually at war with all the people of England. Its most determined enemies were those who had been most active against Charles in the beginning and progress of the war, and were therefore considered by the army as apostates, and they were on all occasions hated with greater severity than the royalists themselves.

The invasion from Scotland ended no less fatally than the other attempts made this year in behalf of the royal cause. The Scottish army, under duke Hamilton, amounting to near twenty thousand men, entered England on the thirteenth of July, and were joined by five thousand English, under sir Marmaduke Langdale; and falling upon the parliament's army, under major-general Lambert, near Appleby, in Westmoreland, they forced him to retire into the town, from whence he retreated to Kirby Steven, and afterwards to Bowes leaving some of his forces behind to defend the castle, which was besieged, and taken on the seventh of August, by sir Philip Musgrave. The Scots staid some time at Kendal, and major-general Lambert's army increased daily with additional forces: at length Cromwell, having quietted the commotions in Wales, marched with his forces to join him, and in his way took the town of Pomfret, but the castle still held out for the king, but was reduced by Lambert before the end of the year. Hamilton leaving Kendal, directed his march into Lancashire, with an intent to advance to London: this Cromwell was resolved to prevent at all hazards, and therefore marched to Preston, where Hamilton and Langdale lay with their forces. Here Cromwell ventured to attack them with a body not amounting to half their number; and though the royalists behaved with uncommon bravery, yet,

not being properly supported by their confederates, were on the seventeenth of August; entirely routed, and most of them put to the sword. Hamilton and his troops were also shamefully defeated, and chased to Uttoxeter, where the duke himself was taken prisoner by the lord Grey of Groby, and sent in safe custody to Ashby de la Zouch, in Leicestershire: sir Marmaduke Langdale was apprehended in an inn.

During these transactions in England, the prince of Wales, having sent his brother, the duke of York, to the Hague, went on board the fleet at Helvoetsluys, and set sail for England, in order to join and head the Scottish army when it should enter that kingdom. When he arrived at Yarmouth, the inhabitants refused him admittance; then he directed his course to the river Thames, and took several rich vessels belonging to the Londoners, which were afterwards restored. Mean while the earl of Warwick assembled a squadron, with which he sailed in quest of the prince, and anchored his ship so near him in the river, that an engagement was thought unavoidable. The prince of Wales was eager for battle, and accordingly weighed in order to attack the earl; but the wind failing, and afterwards blowing full in his teeth, he could not execute his resolution: Warwick being reinforced with some fresh ships, and the royal fleet being in want of provisions, young Charles was persuaded to return to Helvoetsluys, whether he was followed by the enemy.

Cromwell improving the success he had obtained over the Scottish army, marched directly to Edinburgh; by which vigorous step he broke the measures of the royalists so much, that Berwick and Carlisle, which Hamilton had taken, were restored to the English parliament: and leaving Lambert in Scotland with some troops, he returned with his army to England, where his presence was now much wanted by his party, who by this time had firmly resolved the death of their sovereign.

For at the beginning of these troubles the presbyterian party in the house, in the city, and other places of the kingdom, began to resume their courage. Several petitions were presented for a personal treaty with the king; and when the army was removed from London into different parts of the kingdom to quell the risings of the people, the secluded members, and others who had absented themselves, having returned to their seats, the votes of no more addresses were repealed, and it was resolved by both houses "to enter into a personal treaty with the king; and Newport, in the Isle of Wight, should be the place of treaty; and that his majesty should be there with, honour, freedom, and safety; and five lords and ten commoners were appointed commissioners for managing the negotiation, which was allowed to last for forty days from the day of its commencement*." This last was an artful provision thrown in by the independents in the house, who wanted to spin out matters till the re-approach of the army to the neighbourhood of London, when they knew they could carry every thing they wished. Accordingly, sir Henry Vane, junior, who was one of the commissioners for the commons, so delayed the treaty by starting new difficulties, that it was not began till the fif-

teenth of September, a month after Cromwell had defeated the Scots, and the army was every where victorious. By the same means the treaty itself was prolonged till Cromwell was returned out of Scotland, and at hand to support Fairfax and the rest of the army, which being now collected together, after its various successes, had its headquarters at Windsor, and none remained to stem the torrent of its bloody rage, but the helpless king and parliament. At Cromwell's instigation the general officers agreed upon that execrable remonstrance, which in effect took off the head of Charles. On the twentieth of November, after some debates had passed between the two houses concerning the persons to be excepted from pardon, colonel Ewers, at the head of seven other officers, presented to the commons this remonstrance. It began with a demand to drop the treaty with the king, and to bring him to justice; to declare the prince of Wales and the duke of York to be incapable of government; that the army be satisfied out of the estates of delinquents; that justice be done to the capital causes of war; that a period be put to that parliament; that the frequent returns of annual or triennial parliaments be secured; that there be a more equal representative of the people in the house of commons; that all who had borne arms for the king should be disabled from electing or being elected; that the supreme power of government should be invested in the representatives of the people, among whom there should be liberty of entering dissents; that all future kings should be elected by the people, but without any negative voice; that all matters of general settlement should be established by the general contract of the people; but that none should have a share in it, who should oppose the matters contained in that remonstrance.

The parliament, though on all hands surrounded with the most imminent danger, and though unable to resist the usurpations of the army, nobly determined to oppose them to the last; and rather involve the nation in anarchy and confusion, than give their authority to those violent and desperate measures which were now projected. They deigned not to return any answer to the remonstrance of the army; but the latter had concerted measures to put it out of the power of the parliament to obstruct their designs: for colonel Hammond received an order, on the twenty-second of November, from Fairfax to attend him, and to resign to colonel Ewers (the same who had presented the army's remonstrance) the custody of the king's person, which was accordingly done, and the helpless king was, on the thirtieth of the same month, carried over to Hurst castle†, where he was again shut up from all his attendants, and continued close prisoner. The presbyterians exerted themselves anew on this occasion against the army, which they perceived to be upon the point of giving law to the parliament. On the fourth of December they voted "that the removal of the king out of the Isle of Wight was without the knowledge and consent of the house." Next day it was voted by a majority of one hundred and twenty-nine against eighty-three, "that the an-

* See Journ. of the House of Comm. July 28, 29, 1648.

† A fortress in Hampshire, situated on a narrow neck of

land, opposite and almost extending itself over to the Isle of Wight.

Ewers

swers of the king to the propositions of both houses (during the treaty at Newport) are a ground for the house to proceed upon, for the settlement of the kingdom."

This vote brought matters to a crisis between the parliament and the army; the officers, conscious of their own strength, resolved no longer to keep measures: employing the name of Fairfax (for he still suffered them to make use of his name) they conducted the army to London on the sixth of December, and posted guards in Whitehall, the Meuse, St. James's, Durham-house, Covent-garden, and Palace-yard. Next day colonel Pride, formerly a dray-man, had surrounded the house with two regiments, by whom above forty members, as they were coming to the parliament, were seized, and committed to the custody of the guards in several inns in Westminster and the parts adjoining: and, not satisfied with this, they presented a paper to the house, wherein they accused major-general Brown and ninety members, for inviting the Scots into England the last summer, and therefore required they might be excluded the house. Even this violent outrage was not sufficient to subdue the parliament: they adjourned for four or five days, in which space the army was busied in completing their form of government.

Upon re-assembling the two houses, it was found that above one hundred and sixty members were excluded; and none were now suffered to enter but the most fierce and desperate of the independents who hardly amounted to sixty in number. This flagrant violation of the liberties of parliament was commonly known by the name of Colonel Pride's Purge. The transactions of the remaining part of the parliament, if this insignificant assembly deserves that honourable appellation, were such as might naturally be expected from the frantic members of which it was composed: they forthwith annulled the former vote, and declared the king's concessions unsatisfactory. They resolved, that no members, absent at this last vote, should be admitted until they had signed it, as agreeable to their judgment. They confirmed their former vote of non-addresses; and they ordered into custody sir William Waller, sir John Clotworthy, the generals Massey, Brown, Copley, and other leaders of the presbyterians. The excluded members having published a paper, representing the outrages which had been offered to them, and protesting against all acts, which, from that time, should be passed in the house of commons; the independent members opposed it by a declaration, in which they declared it a false, scandalous, seditious libel, and tending to the subversion of the fundamental liberties and privileges of parliament*.

And now the fall of the unhappy king came on apace. Cornwall, who was then returned to his seat in the house of commons, and had been thanked for his services in Scotland, had now no other difficulty in completing the murder of Charles, but to disguise the horror of the deed from Fairfax, who began to fear he had gone too far, nor could all the arts of Cromwell restore him to perfect quiet. The remnant of the house of commons, consisted of a set of men raised from the lowest class of life, the slaves of the army, whose officers exercised unlimited power in all proceedings: the city

itself was in subjection to them. Cromwell, who could do what he pleased with the soldiers, got them to present petitions against the king; and the counties of Somerset and Norfolk, with the fleet under the earl of Warwick, sent a declaration in which they joined with the army: the common-council of London, which had so lately declared for the king, now wholly under the direction of the victorious party, concurred in the petition to have him brought to trial. At length this bold refusal of the house of commons presumed to form a resolution which far transcended all former acts of treason and fanaticism: on the twenty-third of December they appointed a committee to draw up a formal accusation or impeachment of his majesty. Colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, was commanded to conduct the royal victim from Hurst castle to Windsor. On the twenty-eighth of December, the committee having made its report, an ordinance for trying the king was brought into the house of commons by Scot, an independent minister. This was founded on a vote which made it "high treason in a king of England, for the time being, to levy war against the parliament and kingdom of England." This ordinance, with many detestable particulars, was very quickly carried through the commons, and on the second of January, 1649, it was carried up to the house of peers by the lord Grey of Groby.

The house of peers, during the whole course of the civil wars, had possessed little authority or influence; but since the king's fall, it had been wholly insignificant; and most of the members, disgusted at the public proceedings, declined to give their attendance. It happened, however, that day, to be more full than usual, and they were convened to the number of sixteen. Without the least doubt or hesitation, they unanimously rejected the vote of the lower-house, and adjourned themselves for ten days; hoping by this means, to restrain the furious career of the commons.

But the commons were not to be diverted from their purpose by so small an obstacle: they voted to proceed in trying the king, and in all other matters, without the concurrence of the lords; and on the fourth of January they passed the following votes, which will best speak for themselves as to the purpose they were to serve:

"Resolved, &c. That the commons of England in parliament assembled, do declare that the people are, under God, the original of all just power.

"And also declare that the commons of England in parliament assembled, being chosen by, and representing, the people, have the supreme power in this nation.

"And do also declare, that whatever is enacted, or declared for them, by the commons in parliament assembled, hath the force of law; and all the people of this nation are included thereby, although the consent and concurrence of the king, or house of peers, be not had thereunto."

They also voted, "That all members and others, appointed to act in any ordinance with peers, were empowered and enjoined to sit, act, and execute, notwithstanding the peers joined not therein." And so earnest were both the commons and the army about the king's trial, that the queen, desiring

* Journals of the House of Com. Dec. 14, 20.

to see her husband before his arraignment, could not obtain a pass for her secure coming and returning.

On the sixth of January, the ordinance for the king's trial was turned into an act of the commons alone, and engrossed: and proclamation was made two days after, in Westminster hall, Cheapside, and the Old Exchange, for witnesses to come in against him; and commissioners were appointed for trying him. At first it was proposed to name some of the house of peers to be commissioners for that purpose; but, upon second thoughts, that intention was laid aside, and Thomas lord Fairfax, general, Oliver Cromwell, esq. lieutenant-general, Henry Ireton, esq. commissary-general, major-general Philip Skippon, sir Hardress Waller, knight, and other persons, to the number of one hundred and forty-five, were appointed commissioners and judges on this surprizing trial.

When those commissioners met, they chose serjeant Bradshaw for their president. He was a bold insolent lawyer, and voted into the presidency, not for his abilities, of which he is said not to have been destitute in his profession, but because he was void of all tenderness towards names, persons, or offices, and was dauntless enough to go coolly through the impious work. Dr. Dorislaus, Steele, Ashe, and Cooke, were appointed assistants to the court, for drawing up and managing the evidence: the former of those was a civilian; the other three were common lawyers, and Steele appears to have been a man of parts. The court in which they were to act was christened by the name of the High Court of Justice, and provided with proper officers and decorations, to give it an august appearance. Bradshaw was attended by a guard, had a sword of state, and a mace, embossed with the king's own arms, carried before him; and he behaved with that gravity which became a supreme magistrate.

On the nineteenth of January the king was brought from Windsor to St. James's house, and all things were prepared for his fatal tragedy, in which the commons proceeded with unabated earnestness, notwithstanding the house of lords, and the remonstrance of the parliament of Scotland, now convened, against it.

On Saturday, January 20, 1649, the king was brought before the high court of justice, in Westminster hall, having been guarded thither by colonel Hacker and about thirty officers armed. I shall not detain the reader with the particulars of this execrable trial, which are to be found in every history of those times; they are neither interesting nor instructive: it is sufficient to say that Charles's deportment before his infamous judges was very majestic; he looked undauntedly on the array of troops that attended him, and the pageantry of the court; and, without moving his hat, or shewing the regicides the smallest mark of reverence, he seated himself in a chair of crimson velvet, prepar-

ed for him within the bar. It may be thought strange by some readers, that as a great number, if not the majority, of the commissioners who were impowered to act on this occasion, detested the guilt of the court, they did not attend and endeavour to prevent the sentence*: but the truth is, the furiousness of the army was such, that had any difficulty occurred in condemning Charles, it would have purged the court as it had done the parliament.

The substance of the charge against the king was, "that he had endeavoured to set up a tyrannical power, and to that end had raised and maintained a cruel war against the parliament." The king, on the hearing this charge read by the clerk of the court, made no other answer but by denying the authority of the court; the same he did on the twenty-second and twenty-third. At length being brought before them a fourth time, on January 27, he earnestly desired before sentence, to be heard before the lords and commons (intending, as it was thought, to have resigned his crown to his eldest son Charles, prince of Wales), but his request was not granted; and so still persisting in disowning the jurisdiction of the court, and consequently in his refusal to answer the charge, his silence was taken for confession; sentence of death was passed upon him, after an insolent speech made by Bradshaw, all the members present standing up by way of approbation: their names were as follows; Bradshaw, president, Lisle, Say, Cromwell, Ireton, Hardress Waller, Bourchier, *Heveningham*, *Pennington*, Martin, Purefoy, Barkstead, *Tomlinson*, Blackiston, Millington, Constable, Ludlow, Hutchinson, Livesey, Tichburn, Roe, Lilburne, Smith, Edwards, Clement, Wogan, Norton, *Harvey*, Venn, Scot, *Andrews*, Fleetwood, Mayne, J. Temple, Scrope, Dean, Okey, Hewson, Goffe, *Holland*, Carew, Jones, Corbet, *Allen*, Pelham, Blagrove, Walton, Harrison, Whalley, Pride, Ewers, Grey of Groby, Danvers, Maleverer, More, Alured, Cawley, Stapley, Downs, Horton, *Hammond*, *Love*, Potter, Garland, Dixwell, P. Temple, Waite. The sentence ran: "That he, Charles Stuart, king of England, having been convicted and attainted as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy, should be put to death, by severing his head from his body." This sentence, and the warrant for execution, in consequence thereof, were signed and sealed by all the commissioners above mentioned, except such of them whose names are printed in *Italic* characters. And here it will be necessary to take notice, that colonel Richard Ingoldsby's hand and seal were, against his consent, put to the death-warrant, by Oliver Cromwell; but his early disclaiming the fact, and his active and successful endeavours for the restoration of king Charles II. to his crown and kingdoms, not only obtained his pardon, but also gained him the king's favour, who conferred on him the dignity of a knight of the Bath at his coronation.

* It was a remark, that in calling over the court the first day of the king's trial, when the crier pronounced the name of lord Fairfax, which had been inserted in the number, a voice came from the gallery, crying, "He has more wit than to be here." When the impeachment was read, "in the name of the good people of England; That is a lye," said the same voice, in a shriller tone, "Not a half, nor a quarter: where are the people or their representatives? Oliver Cromwell is a rogue and a traitor."

Axtel, the officer who guarded the court, gave orders to fire

at the place from whence these insolent speeches proceeded, calling out, "Down with the whores; shoot them:" but it was soon found, that the lady Fairfax was there, and that it was she who had the courage to utter them. She was a person of very noble birth, the daughter of Horace lord Vere of Tilbury; but, being misled by the prejudices of the times, she had long encouraged her husband's zeal against the royal cause, and was now, as well as he, filled with abhorrence at the fatal and unexpected consequences of all his victories and successes. Hume, Carte, Rapin.

29
Charles 1st. taking leave of his Children.



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Grignon sculp

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Duke of
This Plate is most



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SI.

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Leewood

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Alburne

Lay

Stapley

Norton

Challoner

Tho wogan

John Penn

Gregory Clement

Jo: Downes

Tho Wayte

Tho: Scot

Jo: Careu

Miles Corbet

Hulton-Deput

was not a higher block: then addressing himself to the colonels Tomlinson, Hacker, and some other persons who were on the scaffold, he declared himself innocent of having commenced war against the parliament: he owned that his fate was a just judgment from Heaven, for having consented to

those he trusted had over him, increased the distempers of his reign; and his losing entirely the confidence of his people, with the clashing interest of parties, violent and furious in their opposition to each other, at last completed his ruin, after

place was invested by Essex. His approaches were so indifferently carried on, that the parliament's engineers appeared to be very little acquainted with the business of besieging towns. They had, however, such advantages by the situation of the place, that their cannon played directly into the town, and one of their shot disabled Aston, to the irreparable loss of the king, who was now preparing to relieve the place; but while he was upon his march, the garrison, under Fielding, who had succeeded Aston in command, after killing, in their sallies, a great number of parliamentarians, found themselves obliged to capitulate, and to deliver up the town; for which, Fielding was afterwards sentenced to lose his head by a council of war at Oxford, but he was pardoned by Charles. The articles of capitulation were extremely advantageous for Charles, by giving him back his whole garrison; but they were very ill observed by the parliamentarians, which occasioned severe reprisals afterwards by the royal party.

At this time scarce one county in England was free from the horror of civil war; the royalists were victorious in most parts; in Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, and Staffordshire, many encounters passed between the king's forces under prince Rupert, and the earl of Northampton, the lord Brooke, Sir John Gill, and Sir William Brereton, for the parliament; in one of which, fought on Hopton heath, the earl of Northampton lost his life, and the lord Brooke was slain before the town of Litchfield, which was afterwards taken by his forces, and again retaken by prince Rupert. In Yorkshire, and the more northern parts, the lord Fairfax and his son, Sir Thomas, afterwards so famous under the title of General Fairfax, had success greater than could be expected from the small force they had with them; but at length the whole county was reduced by the king's troops, and Fairfax, with his followers, were obliged to shut themselves up in Hull. The greatest part of Wales remained firm to the royal cause; the parliament, therefore, in order to check the king's good fortune in that part of the country, dispatched the earl of Stamford with an army into the West, where Sir Ralph Hopton, with his forces, lay before Plymouth, in the parliament's possession. Sir Ralph, hearing of the earl's approach, drew forth his troops and gave him battle, in which he defeated the greatest part of his forces; and then a truce was agreed upon between the earl and him for three weeks; during which time Sir George Chudleigh, who had been very active and successful for the parliament in Denbighshire, upon a due reflection on the views of both parties in the present unnatural contest, quitted the opposition, and joined himself to the king; but, to satisfy his friends of the reasons of this tergiversation, he published a short declaration, which we are persuaded our readers will be pleased to see, not only as it is doing great honour to the understanding, integrity, and patriotic loyalty of this gallant officer, but as it speaks

the sentiments of most of the moderate part of the opposition, in regard to the state of affairs between the king and parliament at this juncture.

"That petitions of right, says he, are commendable, and remonstrances may be useful; but arms, though defensive, are very doubtful. My lot (says he) fell to cast on the parliament side, by a strong opinion of the goodness of their cause, which, to my judgment, then appeared to be so. Religion, and the subjects liberty, seemed to me to be in danger; but the destruction of kingdoms cannot be the way to save it, nor can the loss of Christian subjects, nor the subjects loss of their estates by plunder or assessment, concur with piety, nor yet with propriety: as for religion, which is the chief, his majesty (whom God long preserve) has given us unquestionable security. I have cast myself at my sovereign's feet, and implored his gracious pardon; I will contend no more in word or deed. And this my resolution, with the indisputable grounds thereof, I thought good to declare to my friends and countrymen, that they may understand that my change doth proceed from no compulsion."

The parliamentarians, however, were not discouraged; they knew they had powerful resources, and though for the present unsuccessful, they still acted as masters against whom the king had rebelled. They condemned and executed for treason several of their fellow-subjects, who had delivered up to the king his own towns*; while the king, on his side, refrained from all cruel reprisals on his prisoners. This conduct may serve to justify, in the opinion of posterity, a prince who has been represented so criminal towards his people, and teach us to pity the unnatural persecution he suffered from his subjects, while we blame the causes of offence he had given them; for which, however, he had offered every atonement, every reparation, that majesty could make.

The two capital armies, that under Charles, and that under Essex, lay all this while inactive; the former about Abingdon and Oxford, the latter about Reading. Essex, in the whole of his operations against the king, seems to have been under the constant check of rencountering loyalty. According to the account given of the battle of Edge hill by the earl of Clarendon himself, he could have taken the king and the two princes prisoners, but forbore, most probably from the motives already assigned; in fine, a strong probability arises, that he was not yet in earnest in the opposition, and that he never intended to carry hostilities farther against the king and his party than was necessary for his own defence in the service he had embraced. However this might be, his conduct appeared very doubtful to his best friends, and the violent party in parliament could not help distrusting him; they now openly blamed him for not marching against Oxford; and, as the parliament officers who served under him were daily improving in military knowledge, he could find no pretext for longer inactivity, being lately joined by Sir William Waller, who had by this

* Yeamans and Bourcher were executed at Bristol, for endeavouring to seize that town for the king; the like happened to several gentlemen and citizens of London, for a design laid to seize the city and several members of parliament, in order to have put a period to the civil war, by stopping the issues of it in the fountain. Edmund Waller, the famous poet, was on

this occasion expelled the house of commons, of which he was a member, imprisoned a year in the Tower, fined ten thousand pounds, and banished to France for ten years; the others concerned with him were publicly executed. See Journals of the House of Commons, anno 1643.

time reduced Hereford, and made an unsuccessful attempt upon Worcester; he made a march towards Oxford, and fixed his head quarters at Thame, upon the borders of Buckinghamshire, in order to over-awe that county, which now grew turbulent in favour of Charles.

While he remained in this post, colonel Urrey, a Scotch officer, who had served in Germany with general Ruthven, now created earl of Brentford, took this opportunity of deserting to the king, and persuaded prince Rupert to beat up the quarters of the enemy, after having particularly informed him of their disposition. To demonstrate the practicability of such an exploit, he proposed to go as a volunteer with a detachment, which he conducted to part of these quarters, where he defeated some regiments and brought a great number of prisoners to Oxford. Prince Rupert, encouraged by his success, complied with his advice in making a more vigorous attack upon that part of their army, which was quartered at Thame. They departed from Oxford with a strong body of horse, and taking a long circuit in the night, arrived, by break of day, at Wickham, where they cut in pieces two regiments of the enemy; they attacked another quarter with the same success, and attempted to retire by a bridge, at which they had left a sufficient guard. By this time the earl of Essex had taken the alarm and detached part of his cavalry to detain the prince till he should be able to advance with the infantry. They overtook him at the skirts of Chalgrave-field, where he wheeled about, and charged them with such impetuosity, that they betook themselves to flight, after having lost some of their best officers, and among the rest the celebrated John Hampden, who had acted as colonel of a regiment, since the beginning of the war, and proved in many encounters that his courage was equal to any other of his extraordinary endowments. The candour and moderation for which this gentleman was distinguished in the beginning of the opposition to the king's measures, had given way to a violent animosity against the ancient constitution, and the person of his sovereign, by whom he had been declared guilty of high-treason. This was an affront he never could forgive. He became passionate, and even ferocious; discouraged all overtures towards an accommodation, and now his death struck a damp into the hearts of the whole faction. Other officers were slain or taken prisoners. The army under Essex was dispirited by these checks, diminished by distempers and want of necessaries, so that he thought proper to remove from Thame and put his troops into quarters of refreshment at St. Alban's, Uxbridge, and other places in that neighbourhood. On the other hand, prince Rupert returned in triumph to Oxford, and recommended Urrey to the king in such warm encomiums of his courage and conduct, that he received the honour of knighthood, and was preferred to the command of a regiment.

The king's affairs still wore a favourable aspect in the western counties, where the neutrality was over-ruled as in the North by the votes and declarations of the parliament. Major Chudleigh, with a body of the enemy, made an attempt upon Launceston, but being repulsed, retired to Kingston. About the middle of May, the earl of Stamford marching into Cornwall, at the head of

seven thousand horse and foot, with a train of artillery, encamped on the top of a hill near Stratton, and detached sir George Chudleigh, with twelve hundred cavalry, to surprize the sheriff of the county at Bodmin. The Cornish loyalists, under lord Mohun and sir Ralph Hopton, seized this opportunity of attacking their infantry in the absence of their horse: they formed their small army into four divisions, and attacked the hill in as many different parts; after a very warm contest, they met upon the summit, disarmed major-general Chudleigh, routed the parliamentarians, and took possession of their cannon and camp, while the earl of Stamford retired with precipitation to Exeter, and sir George Chudleigh, with their cavalry, took the same route from Bodmin, as soon as he was informed of the earl's disaster. The victorious loyalists, having received orders to join prince Maurice and the marquis of Hertford, who had advanced as far as Somersetshire, began their march, and joining the marquis at Chard, the two bodies united, amounted to above seven thousand men, in excellent order, with a good train of artillery: thus strengthened, they took Taunton, Bridgewater, and Dunster castle, almost without opposition.

The reputation which the Cornish men obtained in this action, gave infinite spirits to the king's party; and the affair of the West became now the principal object both with Charles and the parliament; the latter put Sir William Waller at the head of a new army, to march into Somersetshire and retrieve their affairs. Waller was a man of spirit and fortune, and had served the parliament so effectually on many occasions, that, in the city of London, he obtained the name of William the Conqueror; he was a thorough paced republican, and was considered by the violent of the parliament party as the most proper officer to succeed Essex, if it should be found necessary to lay that general aside: in this expedition, however, he proved very unfortunate, for, in less than a fortnight, he lost two battles, one at Lansdown, on the fifth of July, wherein Sir Bevil Grenville was slain; and another at Roundway-down, on July the tenth; in the latter of which, his army was entirely routed, and so dispersed, that it was no longer serviceable; Waller himself fled to Bristol.

The affairs of the king in the North at this time went on very prosperously; the queen had again returned to England with a second supply of men, and a sum of money she had raised by pawning the crown-jewels in Holland; for which the parliament, agreeable to the usual spirit of their proceedings, had voted her guilty of high-treason. Matters, however, were so successful for Charles, that the queen ventured to obey him, by marching south, with all the troops, artillery, and ammunition, under her command, and found her royal consort at Edge-hill, on the very day his troops gained the battle of Roundway-down: from Edge-hill they entered Oxford in a triumphant manner, while the Cornish forces reduced Bath, and then marched to form the siege of Bristol, in conjunction with the troops under prince Rupert. It was the twenty-fourth day of July, before the approaches began; the place was rich, and garrisoned by two thousand five hundred foot, and a regiment of horse, under the command of

Fiennes

Fiennes, who was but an indifferent soldier. After some deliberation, the city was assaulted by the loyalists with such incredible courage, that the garrison beat a parley, and surrendered upon terms. Besides this important success, Charles, at this time, gained another, by prince Rupert's seizing the ships in which the most wealthy citizens of Bristol had embarked their riches, with a view of conveying them to London.

All this time Charles had subsisted his forces by contributions and assessments, or by loans, and voluntary presents from all parts of the kingdom; but the supplies, even including those brought him by his queen, were still very disproportionate to his pressing necessities. The resources of the parliament were more numerous, and more considerable: and, of consequence, all their military preparations were in much greater order and readiness. Besides a tax levied in London, amounting to the twenty-fifth part of every one's substance, they imposed on that city a weekly assessment of ten thousand pounds, and another of twenty-three thousand five hundred and eighteen, on the rest of the kingdom: and as their authority was very great in most counties, they levied these taxes with the utmost regularity.

A few days after the taking of Bristol, Charles went to view that city, in which he had not long arrived before he received news of the surrender of Dorchester to the earl of Caernarvon; and a day or two after, Portland, Weymouth, and Melcombe, submitted likewise; so that by the end of this summer, the royal party was in possession of all the western counties from the farthest part of Cornwall, except some few garrisons that were blocked up. In the North, even to the borders of Scotland, there was no army in the field to oppose the king, and his forces marched whithersoever they pleased. London was now greatly divided between the two parties; many of the wealthier and more creditable citizens favoured the king's cause; and most of the gentry of the associated counties already mentioned, were ready, upon the first appearance of the king at the head of his army, to have secured those counties for him. These considerations seemed naturally to point out, as the only rational step, that the king should have marched with his army to London, and have dispatched the earl of Newcastle, at the head of his victorious band, into the associated counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, whereby a speedy end would, in all probability, have been put to this civil war. But, in the midst of these hopes, the king calling a council at Bristol, to deliberate how he was next to employ his arms, it was resolved, that the Western army should be sent back to protect the loyalists in their own counties, and that the siege of Gloucester should be forthwith undertaken. Nothing could be more fatal to the king's affairs than this last resolution; a few days after which, the earl of Newcastle sat down before Hull, where the lord Fairfax had taken refuge, after several repeated defeats; and who, assisted by one colonel Meldrum, a Scotchman, defended the place with great bravery and conduct for several weeks, though he was vigorously attacked; at last, on the eleventh of October, the besieged made a grand sally, and after a very obstinate fight, which was several times renewed, drove the besiegers from their trenches, and seized upon their cannon; where-

upon Newcastle was obliged to raise the siege. The same day this sally was made by the garrison of Hull, part of the earl of Newcastle's army, commanded by the lord Widdrington, was routed at Horncastle, by the earl of Manchester, a general of the parliament's forces, who had with him Sir Thomas Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell, which latter, by a painful observance of the duties of the field, and a remarkable zeal for the cause, was now become a lieutenant-colonel under the parliament: he had never been in foreign service; and, if we may believe his contemporaries, his courage was rather the result of experience and reason, than the effect of his natural disposition; as he was a perfect judge of human nature, he began now to put in practice his favourite scheme, of inspiring those under him, and about him, with an enthusiasm that might overbalance all the sentiments of honour, loyalty, and duty, in the other party. How well this succeeded, the subsequent part of this history will demonstrate to us.

To the fatal siege of Gloucester the king in person, with his army, marched in the beginning of August; and about the tenth of that month he sat down before it, with about eight thousand horse and foot, and immediately ordered the approaches to be begun, which were frequently interrupted by the sallies of the besieged. The parliament greatly fearing the loss of this place, dispatched the earl of Essex instantly to its relief, who began his march from Hounslow Heath on the twenty-sixth of August. The rendezvous of his troops was at Aylesbury, where being joined by the lord Grey and reinforcements from the associated counties, he found himself at the head of eight thousand infantry, and half that number of horse; then he continued his march by Brackley, though he was a little incommoded by a detachment of the king's horse, sent on purpose to harass him with light skirmishes. He proceeded, however, with great expedition, and the king's forces abandoning their works at his approach, he entered Gloucester in triumph, when the garrison was reduced to extremity. Having supplied the city with provision, ammunition, and reinforced the garrison, he marched to Tewkesbury, whence he made a sudden motion to Cirencester, where he surprized two regiments of the royalists, and seized a great quantity of provisions prepared for the king's army: then he took his route through the northern parts of Wiltshire, having marched twenty miles before the king was informed of his motions. Prince Rupert was immediately sent after him, in order to intercept his march till the king could come up in person, with the rest of the army. This general came up with the earl as he was marching over Aubourn Chace, intending to have reached Newbury that night: a sharp conflict ensued, prince Rupert charged the earl's rear with such fury that it was put into great disorder. The marquis de la Vieuville, a French officer, who had attended the queen out of Holland, and served the king as a volunteer, was killed in this action, which, by its ill success obliged Essex to take up his quarters at Hungerford. The next day he continued his march towards Newbury, but found that the king had prevented him by two hours, and had posted himself near that town. Prince Rupert, after the action of the foregoing day (September 18), went and joined the royal army. It is certain that

Charles

Charles was possessed of advantages in consequence of this situation, which, had he known how to preserve them, must have proved decisive in his favour; but his officers had such a contempt of the London apprentices, which composed a great part of Essex's army (and whose character we have already mentioned), that, forgetting all the advantages they had, they attacked the parliamentarians in strong parties, till a general engagement became unavoidable; for Essex, finding his soldiers eager to return the affronts of the royal army, led them on in person to the fight, about six o'clock in the morning of the twentieth of September, which was continued with great gallantry on both sides till night put an end to the dispute. In this engagement, which was known by the title of the First Battle of Newbury, the royal army suffered greatly, and its loss was much aggravated by the quality of those that fell in the fight, there being slain, besides twenty officers of note, Ralph Dormer earl of Caernarvon, Henry Spencer earl of Sunderland, and Lucius Carey viscount Falkland, secretary of state, a nobleman universally respected by all who knew him, for his great parts, ingenuity, and honour; he was a zealous promoter of all endeavours towards peace between the king and parliament: he fell in the thirty-fourth year of his age. Whatever lord Clarendon may please to assert, the victory was certainly on the side of the parliament: Charles recalled his troops from the field, and left Essex to pursue his march to Reading unmolested, where he arrived, after the battle of Newbury, to be at hand to protect the city of London, the very thing Charles wanted to prevent him from doing. Upon the whole, it was no wonder if Essex, at his arrival at Reading, on the twenty-second of September, ordered public thanks to be given in the town, and was moreover welcomed with his army into London with triumphal honours by the city and parliament; while the king, with a disconcerted, disconsolate army, took up his winter quarters about Oxford. It appears, by the Journals of the House of Commons, that the faction there were unwilling their army should quit Reading; nor, indeed, does it appear to me why it was abandoned to the royalists, unless it was owing to the impatience of the Londoners to return home. Massey and the garrison of Gloucester were nobly rewarded, and the several committees were appointed to look to the recruiting the army, as if their intention had been that very winter to have attacked Oxford itself, where every thing was in the utmost confusion and despair.

During the interval between the king's laying siege to Gloucester and the battle of Newbury, several transactions happened, which we shall now briefly mention. The two houses received Waller, after the defeat in the West, with the warmest expressions of esteem: he was appointed commander in chief of the forces and militia of London; and they declared they would enable him to take the field again, to relieve their distressed friends in the West. They passed an ordinance to raise a new army under the command of the earl of Manchester, to oppose the earl of Newcastle, and protect the associated counties of Essex, Hertford, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdon, and Lincoln: then they sent a committee of both houses to soothe the earl of Essex, who had been for some time disgusted, and had indeed conferred

with the moderate party upon expedients to force the two houses into pacific measures. Whatever arguments the committee used, he was persuaded to re-adopt their sentiments; and his other friends, fearing he would discover their design, withdrew themselves from the parliament. The earl of Portland, lord Lovelace, and lord Conway, repaired to Oxford; and their example was followed by the earl of Clare; the earls of Bedford and Holland escaped to the king's garrison at Wallingford; and the earl of Northumberland retired to his own house at Petworth, in Suffex.

While the king was employed in the siege of Gloucester, the towns of Dorchester, Weymouth, and Portland surrendered to the earl of Caernarvon, who left his army under the command of prince Maurice, and repaired to the king, in discontent for some outrages which the troops had committed with impunity. Sir John Digby routed a party of the parliament's forces at Torrington; Barnstable and Biddeford were surrendered to him without opposition; and prince Maurice undertook the siege of Exeter, which was delivered into his hands by capitulation by the earl of Stamford. About the time we are now speaking of, the parliament resolved upon a very extraordinary action, which was the making a new great-seal: this innovation was at first very warmly opposed, but at length it was resolved upon by a majority of voices in both houses; yet, to preserve some colour of decency, they passed an order, "that if the lord-keeper Littleton did not, upon summons, return with the great-seal within fourteen days, he should lose his place; and whatever should be sealed therewith by him, after that time, should be null and void in law." But this menacing vote did not bring the great-seal from Oxford, so that the new great-seal was made, and some few months afterwards the use of it authorized by ordinance of both houses.

The court of France penetrated with the helpless situation of Charles, sent the count d'Harcourt (a prince of the house of Lorraine, and a great general) as ambassador to England, to offer the mediation of France to compose the differences between the king and the parliament. He came first to London, and addressed himself to both houses for a safe-conduct to Oxford, to the king, which they granted; and on the eighteenth of October he made his entry into that city, and three days after he had a public audience in the great hall at Christ-church, where the king and queen received him with great state and magnificence; and, whilst he staid at Oxford, he and his retinue were lodged in St. John's college: but finding himself unable to effect any thing by his embassy, after a few months stay he returned.

The parliament continued still stubborn and inflexible; and, what is very extraordinary, an assembly of a few men conducted their designs with more steadiness, than a king at the head of his army. The puritans having got the majority in both houses, threw aside the mask; they entered into a solemn league with Scotland, and signed the famous Covenant with that people. By this Covenant the subscribers bound themselves to support the reformed religion in the three kingdoms; to establish a uniformity in doctrine and discipline; to extirpate popery and prelacy; to maintain the privileges of the parliament and people; to defend

his majesty's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberty of the kingdom; to discover and punish incendiaries and malignants; to establish a firm peace and union to all posterity; and to renounce neutrality and resist temptation: to repent of their sins, amend their lives, and vie with each other in the great work of reformation." This Covenant was read in St. Margaret's church, at Westminster, in presence of both houses, by whom it was subscribed; and the commons ordered that it should be taken the following Sunday by all persons who lived under their jurisdiction.

It was plain by this covenant that the Scottish and English puritans wanted to erect themselves into a republic: this was the spirit of Calvinism, which had long been at work in France upon the same good design; it succeeded in Holland, but in France and England this darling scheme of the people could not be effected without shedding oceans of blood. The rage of civil war was cherished by the gloomy and austere behaviour, which was affected by the puritans. The parliament took this opportunity to oblige their Scottish friends by ordering the Book of Sports, composed by king James I. to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman; they thought by this action to shew their religion, and to offer a stabbing insult to the reigning prince. In the course of this year the parliament likewise ordered that each family should deprive itself of one meal in the week, and contribute the value of it for carrying on the war. One of the strongest proofs of the inflexible stiffness which had taken possession of all minds at this time, is the punishment of William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, who was condemned by the parliament, after having been four years in prison: when this prelate was brought to his trial, he made such a vigorous defence, that the commons perceiving that he could not be capitally convicted in the common course of evidence, declared him guilty of high-treason by an act of attainder; although it remains a fact upon record, that the chief crime proved upon him, was his having made use of some of the ceremonies of the Romish communion at the consecration of a church in London. He pleaded the king's pardon, which had been conveyed to him from Oxford; but it was declared null by both houses. Being sentenced to the death of a common felon, he petitioned that, as he was a bishop, a privy-counsellor, and a peer of the realm, he might be indulged with decapitation, a request which the commons granted with difficulty. He suffered on the tenth of January, 1644, in the seventy-third year of his age.

Both kingdoms having agreed to the Covenant, the states of Scotland appointed commissioners to treat with the English, concerning the aid they desired, which was that they would bring into England to their assistance an army consisting of twenty-one thousand horse and foot; towards the raising of which the parliament sent one hundred thousand pounds into Scotland, and great levies of men were made for this army, which entered England the beginning of the year 1644, and took possession of Berwick: they were commanded by Lesly, an old officer under the earl of Leven. Charles finding the parliaments of England and Scotland both united against him, and being hard pressed between the two armies, thought it necessary to conclude a

truce with the Roman catholics of Ireland; and prince Maurice and the earl of Antrim were sent to Ireland to bring over two thousand troops from thence to the west of Scotland by the first of April, where they were to be joined by the king's friends, and commanded by the earl of Montrose. At the same time the marquis of Ormond was ordered to send over some of the best regiments to the west of England. Lord Byron at the head of the forces brought over from Ireland, soon reduced the castles of Howarden, Breston, Acton, and Dedington. Sir Thomas Fairfax, informed of these proceedings collected a body of four thousand men in Yorkshire, and, being reinforced by sir William Brereton, advanced against the enemy: the swelling of a rivulet, by an excessive rain, divided one part of Byron's army from the other; that part opposed to Fairfax being driven from their post, took shelter in the church of Acton, and were all made prisoners; the other fled with the utmost precipitation: and thus was dispersed and rendered useless that body of forces which had been transported from Ireland; and the parliament recovered their former footing in the north-west of England.

In the mean time the king, that he might weaken the authority of the parliament, issued a proclamation requiring the parliament to assemble at Oxford, at the same time recounting all the tumults, by which he and his partizans in both houses had been driven from London: and he thence inferred, that the assembly at Westminster was no longer a free parliament, and, till its liberty was restored, had no right to exact obedience to any of its orders. As this declaration was an obstacle to all treaty, of which, however, the king was extremely desirous, it became necessary to elude it by some kind of contrivance. A letter was accordingly sent to the earl of Essex, and subscribed by the prince, the duke of York, and forty-three noblemen. They intreated him to use his endeavours for restoring peace to the country, and to promote that happy end with those by whom he was employed. Essex, though much dissatisfied with the conduct of the parliament, though apprehensive of the extremities to which they were driving, though willing to agree to any reasonable accommodation; yet was more anxious to discharge with fidelity the trust reposed in him. He replied, that as the paper sent him, was neither addressed to the two houses of parliament, nor acknowledged the authority of that assembly, he could not, by any means, impart it to them. Like proposals were repeated by the king during the ensuing campaign, and still met with a like denial from Essex.

In order to make another attempt towards a treaty, the king sent a letter directed to the lords and commons of parliament convened at Westminster: but as he likewise mentioned, in the letter, the lords and commons of parliament convened at Oxford, and expressed his desire that all the members of both houses might safely meet in a free and full assembly; the parliament, perceiving the conclusion which he meant to draw from this distinction, refused all treaty upon such terms. And the king, who despaired of all hopes of accommodation, would not forgo the pretensions, which he had assumed, nor acknowledge the two houses, more openly, for a parliament. About this time died the celebrated Pym; a man as much esteemed by one party, as hated by the other. The parliament considered

considered him as the victim to national liberty, who had impaired his constitution and shortened his life by his constant and unwearied application. The royalists believed him to have been struck with an uncommon disease, and to have been consumed with vermin; as a mark of divine vengeance for his numerous crimes and treasons.

The invasion of the Scots was productive of the most important consequences. They had entered England on the nineteenth of January, with an army of eighteen thousand foot, three thousand horse, and between five and six hundred dragoons; Alexander Lesly earl of Leven was general, John Bowley lieutenant-general of the horse. Leven advanced to Newcastle, on the twenty-second of February, and having in vain summoned the town, which was defended by a strong garrison, he crossed the Tyne, to force the earl (lately created marquis) of Newcastle, who was encamped at Durham, with an army of fourteen thousand men to stop the progress of the Scottish army, and he would have succeeded in all probability but for a great misfortune which happened to his forces in Yorkshire: colonel Bellasis, whom he had left with a considerable body of troops, was entirely defeated at Selby, on the nineteenth of April, by sir Thomas Fairfax, who had returned with his victorious forces from defeating the army under the lord Byron. Apprehensive of being shut up between the two armies, Newcastle retired, and Leven joined his troops to those of lord Fairfax. They invested York, in which the army of the royalists had taken shelter: but as the Scottish and parliamentary forces were not sufficient to besiege in form so large a city, divided by a river, they contented themselves with forming a kind of blockade; and affairs remained for some time in suspense between these opposite armies.

Mean while the other parts of the kingdom were not free from the calamities of war: the lord Hopton was beat by general Waller, at Alresford, in Kent; and prince Rupert, on the other hand, gained a signal victory over the parliamentary forces who had formed the siege of Newark, under the lord Willoughby and sir John Meldrum, by which he preserved a free communication between the king's northern and southern conquests. After this the prince attacked Liverpool, a sea-port town on the edge of Cheshire, of which he made himself master: here he received a letter from the king, pressing him to relieve York, the siege of which was by this time begun, the earl of Leven and general Fairfax having been joined by the earl of Manchester, with a numerous body of infantry, who, on their march, had reduced the city of Lincoln. On the approach of prince Rupert, the parliament's generals immediately raised the siege; and drawing up their troops on Marston Moor, resolved to prevent the junction of the royalists; but prince Rupert approached the town by another side, and keeping the river Ouse between him and the enemy, safely joined his troops to those of the marquis of Newcastle. In a conference between the two generals the latter endeavoured to demonstrate that the Scots and English, being at variance, would separate in a few days of their own accord, and that he expected a reinforcement of five thousand men from the North: the prince on this occasion behaved in so imperious a manner as greatly incensed the marquis, who the next day, when the

prince ordered the troops to be in readiness to engage, told him that he should not hesitate to obey his majesty's nephew, but insisted on resigning his authority, and serving only as a volunteer. On the third day of July the prince advanced against the enemy, and about two o'clock in the afternoon the action began, and lasted for some hours with great fury, and victory seemed ready to crown the efforts of the royal army, when the battle was restored by Oliver Cromwell (now made a lieutenant-general), who commanded the choice troops of the parliament, enured to danger under that undaunted leader, actuated by fanatic zeal, and regulated by the most severe discipline: in a word, after a very sharp conflict, in which the marquis of Newcastle, at the head of his regiment, performed miracles of valour, the royal army was entirely broken and dispersed, and a most complete victory was obtained by the parliament. The prince lost six thousand men, half of whom fell in the battle, together with all his artillery, baggage, and ammunition. After the battle the marquis of Newcastle, still resenting the insult he had received by the haughty carriage of prince Rupert, took shipping at Scarborough, and repaired to the continent, where he remained till the Restoration. Prince Rupert, confounded at his late overthrow, retired with the remains of his army into Lancashire abandoning York to its fate, which was in a few days yielded up to the parliament's forces by Glenham, the deputy-governor; Fairfax, entering the place, supplied it with a strong garrison, and detached a thousand horse into Lancashire, to reinforce the parliamentary army in that quarter, and attend the motions of prince Rupert: the Scottish army retired northwards, in order to meet the earl of Calender, who was coming to join them with ten thousand additional forces; and to besiege the town of Newcastle, which they took by storm: the earl of Manchester, with Cromwell, who had a capital share in gaining this great victory, and who was wounded in the action, repaired to the Eastern association, in order to recruit his army.

During these transactions in the North, the king's affairs wore a tolerable aspect in the South: two armies, under Essex and Waller, being by this time completed, those generals were ordered to advance with their combined forces towards Oxford, and, if the king took refuge in that city, to invest it, and by one enterprize finish the war. The king, leaving a sufficient garrison in Oxford, passed the enemy unnoticed, and bent his route to Worcester, and thereby the two parliament generals posted their armies between him and Oxford. The condition of Charles was now looked upon as desperate; and was certainly so, had he not been saved by the differences which, happily for him, subsisted between Essex and Waller, by the former taking upon him to prosecute the expedition to the West, which had been allotted to Waller, and ordering him to pursue Charles. Waller complained bitterly of Essex thus usurping his command, and produced his orders from the committees of both kingdoms (for the Scots were now indulged with having a committee in the English parliament, to act in conjunction with their friends there); but Essex was absolute, and threatened to try Waller by a council of war, if he should disobey. While they were debating this point, Charles got full two days march of the parliament army, and had reached

Worcester; but fearing to be shut up there by Waller, who by this time, was got as far as Evesham in pursuit of him, he went west with his army to Bewdly, as if he had intended to gain Shrewsbury, were it was practicable for him to have joined prince Rupert. Waller, who expected a large reinforcement, moved towards Broomsgrove and Kidderminster, and, extending his quarters all along the east side, by degrees got between Charles and the town of Shrewsbury. By this he did the very thing which Charles wished for; for he immediately returned to Worcester, and from thence to Evesham, breaking down the bridges as he passed along, by which means he left Waller two days march behind him, in a heavy country. Upon his coming to Evesham he punished some of its magistrates for their so readily admitting Waller into that place, and marched that same day towards Camden; from whence he sent to his friends in Oxford, where he had left most of his foot in garrison, to meet him with his cannon and infantry, being determined to fight Waller if he should come up. In a few hours he was joined by his forces from Oxford, and then went in quest of Waller, in his turn. On the twenty-ninth of June the two armies approached each other at Cropedy bridge, and were only divided by the Charwell. Next day the king dislodged and proceeded towards Daven-try. Waller ordered a large detachment to cross the bridge, and attack the rear of the royalists. They were repulsed, routed, and chased to a considerable distance. Stunned and discouraged by this blow, his troops began to desert in great numbers; and the king thought he might safely leave them, and march westward against Essex.

Five days after the fight of Cropedy bridge, the king, being at Evesham, caused to be drawn up a message for peace, to both houses of parliament; a copy whereof was sent to the earl of Essex by the marquis of Hertford, to be communicated to the parliament, it being intimated that the French agent had the original to deliver, if required. This message, directed "To the Lords and Commons of Parliament, assembled at Westminster," contained a general offer to treat of peace; and if commissioners should be sent to him, he would grant them a safe-conduct. The two houses, ever jealous of the king, thought there was some artifice concealed in sending them only a copy of his message, and that his aim was to engage them to demand the original of the French agent; besides, they did not conceive themselves to be owned, by the direction of the message, as the two houses of parliament; and therefore imagined the king had a mind to reserve to himself the power of saying he did not acknowledge them for the true parliament of England; and indeed he ought not, according to his principles, since he had published the fore-mentioned declaration against them: wherefore they resolved to take no notice of the message, nor return any answer.

Essex having compelled prince Maurice, who commanded the king's forces in the West, to abandon the siege of Lyme, and having reduced Weymouth and Taunton, proceeded still in his conquests without meeting with any interruption; but hearing that the king was marching into the West against him, he retired into Cornwall, and sent to the parliament, desiring them to dispatch an army to attack the king in the rear. General

Middleton was sent with a good body of troops, for that purpose; but arrived too late to do any effectual service. On the first of August, the king entered Cornwall, where he was joined by prince Maurice with his army; and now Essex saw himself cooped up in a narrow corner, at Lestwithiel; destitute of forage and provision, and despairing of all hopes of relief, he was reduced to the last extremity. The king pressed him on one side; prince Maurice on another; sir Richard Grenville on a third. On the thirty-first of August, Essex, Robarts, and some of the principal officers, got on board a boat, and fled to Plymouth: Balfour with his cavalry escaped the king's guards in a thick mist, and arrived safely at the garrisons of his own party. The infantry, under major-general Skippon were obliged to surrender their arms, artillery, baggage, and ammunition; and, being led to the parliamentary quarters, were set at liberty.

By this time the earl (now created marquis) of Montrose, was very successful for the king in Scotland, having obtained a great victory over the Covenanters upon Newbiggin Moor, and taken Perth; and within fourteen days after that, he gained another victory near Aberdeen, soon after took that city, and marched from thence into the earl of Argyll's country, which he wasted with fire and sword, and performed many great services, even to admiration considering the smallness of his beginning, and the little assistance he had from England. But we shall leave a while the narrative of his fortune, to return to the transactions in England, which were, the remaining part of this year, prosecuted in several places with various success. In the West, after the great victory over Essex's army, Ilfracomb, Branstaple, and Saltash submitted to the king's arms; and Basing-house, which had been eighteen weeks besieged, was relieved by a party from Oxford, under sir Henry Gage: and a little after, he, with the earl of Northampton, raised the siege of Banbury castle, which had been a month invested by colonel Fiennes, and slew and took many of his men and one piece of ordnance. But the good fortune of the parliament in several parts balanced this success with advantage: Monmouth was, in September, taken by colonel Massey; and the town and castle of Newcastle, which had long sustained the utmost efforts of the English and Scottish armies, was taken by storm, to the great loss of the assailants, on the twenty-seventh of October; and a while after Liverpool, in Lancashire, was surrendered to sir John Meldrum. But the great business that concluded this year were the important battle of Newbury and the treaty at Uxbridge, which will come next to be related, interwoven with some other of the most remarkable occurrences that then happened.

Though the earl of Essex might have been justly upbraided for the two errors he had committed, in obstinately pursuing his march into the West, contrary to the orders of both houses, and preposterously going into Cornwall, he was not insulted for his misfortunes, but, at his return, was very civilly received: it was then no proper time to examine his conduct, the point was to recruit and arm his ruined army, as well as that of Waller; and accordingly both houses applied themselves to it with all possible diligence. They ordered also colonel Middleton to repair speedily to the earl of Essex's army, and the earl of Manchester to march the

the same way with his forces. On the twenty-first of October the three armies joined, and were far superior to that of the king, who was by this time come out of the West, and was advanced as far as Newbury, while the parliament forces lay at Reading. Essex, either through disgust or indisposition, or both, absented himself, on the twenty-third from the parliament army, and there was little or no unanimity in their counsels: however, the proximity of the opposite armies would not permit them to be long inactive; and on the twenty-seventh of October was fought the second battle of Newbury, one of the most obstinate that had happened during the whole course of this war. The royalists were defeated: the loss on Charles's side, however, was not very considerable; the parliament lost about a thousand men. After the battle the king retreated to Wallingford, from whence he marched to Bath, near which place he was joined by prince Rupert, and then they put their troops into winter-quarters, as did the parliament on their side.

Oliver Cromwell, who had already signalized himself by several acts of extraordinary valour, was a great instrument of gaining the late advantage over the king's army. It is said, that at this battle of Newbury, the corps, commanded by the earl of Manchester, having given way, the earl likewise being carried along with the rest in their precipitate flight, Cromwell, who was himself wounded, rode up to him, and cried "You are mistaken, my lord, the enemy is not this way," and immediately brought him back to the charge: in a word, most writers agree, that the fortune of this day was chiefly owing to Cromwell. This is certain, that Cromwell had as much influence in the house of commons as he had reputation in the army; and publicly accused his general of not having done his duty.

While these things were transacting, the queen retired into France; and the elector Palatine, who had withdrawn to Holland in the beginning of the troubles between the king (his uncle) and the parliament, came over in the month of August, and put himself under the protection of the parliament; the king hearing of it, wrote to him, to know the reason of so extraordinary a proceeding. It does not appear what answer the elector returned; but probably, not knowing how to subsist, and considering the king (his uncle) was not able to maintain him, he believed he should find more assistance in the parliament, which had ever expressed a great affection for his house. He was not deceived in his expectations, for the parliament granted him an honourable pension, which was more regularly paid than the former from the king. He

afterwards desired, and obtained leave, to hear the debates in the assembly of the divines: probably, he did not care to be concerned in military affairs, but sought to spend his time in conversing with the learned, and improving himself in matters of religion.

Amongst the many tentatives for peace this summer, one was made by the States General, whose ambassadors came to London about the sixth of July. Upon their arrival, they wrote (being three in number, Boreel, de Reede, and Joachimim) to the speaker of the house of commons, to demand an immediate audience in full parliament. As they had addressed the letter to him as speaker of the commons of England, and as their credentials ran in the same stile, the commons were so well pleased, that they ordered them a very splendid introduction, with no less than ten coaches to attend them to both houses, and in their audience they offered the mediation of their masters between the king and his parliament: at the same time, they complained of the detention of some of their ships by those of the parliament; and the whole, after a very ceremonious audience, was referred to a committee of both houses. Those maritime differences seem to have been very complicated, and of so great importance, that neither side chose to proceed, at this time, in the mediation; till they were previously settled.

The fondness of the English for every thing new or strange, brought to light, the latter end of this year, a new scheme of a most extraordinary nature, and which perfectly explained Cromwell's true character, and proved at once the source of his greatness, the downfall of the parliament and hierarchy, the murder of the king, and the abolition of monarchy. The sect of independents began now to make some noise*. The most violent of the presbyterians had joined this sect, which resembled that of the quakers, in condemning the ordination of ministers, and allowing every one to preach and expound the scriptures according to the talents he had received from nature; but they were at the same time as turbulent as the quakers were mild and peaceable. They gave a loose to the wildest imaginations they had formed, the extravagant design of levelling all distinctions among men, and, in order to establish this projected equality, they had recourse to force, which ever implies a superiority on the one side. Oliver Cromwell looked upon these people as fit instruments to be made use of in the great plan he was mediating.

The city of London, which was divided into several factions, complained bitterly that the parliament had loaded it with all the burthen of the

* The independents, called at first congregationalists, owed their rise chiefly to Goodwin, Nye, Bridge, Sympton, and Burroughs; who transported themselves into Holland, for liberty of conscience; from whence, upon the downfall of episcopacy, they returned to England, and addressed the parliament with an apologetical narrative for indisturbance and toleration. In this apology they declare, That they consulted the scriptures without any prepossession; they look upon the word of Christ as impartially and unprejudicedly, as men of flesh and blood are like to do at any juncture of time they having no temptation to any bias; as to church government, they said they confined themselves to scripture precept and precedent, leaving room for alterations upon farther enquiry. Pursuant to these grounds, they held a middle course, between presbyterianism and Brownism; the first they counted too arbitrary, the other too loose. Their main characteristic was the

disallowing parochial and provincial subordinations, and forming all their congregations upon a scheme of co-ordinancy. As to the manner of their service, they prayed publicly for kings and all in authority: they read the scriptures, and expounded the lessons upon proper occasions; they administered the sacraments, they sung psalms, and made collections for the poor every Lord's day. Their public officers were pastors, teachers, ruling elders (which were ecclesiastics), and deacons. As for church-censures, they had none but admonition and excommunication. The five abovementioned independents were all, or most of them, members of the assembly of divines. Rapin seems to confound them with the Brownists. See their Apologetical Narrative, and Collier's Eccles. Hist. tom. ii. p. 829. — They were called Independents, from their declaring against the dependency of churches, which, as has been already said, was their main characteristic.

war; and not only so, but that they had of late greatly neglected the city. This circumstance occasioned some warm debates in the house of commons; and Cromwell took the opportunity to expose, with great freedom, the licentiousness and ill government of the army, the officers of which, he said, could not well be called to an account, by reason that most of them were members of the house of commons. He then made a motion for taking into consideration the new modelling the army; in which he was warmly seconded by Sir Harry Vane, Mr. Nathaniel Fiennes, and Oliver St. John, the solicitor-general, all of them furious independents. In order to effect this scheme, it was proposed that the members of both houses should resign all their employments, civil and military. Almost all the offices of profit were in the hands of the members of one or the other house; the three generals of the parliament's army were peers*; the greatest part of the colonels, majors, the treasurers, the purveyors, and commissioners of all departments, were members of the lower-house. How improbable then did it appear, that so many persons in power could be prevailed upon, by the soothing of a religious cant, to resign their posts and incomes; and yet this was effected in a very short space of time: the commons, in particular, were dazzled with the prospect of gaining an ascendancy over the minds of the people, by this rare example of disinterestedness. The lords, at first, refused to concur in passing the bill, but were soon overpowered by the commons; and on the nineteenth of December, this year, was passed the act called, the Self-denying Ordinance, by which the members of either house were deprived of all offices whether civil or military, except a few, which were particularly mentioned. The earls of Essex, Denbigh, Manchester, and the lord Fairfax, finding they could not stem the torrent, voluntarily resigned their commands; and the army, being augmented to twenty-two thousand men, the chief command was bestowed on sir Thomas Fairfax, he not being a member of parliament.

This was just what Cromwell wanted; he had an absolute ascendancy over this new general, as indeed he had over the whole house of commons, who continued him in the command of his regiment, notwithstanding he was a member; and even ordered the general to give him the command of a detachment of horse, which was directed to march to Oxford. This very man, who had so artfully deprived all the presbyterian members of their military employments, had likewise the address to get the independent party continued in their posts; and thus the latter, though much inferior in number, obtained a complete victory over the presbyterians; and from that time it was easy to perceive that the army could give law to the parliament; for though the power of the sword was, in appearance, conferred on Fairfax, in reality it rested with Cromwell. By his assistance Fairfax new modelled his whole army, incorporated some regiments into others, made a total change in all the military departments, and established a new discipline. All this, which at any other time would have excited a revolt, now passed without the least resistance.

In the mean time, a treaty of peace was begun and carried on between the king and parliament, but with little hopes of success. Upon his majesty's return to Oxford, after putting his army in winter quarters, the two houses required and procured a safe-conduct for their deputies, with proposals of accommodation, which they had framed in the summer. Charles, on their being presented to him, required, in his turn, a safe-conduct for the duke of Richmond and the earl of Southampton, who should carry his answer to the two houses; but this favour he could not obtain, until he had addressed himself to them by the title of The two Houses of Parliament assembled at Westminster, and to the Scottish Commissioners. On this occasion, Charles employed an artifice which does no honour to his sincerity, and which his warmest advocates will find it difficult to justify or excuse. He entered a secret protest in his council-book, importing, that though he had called them a parliament, he did not acknowledge them as such. This spirit of equivocation had always brought ruin upon Charles's affairs, and was indeed shameful. On the nineteenth of December, the parliament and the Scottish commissioners returned their answer to the king, in which they consented to a treaty. Uxbridge, a town betwixt London and Oxford, was named for the place of treaty, and Charles, on his part, appointed the following commissioners: the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earl of Southampton, the earl of Kingston, the earl of Chichester, the lord Capel, the lord Seymour, the lord Hatton, the lord Culpepper, secretary Nicholas, Mr. chancellor of the Exchequer, sir Edward Hyde, the lord chief-baron, sir Edward Lane, sir Orlando Bridgeman, sir Thomas Gardiner, Mr. Joseph Ashburnham, Mr. Geoffery Palmer, Dr. Steuart, and their attendants; in all, the number of one hundred and eight. The commissioners for the parliament were, Algernoon earl of Northumberland, Philip earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, William earl of Salisbury, Basil earl of Denbigh, Thomas lord viscount Wenman, Denzil Holles, William Peirpoint, sir Henry Vane, junior, Oliver St. John, Bulstrode Whitlock, John Crew, and Edward Prideaux, for the lords and commons assembled in the parliament of England, at Westminster; and John earl of Loudon, lord chancellor of Scotland, Archibald marquis of Argyll, John lord Maitland, John lord Balmerino, sir Archibald Johnson, sir Charles Erskine, George Dundas, sir Joseph Smith, sir Hugh Kennedy, and Mr. Robert Berkley, for the estates of the parliament of Scotland, together with Mr. Alexander Henderson.

The conferences were opened on the thirtieth of January, 1645; by mutual agreement they were to last twenty days; and the propositions were reduced to the three articles, of religion, the militia, and Ireland. The propositions offered by the two houses were no other than the most severe conditions they could have imposed upon a prince, whom they intended to strip of all the power, and indeed of all the ensigns, of royalty. In a word, they demanded that the hierarchy should be abolished, and presbyterianism established in both kingdoms; that the king should subscribe the covenant; aban-

* The earls of Manchester and Essex, and lord Fairfax.

don his best friends as traitors; give up the militia, and even his own children, to the direction of the two houses; which engrossed the whole sovereign authority. Though no peace was to be expected from such proposals, the king's commissioners, in the course of the conferences, agreed that every person should enjoy liberty of conscience touching the ceremonies of the church; that no bishop should exercise any sort of jurisdiction; that no person should be admitted into holy orders without the consent of the presbytery; that episcopal jurisdiction, with respect to marriages and wills, should be regulated by the king and the two houses; that proper laws should be enacted for the regulation of episcopal visitations, the expence of ecclesiastical suits, frivolous excommunications, and other abuses of the spiritual courts; that the militia should be put into the hands of twenty commissioners, one-half to be named by the king, and the other by the two houses; and, that the commission should continue for three years. These concessions were deemed not satisfactory by the two houses: nothing material was proposed relating to the affairs of Ireland, and the twenty days being expired, the conferences broke up without having produced any prospect of accommodation.

The disposition of the forces on both sides, at the beginning of the year 1645, was as follows: part of the Scottish army was engaged in reducing Pomfret, and other towns in Yorkshire; part of it invested Carlisle, bravely defended by sir Thomas Glenham. Chester, where Byron commanded, had been long besieged by sir William Brereton, and was now almost on the point of surrendering. The king, reinforced by the princes Rupert and Maurice, lay at Oxford, with an army of fifteen thousand men. Fairfax and Cromwell were stationed at Windsor, with the new-modelled army of twenty-two thousand men. Taunton, in the county of Somerset, defended by Blake, sustained a long siege from sir Richard Grenville, who headed an army of eight thousand men; and though the defence had been very vigorous, the garrison was now destitute of almost every necessary. Goring, in the West, conducted an army of nearly the same number.

The parliament's army was by this time new modelled according to the plan of Cromwell, and was composed entirely of a set of fanatics, inspired with that blaze of enthusiasm which makes men fight with the most eager zeal, even in the worst of causes, and die in full confidence of obtaining the crown of martyrdom. It was with a detachment of such warriors that Cromwell marched from Windsor, on the twenty-fourth day of April. In the neighbourhood of Ilip, he cut in pieces four regiments of the king's cavalry; Buckingham was surrendered to him, at the first summons, by colonel Windebank (son to the secretary of that name), who was thereupon tried by a court-martial, and shot for cowardice; but Cromwell was repulsed in his attack upon Farringdon. Taunton, besieged by sir Richard Grenville, was relieved by colonel Welden, one of the parliament's officers, with a body of horse and foot; but sir Richard, being afterwards reinforced by a strong party under Goring, he resumed his operations against the place, in which the detachment under Welden was now shut up. The king opened the campaign on his side, by marching with about eight thousand men

towards Chester, to relieve that place, besieged by sir William Brereton; but hearing by the way the siege was raised, he marched to Leicester, which he took by storm, on the thirtieth of May. Here Charles received advice, that Fairfax was ordered to besiege Oxford; he therefore marched to Harborough, where he was informed that general had abandoned his design upon Oxford, and had been repulsed with great loss in assaulting the garrison of Borsal-house (in Buckinghamshire). The king continued his march, in expectation of being joined by colonel Gerard, with two thousand men from Wales; as well as by Goring, at the head of three thousand cavalry. In this situation of affairs, prudence seemed to dictate the waiting for the coming up of these supplies, and, till then, to act only on the defensive; but the head-strong and impetuous temper of prince Rupert, and the fiery and impatient humour of the young nobility under Charles, rendered fruitless the advice of the more grave and experienced officers of the council; and it was resolved, by a majority of voices in the cabinet, to attack Fairfax. The royal army accordingly marched back; and, on the fourteenth day of June, came in sight of the enemy, who were drawn up in order of battle, on a rising ground in the neighbourhood of Naseby, a village near Rothwell, in Northamptonshire.

At this place was fought, with forces nearly equal, that great and important battle between the king and parliament. The main body of the royalists was headed by the king, the right wing by prince Rupert, the left by sir Marmaduke Langdale. Fairfax, assisted by Skippon, commanded the main body of the parliamentarians; Cromwell conducted the right wing: Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, the left. The charge was begun by prince Rupert, with his usual impetuosity, and his usual success: notwithstanding the brave resistance of Ireton, who, even after he was run through the thigh with a pike, still continued to fight with undaunted courage, till he was taken prisoner, that whole wing was totally broke, and chased to a considerable distance by Rupert: he was even so imprudent as to waste time in attacking the artillery of the parliament, which had been left behind with a strong guard of infantry. Mean while the king, at the head of his main body, attacked Fairfax and Skippon; and the fight was, for some time, maintained with equal bravery on both sides. Skippon, being dangerously wounded, was desired by Fairfax to quit the field; but declared he would not retire so long as one man kept his ground. At last the infantry of the parliament was thrown into disorder, and hard pushed by the king; till Fairfax, with great prudence, brought up the reserve, and restored the battle. By this time Cromwell, with his right wing, having fallen upon Langdale, had repulsed the royalists, and by his conduct improved that advantage, which he had obtained by his valour. Having chased the enemy about a quarter of a mile, and detached some troops to continue the pursuit, he turned back upon the king's infantry; and, at the first onset, threw them into the utmost confusion. One regiment alone, though twice assaulted by Fairfax, still maintained its ranks unbroken; and that general, provoked at so stubborn a resistance, commanded Doyley, the captain of his life-guards, to assail them once more in front, while he himself attacked

attacked them in rear. By these united efforts the regiment was broke. Fairfax, with his own hands, slew an ensign, and having taken the colours, gave them to a soldier to keep for him. The soldier afterwards pretending that he had gained the spoil himself, was reprimanded by Doyley, who had seen the action: "Let him retain that honour (said Fairfax) I have to-day acquired enough beside."

Prince Rupert, convinced too late of his error, abandoned the fruitless attack on the enemy's artillery, and returned to the king, whose infantry was now totally defeated. Charles endeavoured to animate this body of cavalry to a fresh attack, and cried aloud to them, "One charge more, and we recover the day." But the danger of such an attempt was too great and apparent; and they could by no means be persuaded to renew the battle. At the same time, the Scottish earl of Carnwarth, who rode by his majesty's side, seizing the bridle of his horse, turned him round, saying, "Will you go upon your death in an instant." The troops seeing this motion, wheeled off to the right, and immediately fled with the utmost precipitation. Charles, finding it impossible to make any farther resistance, was obliged to quit the field, and abandon the victory to his enemies. The number of killed on the side of the parliament was greater than on the side of the king: they lost a thousand men; he not above eight hundred. But Fairfax took five hundred officers, and four thousand private men, prisoners; seized all the king's artillery and baggage, and totally dispersed his infantry: so that no victory could be well more complete, than that which was now obtained by the parliament.*

It would be as irksome as improper, in this history, to enter upon a detail of all the little actions and skirmishes, the sieges of castles, and the taking of houses, that happened during this active year. Let it suffice then to inform the reader, that Charles, having escaped from the fatal field of Naseby, gathered together some part of his scattered forces, but never was able to make head against the conquerors; losing this year one garrison after another, till his whole strength was almost reduced to Oxford. We shall only mention some of the principal places taken from him by the victorious parliamentarians, namely, Leicester, Carlisle, Pomfret castle, Bridgewater, Scarborough, Hereford, West Chester, and Bristol; on which a great part of his affairs chiefly depended. This latter place was well supplied with men, provisions, and ammunition; and every body concluded, from the known valour of prince Rupert, that he would make a very vigorous defence. He even wrote to the king, that he should be able to hold out four months, unless mutiny should compel him to surrender. Notwithstanding this promise, and the general expectation, he offered to capitulate at the first summons; and actually delivered up the place before the besiegers had begun to make their approaches. The unhappy monarch, in the first transports of his grief, ordered his nephew to quit the kingdom, and revoked all his commissions.

During these transactions, the unfortunate king underwent a surprising series of dangers, mortifications, and distresses, which he bore with un-

common fortitude and dignity. Amongst his other misfortune was that of losing his cabinet of papers, which was taken from the lord Digby, in an engagement near Newark, and sent up to the parliament; and from which they made great discoveries to the king's prejudice. It was no little aggravation to the calamities which Charles suffered, that his forlorn estate encouraged some of his principal officers to forget all respect to the person of their general and their sovereign; of which the following is a melancholy instance. While Charles lay at Newark, on his march back to Oxford, prince Rupert and prince Maurice, with a train of their friends and officers, contrary to the express orders of Charles, came to that town, and even forced their way into his presence, with an intention that prince Rupert might be cleared for the surrender of Bristol. Charles thought proper to suffer a council of war to acquit him both of cowardice and treachery; but as he behaved to the prince with great coldness, the latter entered into a conspiracy with sir Richard Willis, the governor of Newark, who was so extremely disagreeable to the gentlemen of the county, that Charles was forced to give his government to the lord Bellasis. Though Charles was so far from intending this as any affront to Willis, that he had appointed him to command his life-guards, in the room of the earl of Litchfield, who had been killed at Chester; yet, it was so far resented by him, the two princes, and all his friends, that they broke into the king's bed-chamber in a body, and demanded public reparation for the injury that had been done to Willis, in taking from him his command. Charles behaved on this occasion with so great spirit and presence of mind, that the mutineers were ashamed of what they had done, and left his presence covered with confusion. Charles, next day sent them passes, to carry them wheresoever they would go. After their departure, he put in execution an admirable plan: he had formed his retreat to Oxford, at which city he arrived, through infinite dangers and difficulties, in the beginning of November.

The year 1646 began as unfortunately for Charles as the preceding one had concluded. After the reduction of Bristol, Fairfax and Cromwell having divided their forces, the former marched westward, in order to finish the conquest of Devonshire and Cornwall, where the prince of Wales commanded the royal forces. After a rapid and uninterrupted success, during which he twice obliged the prince of Wales to retreat before him, he at length obtained a complete victory over the lord Hopton, at Farrington, on the tenth of February; and, pushing that nobleman in his retreat, he improved the advantage he had gained, cooped up the royalists in Truro, and compelled the whole army, amounting to five thousand men, chiefly cavalry, to surrender, on the fourteenth of March, upon terms: then laying siege to Exeter, he obliged that city to capitulate on the ninth of April. This finished the conquest of the West. And the victorious Fairfax returned with his army to the center of the kingdom, and pitched his camp at Newbury. The king, seeing his affairs irretrievably ruined, wrote to the prince of Wales, to consult his own safety by flying the kingdom;

* Hume's History of Great Britain, vol. i. reign of Charles I.

and accordingly the young prince withdrew to Scilly, then to Jersey, from whence he went to Paris, where he found the queen his mother, who had escaped thither from Exeter, at the time the earl of Essex first led the parliamentary forces into the West.

In the mean while, Montrose, who acted for the king in Scotland, having penetrated into the southern counties, the covenanters, having collected their whole force, opposed him with a numerous army, and gave him battle at Kilsyth, but without success. This was the most important victory which Montrose ever gained. The royalists killed above six thousand of their enemies, and left them no appearance of an army in Scotland. The whole kingdom was rent with these repeated convulsions; and many noblemen, who were secretly attached to the royal cause, now espoused it openly, when they saw a force able to support them. The marquis of Douglas, the earls of Anandale and Hartfield, the lords Fleming, Seton, Maderty, Carnegy, with many others, immediately joined the royal army: Edinburgh opened its gates to them, and released all the prisoners whom the covenanters had confined in that city: amongst the rest was the lord Ogilvy, son to Airly, whose family had a principal share in the victory gained at Kilsyth.

The covenanters, alarmed at the rapid progress of Montrose, recalled David Lesley from the army in England; and this able general immediately repaired to the relief of his distressed friends in Scotland. Montrose continued to penetrate still farther into the southern provinces, encouraged by the vain hopes of exciting to arms the earls of Hume, Traquair, and Roxborough, who had engaged to assist him, and of procuring from England some supplies of cavalry, which he much wanted: but Lesley, at Philip-hough, in the Forest, came suddenly upon him, and obliged him to give battle. After a sharp conflict, in which Montrose performed the most heroic acts of valour, his troops were entirely defeated by Lesley's cavalry, and he himself forced to fly, with the scattered remains of his army, into the mountains; where he again prepared himself for attempting some new enterprize.

After all these repeated calamities, which every where befel the royal party, there remained only one body of troops on which fortune could exercise her cruelty. Lord Astley, with a small army of three thousand men, chiefly cavalry, was advancing to Oxford, in order to reinforce the king; when he was encountered, at a place called Donnington, near Stow on the Would, on the twenty-first of March, by colonel Morgan, by whom he was entirely routed, and himself taken prisoner; and, with him, all the king's hopes of preserving Oxford, till he could better his condition, were lost.

It is now time to see what passed in the Scottish army, whilst the parliament forces were employed in reducing the places which held for the king in the southern and western parts of the kingdom. The Scots, having taken Newcastle in October, 1644, divided themselves into two bodies, one whereof besieged Carlisle, which surrendered upon articles in June, 1645.

The other part of the army durst not engage in a siege, because the marquis of Montrose, who

served the king in Scotland, having had great success there, it was to be feared the king would be sending him reinforcements; wherefore the Scots always kept in a readiness to oppose it. This became still more necessary after the battle of Naseby; there being great likelihood of the king's resolving to join the earl of Montrose with his cavalry. Besides, the Scots, by keeping thus in the middle of the kingdom, prevented the king from making new levies in those parts. At last, after the taking of Carlisle, the two bodies being joined, they besieged Hereford, about the end of July; but, after having in vain carried on the siege above a month, they raised it in the beginning of September. The earl of Leven, their general, published, upon this occasion, a sort of apology, wherein, amongst other things, he said, that for six or seven months past, they had received but one month's pay; that they had been promised to be supplied with all things necessary for a siege; in which they had been extremely disappointed, since they had received but three pieces of cannon, with fifty balls to each; that they had but few horse; and being informed the king was marching towards them with three thousand horse, it was impossible to continue the siege. Lastly, that general Lesley was obliged to go into Scotland with his whole party of horse and dragoons, to oppose Montrose.

After the siege of Hereford was raised, the Scotch army retired into Yorkshire, complaining pretty openly of being entirely neglected; whereupon the parliament assigned them thirty thousand pounds, provided they appeared before Newark upon the first of November; and ordered that the eastern association should pay them fourteen hundred pounds a week. The Scots agreeing to these terms, the siege of Newark was begun about the end of October, 1645, and lasted till May, 1646.

The king, during the whole course of the preceding winter, and great part of this spring, was in the most wretched and deplorable situation; all the attempts which he made for a reasonable accommodation with the parliament, answered no other purpose, than to shew that victory was entirely in their hands, and that they were determined to use it as conquerors. From the fifteenth of December to the twenty-third of March following, Charles had sent nine or ten messages to the parliament, with offers of peace; and for the better accomplishment thereof, he even proposed to have a personal treaty with them at Westminster. At last, on the thirtieth of March, a message came to him from the parliament, in which they told him, "That it would be unsafe for him then to return to Westminster, until he had assented to the propositions which they were framing," &c. And, to prevent his coming to London without their knowledge and consent, they voted, "That if the king should come, or attempt to come, within the lines of communication, that then the committee of the militia of London should have power, and were thereby enjoined, to apprehend and secure such as should come with him, to prevent resort unto him, and to secure his person."

Fairfax was all this time advancing with a numerous army, and, it was well known, with an intention to form the siege of Oxford, which must of necessity fall into his hands. In this most dread-

ful situation, no wonder that he embraced a measure which at any other time would have been looked upon as foolish or imprudent. Monsieur Montreuil, the French ambassador, had always espoused the king's interest with all the warmth of humanity that his station would admit; he had lately founded the Scottish generals and commissioners, who were greatly disgusted at the treatment they had met with from the parliament; and as the presbyterians were great enemies to the independent party, who now assumed the management of all affairs, he had received many general promises and professions of their affection to their distressed sovereign, and their inclination to protect him, if he thought fit to place his confidence in them. In consequence of the report of Montreuil, and by his earnest advice, Charles was induced to adopt the resolution of quitting Oxford, and repairing to the Scottish army, which at that time lay before Newark. Accordingly, on the night of the twenty-seventh of April, this year, he left Oxford in disguise, attended by Mr. Ashburnham, and one Hudson, a clergyman, who knew the bye ways; and after travelling, in the garb of their servant, a great deal of the country, he arrived, on the fifth of May, at the Scottish camp.

The Scottish generals and commissioners were confounded at the sudden appearance of his majesty; they, however, behaved as well as could be expected. The earl of Leven received him respectfully; and general Pointz, who commanded the English forces before Newark, was so apprehensive of their intentions, that he cut off the communication between his and the Scottish camp. The Scottish commissioners, however, were excessively puzzled how to behave; but, at last, they resolved to join in a letter with the earl of Leven, informing the parliament of the king's being in their hands. The parliament, before they received this letter, or another from Pointz, to the same purpose, knew of the king's escape from Oxford, but being ignorant how he directed his course, they passed several severe votes against concealing his person, and against all his party who should be found within the lines of circumvallation about London.

Charles had little reason to be satisfied with his condition; he was so narrowly watched, under the shew of respectful attendance on his person, that not one of his friends could get to the speech of him in private. The Scottish generals represented to him, that it would be proper, for the safety of his person, for the army to remove farther North, and that as this could not be done before the reduction of Newark, they desired him to order that town to surrender. The king, persuaded by this reason, gave orders to lord Bellasis, the governor, to surrender; which was accordingly done, on the ninth of May; and then the Scottish army decamped, and marched with the king to Newcastle. Here they desired him to send orders to Oxford, and all his other garrisons, both in England and Scotland, to submit to the parliament; and the king, conscious that it was in vain to make any resistance, readily complied with their request. His orders were readily obeyed; and thus was concluded a most cruel war, which had now continued almost four years, during which, the British nations had been engaged, by their civil and

religious quarrels, in shedding the blood of their friends and relations, and in wasting and destroying their native country.

We must not forget to mention, that Montrose, after a variety of other attempts, in which he sometimes failed, and sometimes succeeded, threw down his arms and abandoned the kingdom.

I shall not here trouble the reader with the numerous manifestos and declarations that passed between the Scottish army and the parliament, on the subject of the king; nor their disputes about the disposal of his person; nor with the repeated concessions of the latter towards bringing his rebellious subjects to some equitable terms, for restoring the tranquility of the nation, which were as often rejected with the most inexcusable insolence on the part of the independents, now the prevailing faction in both houses: I shall only observe, that the life of the unfortunate Charles now hurried to its catastrophe.

As the Scots agreed with the parliament in enforcing all the severe conditions they required of the king, it is not probable that they ever really intended to set him at liberty; nor indeed, had they been so inclined, could they have carried their scheme into execution: they therefore resolved to deliver him up to his English subjects, but not, however till they had obtained those arrears to which they laid claim, and which they were not likely, in the present situation of affairs, to procure by any other expedient. After much debate and controversy, concerning the demands of the Scots, which were very exorbitant, it was agreed by the house of commons to give them four hundred thousand pounds, one half to be paid immediately, and the other within a twelvemonth. This agreement, which was accepted on the part of the Scots, passed the house on the sixteenth of December, by a majority of one hundred and forty-nine against one hundred and one; for the independents opposed every vote for getting rid of the Scots by way of treaty, adopting the maxim of Camillus, the Roman general, that it was for the dignity of their country to drive out an unwelcome guest rather by steel than by gold. Matters being thus compromised between the Scots and the English, and the first payment of the money being made at Newcastle, according to the compact, the former delivered the royal captive, on the thirtieth of January, to the earls of Pembroke and Denbigh, the lord Montagu, sir James Harrington, sir John Holland, sir Walter Erle, sir John Cook, Mr. Crew, and major-general Brown, who were appointed by the parliament their commissioners to receive him. The two houses had voted that his majesty should reside at his house at Holmby, in the county of Northampton, where he arrived on the sixteenth of February, 1647. The commissioners had instructions to keep the king close prisoner, and to send to Fairfax for what forces were necessary for that purpose. All this was opposed by the independents, who wanted that he should, without any other ceremony, be delivered up to Skippon. His majesty was allowed no more than nine servants, and those of the parliament's choosing, to attend him: he was treated by the commissioners and sir Thomas Fairfax, who escorted him from Newcastle to Holmby, with all the marks of outward respect; but very strict care was taken to deprive him of all intercourse with his friends, which

Charles

Charles often attempted privately, but was as often disappointed by the vigilance of the committee. The parliament of Scotland sent up a declaration consenting to his residing at Holmby, or in any other of his houses near London, "provided (say they) no violence should be offered to his person; that no new change should be made in the government; and that his posterity should suffer no prejudice in their succession to the throne of England."

The Scots having now completely done their business, marched from Newcastle, which was taken possession of by an English garrison; and shortly after they put Berwick and Carlisle into the parliament's hands, and marched quietly home to Scotland.

All the writers in the royal cause have represented this transaction of the Scots as highly injurious to the character of that nation, as if they had sold their king to his inveterate enemies, and bargained the life of their sovereign for money. That the delivery of this ill-fated prince to the two houses was a private stipulation between them and the English parliament, is scarce to be questioned: that it was criminal in the Scots, must in some measure be allowed; but the candour and impartiality which ought ever to be the guide of the historian, obliges me to observe, that what has chiefly rendered this measure odious, are the fatal consequences with which it was at last attended; and that it ought to be remembered, that these consequences were neither natural nor necessary, nor, indeed, at this time probable: neither the Scots, nor the majority of the English parliament themselves had the least intention of proceeding to the violent extremities which were afterwards pursued. It was, as a modern writer* very justly observes, the independents, determined enemies both to the king, the parliament, and the Scots, who twice seized the king by force, and at last brought him to a cruel and ignominious death, at the very time when the Scots and the presbyterians, which latter now composed the majority in parliament, were exerting their utmost endeavours, and even risking their lives and fortunes by rising in arms, in order to restore him to his throne.

Pitiable indeed was now the condition of the fallen Charles, and of his family. His queen was in France; his eldest son, after being a vagabond between Cornwall, Jersey, and Scilly, had been delivered into the hands of the same perfidious neighbours; his second and third sons (the dukes of York and Gloucester), with the princess Henrietta, his youngest daughter, were prisoners in London, subsisting on a scanty pension allowed them by their enemies: the princes Rupert and Maurice, after leaving Newark, wandered from place to place, ashamed of abandoning their uncle and generous benefactor, and retired to Oxford, where they had the benefit of the capitulation of that city, and retired beyond sea. He himself was immured by the detested rebels; denied all the comforts of this life, and even that which his soul most loved, the exercise of religion according to his own faith; for we are told, that not any of his chaplains were suffered to have access to him,

nor so much as a Common Prayer Book allowed him for his own private use.

During the king's residence in the Scottish camp, died the earl of Essex, the discarded but still popular and powerful general of the parliament. His death at this critical juncture was a great loss to the public, and made it easier for Cromwell to carry on the destructive designs he had concerted; for doubtless, had Essex lived, he would have exerted all his influence and authority, to give a check to the fury that was going to prevail.

The parliament having now the person of the king in their possession, and all his armies and garrisons subdued by their forces, were rioting in the fulness of power: nor could the most frantic among them form a wish which they did not enjoy. But dissention, the never-failing attendant on anarchy and misrule, soon made its way among them, and blasted all their towering prospects.

Cromwell and his independents were now masters of the soldiery, who no longer looked upon themselves as servants to the parliament, but as its lawgivers. Fairfax, who had been the unhappy, and, as far as appears, the unwilling instrument of his country's misery, was not proof against the arts of Cromwell, who, on every occasion, molded him to his purpose. The parliament, though still all powerful in London, had, for some time, been apprehensive that the army was aiming at the supreme authority, and therefore wanted to get rid of these troublesome servants; an opportunity now seemed to offer, convenient for effecting their design: the troops in almost all parts of the kingdom made loud complaints for money, and the army under Cromwell especially backed their remonstrances with somewhat that looked like threatening; hereupon that whole body was threatened to be sent to Ireland; and the presbyterian faction in the house politically suffered them to live at free quarters, that the disbanding them, which was resolved upon, might be less unpopular, though they received little or nothing of their arrears†.

The head-quarters of the army was at St. Edmundsbury, in Suffolk, while these matters were debating in parliament. Cromwell looked upon this as the critical minute for perfecting his great designs: nevertheless he continued to practise the most exquisite dissimulation in the house; he smote his breast; he threw up his eyes; he shed tears; and poured out such a torrent of passionate asseverations concerning his fidelity to the house, the patience and resignation of the army under their oppressions, and the unwearied labours which he and his associates had employed in making them easy, that he imposed even on those who had themselves been thoroughly versed in the same arts: he recommended every severe expedient for repressing the mutiny which now began to encrease among the soldiery; and by these desperate counsels, he at once seemed to prove his own sincerity, and increased those discontents which he proposed to convert to his own advantage. In the mean time he

* Hume.

† It will perhaps amaze the reader to know, that the horse and dragoons were no less than forty-three weeks in arrears, amounting to two hundred and fifty-two thousand seven hundred and fifty-six pounds; and the foot eighteen weeks, amounting to seventy-eight thousand two hundred and fifty

pounds; in all three hundred and thirty-one thousand pounds. See Journ. of the House of Com. March 26. I mention this important particular, because most historians have adopted a wild notion, as if the army without any provocation, had all of a sudden started out in rebellion against the parliament.

carefully pointed out to Fairfax, the divisions and distractions both in church and state; he represented to him, that the army was now the only principle of unity, and the center to which all lines must point; that the soldiers were the chosen of God, and had with them that unerring light of grace which set at nought all sublunary institutions, and corrected all human errors: in a word, he engaged Fairfax to countenance a petition from the army against their being disbanded.

Matters stood thus between the parliament and army when the former, encouraged by the assurances they had from Cromwell, Jackson, Skippon, and other officers, of the fidelity of their respective troops, determined, by one bold stroke, to attempt to preserve their authority. Accordingly on the twenty-first of May, eleven regiments were voted to be disbanded, at different times and places, under the direction of Fairfax and Skippon; and that the others should be sent to Ireland. Instead of the obedience which the parliament flattered itself would have been paid to this decree, a council of officers met at St. Edmundsbury, to consider thereof; at the same time ten soldiers out of each regiment of horse and foot were chosen as agitators (or agents) for their respective regiments; and these all consulting together, it was unanimously resolved not to submit to this decree; and the council of the army appointed a general rendezvous for all the regiments, in order to provide for their common safety. The independent party began now to prevail more and more in parliament, and the presbyterians were so much intimidated, that many of them joined with the former in giving a commission to Cromwell to go to the head-quarters of the army, in order to quiet the dissatisfied soldiers; and a declaration was issued, that if the subscribers to the petition against disbanding the army, should proceed no farther in their opposition to that measure, now resolved upon by the house, they should be retained in the parliament's good graces; and that those who should continue their present disorderly conduct, should be proceeded against as enemies to the state.

In the mean time the council of agitators struck a blow of the last importance, and which must be allowed to be the most sensible measure that men in their circumstances could pursue. They thought they had as much right as the parliament to be jailors to the king, and that his person was the only pledge they could have for their safety, in their design of coming to an open rupture with their masters. This was suggested by the genius of Cromwell, who endeavoured to persuade the agitators (who were a body of men distinct from the council of war, and acted for the common soldiers), to take both the glory and the danger of the enterprise. Accordingly, on the fourth of June, a party of five hundred horse was detached in private to Holmby (where the king then resided), under the command of one Joyce, who, before the commencement of the war, had followed the trade of a taylor, but was now raised to the rank of a cornet, and was an active agitator in the army. Though it was late at night when they arrived, and the king was gone to bed, Joyce, having gained admission into the house, went with very little ceremony into the king's room, with a pistol in his hand, and told his majesty he must forthwith go with him to the army. It was in vain to

resist: the king, after protracting the time as long as he could, stepped into his coach, and was immediately conveyed to the army, which was now on its march to the general rendezvous, at Triplo heath, near Cambridge. The parliament apprized of this event by their commissioners, who had the charge of the king at Holmby, were struck with fear and consternation. Fairfax himself was no less confounded at the king's arrival: that bold exploit performed, by Joyce, had never been imparted to the general; but Cromwell, by whose direction it had been done, and who was now arrived from London, cleared up all doubts and difficulties. The army being thus masters of the king's person, in a little time became masters of the parliament likewise, and managed all things just as they pleased, agreeable to what Cromwell is reported to have said to some of his intimate friends, "that now he had the king in his hands, he had the parliament in his pocket."

On the sixteenth of June the army drew up a charge of treason against eleven members of the house of commons, the chief of the presbyterian party, accusing them with betraying the cause of the parliament, endeavouring to break and destroy the army, &c. these were Denzil Holles, esq. sir Philip Stapleton, sir William Lewis, sir John Colthorpe, sir William Waller, sir John Maynard, major general Massey, Mr. recorder Glyn, colonel Walter Long, colonel Edward Harley, and Mr. Anthony Nicholls. This round dealing of the army with the parliament, frightened the city of London so much, that, in great hurry, they sent a deputation of the aldermen and common-council to St. Alban's, into the neighbourhood of which the mutineers were now advanced, to disclaim any intention to raise forces or oppose the army. The parliament had settled the militia of London, according to the desire of the citizens, in the hands of the presbyterians, but being now over-awed by the army, they revoked their ordinance, and settled it as was before; upon this the common-council petitioned to have it settled their own way, and at the same time (July 26) a great multitude of the city apprentices, stirred up, no doubt, by the leading presbyterians in the city, came in a tumultuous manner to the parliament-house, and compelled them by threats and violence to do it, and also to vote that the king should come to London. The crafty Cromwell enjoyed this storm, which he saw would soon sweep before it the obstacles to his ambition: and indeed the transactions of the parliament at this time were so inconsistent, so tumultuous, and so contradictory, that they deserve no mention in history: to-day the independents mob, to-morrow that of the presbyterians prevailed. The parliament had no longer with it those able men who could direct the tumult, for the tumult now directed the parliament, which really had no will of its own. The commons, on the twenty-seventh of July adjourned to the thirtieth; and in the mean while not only Lenthall, speaker to the house of commons, but the earl of Manchester, who was speaker to the house of peers, with a great number of the members of both houses, fled with their regalia to the army, which, upon their arrival, and the news of the Westminster tumults, immediately directed its march towards London, in order, as they gave out, to restore the violated privileges of parliament.

Lenthall

Lenthall and Manchester were both presbyterians, and such a step in them was altogether unaccountable; but they probably thought that the army must in the end prevail, and they were willing to secure the interest of that party which was likely to have the ascendant.

The parliament, driven from their temporizing maxims, and obliged, either to abandon at once, or support by force, their power and liberty, prepared themselves for a vigorous defence, and resolved to oppose the violence of the army. On the thirtieth of July both houses met, and immediately elected new speakers, lord Hunsdon, and Henry Pelham; they repeated their former orders for levying troops: they constituted Massey commander: they ordered the trained-bands to guard the lines; and nothing was to be heard through the whole city but the sound of military preparations. It soon appeared, however, that all their resources were unequal to the present occasion. As the army advanced, Rainsborow, being sent over the river with a party of horse, presented himself before Southwark, and was readily admitted by some soldiers who were posted there for its defence, and who were determined not to divide their interests from those of the army. It was in vain to attempt resistance. The army marched through the city in triumph on the sixth of August; but observed the greatest order and regularity. They conducted to Westminster the two speakers, who took their seats without opposition. The eleven secluded members, being charged as the authors of the tumult, were expelled the house; and most of them abandoned the kingdom: seven peers were accused of high treason: the mayor, one sheriff, and three aldermen, committed to the Tower: several citizens and officers of the militia confined in other prisons: every decree of the parliament reversed from the time of the tumult till the return of the speakers: the lines about the city levelled: the independents re-established in the command of the militia: regiments stationed in Whitehall and the Meuse: and, in a word, the parliament reduced to a state of the most abject and deplorable slavery.

As to the king, he was obliged to attend the motions of the army since his late seizure, till, upon their approach to London, he was conducted to Hampton-court, where he was treated with great respect and civility by the heads of the army, and had all due honours paid him; though, in reality, he was no better than their prisoner. The parliament, or rather the army, who directed all their votes, put the command of the Tower into Fairfax's hands, declaring him at the same time generalissimo, with a power to put in or displace such officers as he pleased: but they were still at a loss how to dispose of the king's person. The independents had him in their power at Hampton-court. Cromwell and the presbyterian party both entered into treaty with him; the Scots likewise, by the earls of Lauderdale, Loudon, and Lanerk, their commissioners, proposed to carrying him off. Charles, who equally dreaded all those parties, was under a dreadful perturbation of spirit: at last perceiving that he had been the dupe of Cromwell, and being secretly apprized that the latter was forming dangerous designs against his life, resolved to withdraw himself from the army, and, accompanied only by sir John Berkeley, Ashburnham, and Legg, he privately left Hampton-court, in the night-time,

on the thirteenth of November, and his escape was not discovered till near two hours after his departure, when those who entered his chamber found on the table some letters addressed to the general and the officers who had attended him.

The parliament was struck with the news of Charles's escape, and made it high-treason and death without mercy for any one to conceal him. But on the fifteenth they were eased of their fears by a letter from Hammond, governor of the Isle of Wight, acquainting them that the king was then at Cowes. This Hammond had espoused a daughter of the famous Hampden, and was entirely devoted to the interest of Cromwell; but as he was at the same time a nephew to Dr. Hammond, the king's favourite chaplain, and was generally reputed a man of honour and integrity, it had been judged proper by Charles and the companions of his flight, to apply to him in the present necessity, when no other expedient could be devised. Accordingly Charles went over to the Isle of Wight, and put himself under Hammond's protection, hoping there to find an asylum, instead of which he only met with a new prison.

Some historians have imagined that the king's retreat to the Isle of Wight was entirely voluntary; others think his going thither was the effect of Cromwell's artifice, who tried to urge him to this measure by groundless alarms, purposely conveyed to him, as if the agitators had sworn to take his life. Be this as it will, certain it is Charles was never guilty of a weaker step, nor one more agreeable to Cromwell and his enemies. He was now, by orders of the parliament, confined in Carisbrook castle, with orders that none of his friends or adherents should be admitted to his presence, or to remain on the island. He was now in a place removed from his friends, at the disposal of the army, whence it would be almost impossible to deliver him, either by force or stratagem. Charles, however, in this melancholy situation, was not without an appearance of a resource: he held a secret correspondence with the lord Inchiquin, who commanded for the parliament in Ireland; he had private assurance of a strong support from abroad; he was even at this time, by his agents, tampering with the chief officers of the navy; he was carrying on intrigues with the presbyterians in the city; by Cromwell's connivance he held intelligence with officers about his (Cromwell's) own person; and he had now concluded a treaty with the Scots, in all respects disadvantageous and dishonourable; and therefore, by the vicious logic of the Scottish commissioners, who persuaded him to sign it, not to be observed farther than as it served the present turn. By this treaty he approved of their solemn league and covenant, and confirmed all they had done against episcopacy in Scotland; and made some other concessions, which in his soul he abhorred; in consideration of which the Scots engaged themselves to pour a new army into England, and the king was to protect all his subjects of his three kingdoms who should join him.

During the anarchy which now prevailed, the fatal consequence of a divided capital, an insolent army, and the flight and imprisonment of their lawful sovereign, the same spirit which had so long animated the independents, on a sudden took possession of several of the common soldiers of the army, who formed themselves into a body under the

the name of Levellers, an appellation which signified their design of reducing every thing to an equality, and acknowledging no superior in church, army, or state. They did no more indeed than what the commons had done before them; they copied the examples of their officers, and their pretensions seem to be full as well founded as those of the others. Their numbers were considerable: Cromwell, finding that they were likely to become very dangerous, as they acted upon his own principles, and that, if they were suffered to go on, they might deprive him of the fruit of all his policy and labour, formed the sudden resolution to quell them at the hazard of his own life. He repaired to a meeting of those levellers, with a guard of chosen men, with whom he had always been victorious, and began to expostulate with the mutineers, in a canting speech, about the reason of their violent proceedings. Receiving an insolent answer from one of the most licentious, he knocked down two or three of them with his own hand, and falling on the rest with incredible fury, he dispersed the whole body, caused some of them to be hanged by sentence of a court-martial, and sent a considerable number prisoners to London. By acting with the same vigour and intrepidity on several other occasions, he subdued the mutinous spirit of this dangerous sect, and reduced the army to submission.

While these things were in agitation, Charles, in order if possible, to satisfy the wishes of his people, had promised, by a message sent from Carisbroke castle, to relinquish, during his own life, the power of the militia, and the appointment of all the officers of state; on condition that, after his death, these prerogatives should be restored to the crown: but the parliament, directed by the independents and the army, instead of agreeing to these terms, drew up four propositions, which they sent him as preliminaries, and to which they demanded his positive assent before they would engage in any treaty.

By the first of these he was desired to bestow upon the parliament the military power for twenty years, together with an authority to raise whatever money should be found necessary for supporting the forces; and, even after the expiration of the twenty years, they reserved a right of resuming the same authority, whenever the safety of the kingdom should seem to require it. By the second, he must revoke all the proclamations and declarations which he had issued against the parliament, and acknowledge that assembly to have taken arms for their own just and necessary defence. By the third, he was to repeal all the acts, and cancel all the patents of peerage, which had passed the great-seal, from the time of its being carried to Oxford by the lord-keeper Littleton. By the fourth, he must grant the two houses power to adjourn as they pleased: a demand, in appearance of no great moment; but calculated by the independents with a view of removing the parliament to places where it would be wholly under the direction of the army. The king thought it hard, that he should be obliged to make such concessions, while nothing was stipulated in his favour; and to depend entirely on the generosity of his enemies, for what he should afterwards obtain. He requested, therefore a personal treaty with the parliament, and begged that the terms, on both sides, should be

previously settled, before any concessions were demanded.

The refusal of Charles so exasperated the independent party, that many bitter speeches were made against him in the house of commons, particularly by Cromwell and his son-in-law Ireton, the former of whom seemed now to have resolved upon the taking the life of Charles. He durst not, however, impart the depth of his design to any but Ireton, and one or two bosom favourites; but though he concealed it from Fairfax, yet he soon preached and prayed him and the other officers into a spirit that was fit for his purposes. Having thus fixed the army, he knew he should have no difficulty with the parliament, where, upon the king's rejecting the propositions, sir Thomas Wroth had the boldness to move, not only that he should be removed close prisoner to some inland castle, but that articles of impeachment should be drawn up against him, himself deprived of the government, and a new form of government established. This motion was seconded by Ireton and Cromwell, with great warmth, but in general terms; for they only recommended it to the house to settle the kingdom without the king, who had rejected all these propositions, promising the army in such a case would stand by the parliament: "but (says Cromwell, with a stern look, clapping his hand to his sword) teach not the army, through despair to seek their safety by some other means than adhering to you who will not stick to yourselves; and how destructive such a resolution in them will be to you all, I tremble to think, and leave you to judge."

In fine, the house, over-awed by his menaces, resolved, on the third of January, 1648, "that no more addresses should be made to the king, nor messages received from him: and to this the lords some days after agreed; the army now promising, in an address to both houses, to stand by the parliament against the king, on whom Hammond was ordered to have a stricter guard than ever, upon an information that a fleet of Dutch ships had anchored near the Isle of Wight, with a design to rescue him.

The king being reduced to this melancholy condition, by the insolence of the army, began to be deeply pitied by the more moderate part of his subjects, many of whom began to stir for him in several parts of the kingdom, in which they were joined by the presbyterians, from their hatred to the independents. Even the parliament, who were still mostly presbyterians, though they had lost their leaders, had not gone such lengths against the king, if they had not been over-awed by the army. What much encouraged the insurrections in England, was a prospect of a powerful assistance from Scotland; for the Scottish commissioners having entered a strong protestation against forcing upon the king the four propositions already mentioned, and their protest being disregarded, provoked at this and many other indignities to which they were exposed, and touched with compassion for the misfortunes and sufferings of their sovereign, had undertaken to arm Scotland in his favour. In this they succeeded so well that they procured a vote of the Scottish parliament to raise forty thousand men for the rescue of the king's person, and to give the command thereof to the duke of Hamilton, contrary to the sentiments of the kirk commissioners and the

the zealous covenanters under the marquis of Argyll; who were apprehensive; that if this scheme should succeed, it would effect the restoration of monarchy without the establishment of presbytery.

While the Scots were preparing for the invasion of England, every part of that kingdom was filled with tumults, insurrections, conspiracies, and discontents. The presbyterians, who, by their credit and interest, had chiefly supported the war, were provoked to find themselves over-reached and over-powered by the fraud and chicanery of the independents. The royalists, incensed at the cruel treatment which the king suffered from the army, were strongly prompted to restore him to liberty, and to regain the advantages, which they had formerly lost. All orders of men were fired with indignation at seeing the civil subjected to the military power, and the king and parliament at once inflamed by a mercenary army. But though the whole nation seemed to unite in their hatred of military usurpation, the views entertained by the several parties were so different, that little concert was observed in these insurrections.

Langhorne, Poyer, and Powel, presbyterian officers, who headed bodies of troops in Wales, were the first who declared themselves, and, early in the beginning of the year 1648, assembled a considerable army in those countries, which were warmly attached to the royal cause: young Hales and Goring, who had been made earl of Norwich, excited commotions in Kent: an insurrection was raised in Essex by lord Capel, sir Charles Lucas, and sir George Lisle: the earl of Holland, who, since the beginning of the civil wars, had frequently shifted sides, endeavoured to collect forces in Surry: Morrice had surprized the castle of Pomfret, in Yorkshire.

What seemed of the greatest importance, was the general spirit of discontent that had seized the navy. No less than seventeen ships, lying in the mouth of the river, declared against the army; and setting Rainsborow, their admiral, on shore, sailed over to Holland, and put themselves under the command of the prince of Wales. About the same time the king's second son, the duke of York (afterwards king James II.) who was then about fifteen years old, and was a kind of a state prisoner in St James's palace, escaped more fortunately from his confinement than his father had done from Hampton-court, and retired to Holland, where he joined his brother the prince of Wales. All these events however seemed only as the means to hasten the ruin of the unhappy king.

The genius of Cromwell, or the anger of Heaven upon a nation so bespotted with crimes of the foulest dyes as England now was, prevailed over every human precaution. Cromwell marched in person into Wales; and, after taking Pembroke castle, which stood a siege of four weeks, he put an end to the commotions in that part of the country: Langhorne, Poyer, and Powell, who surrendered prisoners at discretion, were tried by a court-martial, and condemned to draw lots for their lives; the lot falling on Poyer, he was accordingly shot to death. General Fairfax (now a lord by the death of his father) successfully opposed the royal party in Kent, under the earl of Norwich: he defeated him at Maidstone, and drove him with his men into Essex, where those who had taken

arms under lord Capel, sir Charles Lucas, and sir George Lisle, were forced to shut themselves up in Colchester, where they endured a long siege, and at last were compelled to surrender. Lucas and Lisle were shot to death; Goring (earl of Norwich) and Capel were sent prisoners to Windsor castle. In the course of this summer the earl of Holland, Villiers duke of Buckingham, and his brother Francis, were defeated at Kingston upon Thames, by colonel Livesey: the earl was taken prisoner, the duke fled into France, and the lord Francis was slain.

Cromwell now saw his bloody policy of governing by the sword, succeed beyond expectation: it was not now as formerly, when he had the unarmed authority of parliament, and the timorous citizens of London to deal with, for the nation now on every side was in a blaze, which could be quenched only with streams of blood. Besides Kent, Essex, Wales, and the northern counties, the Cornishmen were up in arms, but were defeated at Penzance by sir Hardresse Waller, who afterwards took possession of Exeter. In like manner the inhabitants of Rutlandshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and the neighbouring counties, took arms, and were assembled near Stamford. Sir John Owen had renewed the war in Wales, and besieged Caernarvon castle; but was defeated and taken prisoner by colonel Carter. From these circumstances the reader may conclude how expert six or seven years daily experience had made the parliament's army in the trade of murder, since about thirty thousand of their troops could keep upwards of a million in subjection, for the army was now actually at war with all the people of England. Its most determined enemies were those who had been most active against Charles in the beginning and progress of the war, and were therefore considered by the army as apostates, and they were on all occasions hated with greater severity than the royalists themselves.

The invasion from Scotland ended no less fatally than the other attempts made this year in behalf of the royal cause. The Scottish army, under duke Hamilton, amounting to near twenty thousand men, entered England on the thirteenth of July, and were joined by five thousand English, under sir Marmaduke Langdale; and falling upon the parliament's army, under major-general Lambert, near Appleby, in Westmoreland, they forced him to retire into the town, from whence he retreated to Kirby Steven, and afterwards to Bowes leaving some of his forces behind to defend the castle, which was besieged, and taken on the seventh of August, by sir Philip Musgrave. The Scots staid some time at Kendal, and major-general Lambert's army increased daily with additional forces: at length Cromwell, having quietted the commotions in Wales, marched with his forces to join him, and in his way took the town of Pomfret, but the castle still held out for the king, but was reduced by Lambert before the end of the year. Hamilton leaving Kendal, directed his march into Lancashire, with an intent to advance to London: this Cromwell was resolved to prevent at all hazards, and therefore marched to Preston, where Hamilton and Langdale lay with their forces. Here Cromwell ventured to attack them with a body not amounting to half their number; and though the royalists behaved with uncommon bravery, yet,

not being properly supported by their confederates, were on the seventeenth of August; entirely routed, and most of them put to the sword. Hamilton and his troops were also shamefully defeated, and chased to Uttoxeter, where the duke himself was taken prisoner by the lord Grey of Groby, and sent in safe custody to Ashby de la Zouch, in Leicestershire: sir Marmaduke Langdale was apprehended in an inn.

During these transactions in England, the prince of Wales, having sent his brother, the duke of York, to the Hague, went on board the fleet at Helvoetsluys, and set sail for England, in order to join and head the Scottish army when it should enter that kingdom. When he arrived at Yarmouth, the inhabitants refused him admittance; then he directed his course to the river Thames, and took several rich vessels belonging to the Londoners, which were afterwards restored. Mean while the earl of Warwick assembled a squadron, with which he sailed in quest of the prince, and anchored his ship so near him in the river, that an engagement was thought unavoidable. The prince of Wales was eager for battle, and accordingly weighed in order to attack the earl; but the wind failing, and afterwards blowing full in his teeth, he could not execute his resolution: Warwick being reinforced with some fresh ships, and the royal fleet being in want of provisions, young Charles was persuaded to return to Helvoetsluys, whether he was followed by the enemy.

Cromwell improving the success he had obtained over the Scottish army, marched directly to Edinburgh; by which vigorous step he broke the measures of the royalists so much, that Berwick and Carlisle, which Hamilton had taken, were restored to the English parliament: and leaving Lambert in Scotland with some troops, he returned with his army to England, where his presence was now much wanted by his party, who by this time had firmly resolved the death of their sovereign.

For at the beginning of these troubles the presbyterian party in the house, in the city, and other places of the kingdom, began to resume their courage. Several petitions were presented for a personal treaty with the king; and when the army was removed from London into different parts of the kingdom to quell the risings of the people, the secluded members, and others who had absented themselves, having returned to their seats, the votes of no more addresses were repealed, and it was resolved by both houses "to enter into a personal treaty with the king; and Newport, in the Isle of Wight, should be the place of treaty; and that his majesty should be there with, honour, freedom, and safety; and five lords and ten commoners were appointed commissioners for managing the negotiation, which was allowed to last for forty days from the day of its commencement*." This last was an artful provision thrown in by the independents in the house, who wanted to spin out matters till the re-approach of the army to the neighbourhood of London, when they knew they could carry every thing they wished. Accordingly, sir Henry Vane, junior, who was one of the commissioners for the commons, so delayed the treaty by starting new difficulties, that it was not began till the fif-

teenth of September, a month after Cromwell had defeated the Scots, and the army was every where victorious. By the same means the treaty itself was prolonged till Cromwell was returned out of Scotland, and at hand to support Fairfax and the rest of the army, which being now collected together, after its various successes, had its headquarters at Windsor, and none remained to stem the torrent of its bloody rage, but the helpless king and parliament. At Cromwell's instigation the general officers agreed upon that execrable remonstrance, which in effect took off the head of Charles. On the twentieth of November, after some debates had passed between the two houses concerning the persons to be excepted from pardon, colonel Ewers, at the head of seven other officers, presented to the commons this remonstrance. It began with a demand to drop the treaty with the king, and to bring him to justice; to declare the prince of Wales and the duke of York to be incapable of government; that the army be satisfied out of the estates of delinquents; that justice be done to the capital causes of war; that a period be put to that parliament; that the frequent returns of annual or triennial parliaments be secured; that there be a more equal representative of the people in the house of commons; that all who had borne arms for the king should be disabled from electing or being elected; that the supreme power of government should be invested in the representatives of the people, among whom there should be liberty of entering dissents; that all future kings should be elected by the people, but without any negative voice; that all matters of general settlement should be established by the general contract of the people; but that none should have a share in it, who should oppose the matters contained in that remonstrance.

The parliament, though on all hands surrounded with the most imminent danger, and though unable to resist the usurpations of the army, nobly determined to oppose them to the last; and rather involve the nation in anarchy and confusion, than give their authority to those violent and desperate measures which were now projected. They deigned not to return any answer to the remonstrance of the army; but the latter had concerted measures to put it out of the power of the parliament to obstruct their designs: for colonel Hammond received an order, on the twenty-second of November, from Fairfax to attend him, and to resign to colonel Ewers (the same who had presented the army's remonstrance) the custody of the king's person, which was accordingly done, and the helpless king was, on the thirtieth of the same month, carried over to Hurst castle†, where he was again shut up from all his attendants, and continued close prisoner. The presbyterians exerted themselves anew on this occasion against the army, which they perceived to be upon the point of giving law to the parliament. On the fourth of December they voted "that the removal of the king out of the Isle of Wight was without the knowledge and consent of the house." Next day it was voted by a majority of one hundred and twenty-nine against eighty-three, "that the an-

* See Journ. of the House of Comm. July 28, 29, 1648.

† A fortress in Hampshire, situated on a narrow neck of

land, opposite and almost extending itself over to the Isle of Wight.

swers of the king to the propositions of both houses (during the treaty at Newport) are a ground for the house to proceed upon, for the settlement of the kingdom."

This vote brought matters to a crisis between the parliament and the army; the officers, conscious of their own strength, resolved no longer to keep measures: employing the name of Fairfax (for he still suffered them to make use of his name) they conducted the army to London on the sixth of December, and posted guards in Whitehall, the Meuse, St. James's, Durham-house, Covent-garden, and Palace-yard. Next day colonel Pride, formerly a dray-man, had surrounded the house with two regiments, by whom above forty members, as they were coming to the parliament, were seized, and committed to the custody of the guards in several inns in Westminster and the parts adjoining: and, not satisfied with this, they presented a paper to the house, wherein they accused major-general Brown and ninety members, for inviting the Scots into England the last summer, and therefore required they might be excluded the house. Even this violent outrage was not sufficient to subdue the parliament: they adjourned for four or five days, in which space the army was busied in completing their form of government.

Upon re-assembling the two houses, it was found that above one hundred and sixty members were excluded; and none were now suffered to enter but the most fierce and desperate of the independents who hardly amounted to sixty in number. This flagrant violation of the liberties of parliament was commonly known by the name of Colonel Pride's Purge. The transactions of the remaining part of the parliament, if this insignificant assembly deserves that honourable appellation, were such as might naturally be expected from the frantic members of which it was composed: they forthwith annulled the former vote, and declared the king's concessions unsatisfactory. They resolved, that no members, absent at this last vote, should be admitted until they had signed it, as agreeable to their judgment. They confirmed their former vote of non-addresses; and they ordered into custody sir William Waller, sir John Clotworthy, the generals Massey, Brown, Copley, and other leaders of the presbyterians. The excluded members having published a paper, representing the outrages which had been offered to them, and protesting against all acts, which, from that time, should be passed in the house of commons; the independent members opposed it by a declaration, in which they declared it a false, scandalous, seditious libel, and tending to the subversion of the fundamental liberties and privileges of parliament*.

And now the fall of the unhappy king came on apace. Cornwall, who was then returned to his seat in the house of commons, and had been thanked for his services in Scotland, had now no other difficulty in completing the murder of Charles, but to disguise the horror of the deed from Fairfax, who began to fear he had gone too far, nor could all the arts of Cromwell restore him to perfect quiet. The remnant of the house of commons, consisted of a set of men raised from the lowest class of life, the slaves of the army, whose officers exercised unlimited power in all proceedings: the city

itself was in subjection to them. Cromwell, who could do what he pleased with the soldiers, got them to present petitions against the king; and the counties of Somerset and Norfolk, with the fleet under the earl of Warwick, sent a declaration in which they joined with the army: the common-council of London, which had so lately declared for the king, now wholly under the direction of the victorious party, concurred in the petition to have him brought to trial. At length this bold refusal of the house of commons presumed to form a resolution which far transcended all former acts of treason and fanaticism: on the twenty-third of December they appointed a committee to draw up a formal accusation or impeachment of his majesty. Colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, was commanded to conduct the royal victim from Hurst castle to Windsor. On the twenty-eighth of December, the committee having made its report, an ordinance for trying the king was brought into the house of commons by Scot, an independent minister. This was founded on a vote which made it "high treason in a king of England, for the time being, to levy war against the parliament and kingdom of England." This ordinance, with many detestable particulars, was very quickly carried through the commons, and on the second of January, 1649, it was carried up to the house of peers by the lord Grey of Groby.

The house of peers, during the whole course of the civil wars, had possessed little authority or influence; but since the king's fall, it had been wholly insignificant; and most of the members, disgusted at the public proceedings, declined to give their attendance. It happened, however, that day, to be more full than usual, and they were convened to the number of sixteen. Without the least doubt or hesitation, they unanimously rejected the vote of the lower-house, and adjourned themselves for ten days; hoping by this means, to restrain the furious career of the commons.

But the commons were not to be diverted from their purpose by so small an obstacle: they voted to proceed in trying the king, and in all other matters, without the concurrence of the lords; and on the fourth of January they passed the following votes, which will best speak for themselves as to the purpose they were to serve:

"Resolved, &c. That the commons of England in parliament assembled, do declare that the people are, under God, the original of all just power.

"And also declare that the commons of England in parliament assembled, being chosen by, and representing, the people, have the supreme power in this nation.

"And do also declare, that whatever is enacted, or declared for them, by the commons in parliament assembled, hath the force of law; and all the people of this nation are included thereby, although the consent and concurrence of the king, or house of peers, be not had thereunto."

They also voted, "That all members and others, appointed to act in any ordinance with peers, were empowered and enjoined to sit, act, and execute, notwithstanding the peers joined not therein." And so earnest were both the commons and the army about the king's trial, that the queen, desiring

* Journals of the House of Com. Dec. 14, 20.

to see her husband before his arraignment, could not obtain a pass for her secure coming and returning.

On the sixth of January, the ordinance for the king's trial was turned into an act of the commons alone, and engrossed: and proclamation was made two days after, in Westminster hall, Cheapside, and the Old Exchange, for witnesses to come in against him; and commissioners were appointed for trying him. At first it was proposed to name some of the house of peers to be commissioners for that purpose; but, upon second thoughts, that intention was laid aside, and Thomas lord Fairfax, general, Oliver Cromwell, esq. lieutenant-general, Henry Ireton, esq. commissary-general, major-general Philip Skippon, sir Hardress Waller, knight, and other persons, to the number of one hundred and forty-five, were appointed commissioners and judges on this surprising trial.

When those commissioners met, they chose serjeant Bradshaw for their president. He was a bold insolent lawyer, and voted into the presidency, not for his abilities, of which he is said not to have been destitute in his profession, but because he was void of all tenderness towards names, persons, or offices, and was dauntless enough to go coolly through the impious work. Dr. Dorislaus, Steele, Ashe, and Cooke, were appointed assistants to the court, for drawing up and managing the evidence: the former of those was a civilian; the other three were common lawyers, and Steele appears to have been a man of parts. The court in which they were to act was christened by the name of the High Court of Justice, and provided with proper officers and decorations, to give it an august appearance. Bradshaw was attended by a guard, had a sword of state, and a mace, embossed with the king's own arms, carried before him; and he behaved with that gravity which became a supreme magistrate.

On the nineteenth of January the king was brought from Windsor to St. James's house, and all things were prepared for his fatal tragedy, in which the commons proceeded with unabated earnestness, notwithstanding the house of lords, and the remonstrance of the parliament of Scotland, now convened, against it.

On Saturday, January 20, 1649, the king was brought before the high court of justice, in Westminster hall, having been guarded thither by colonel Hacker and about thirty officers armed. I shall not detain the reader with the particulars of this execrable trial, which are to be found in every history of those times; they are neither interesting nor instructive: it is sufficient to say that Charles's deportment before his infamous judges was very majestic; he looked undauntedly on the array of troops that attended him, and the pageantry of the court; and, without moving his hat, or shewing the regicides the smallest mark of reverence, he seated himself in a chair of crimson velvet, prepar-

ed for him within the bar. It may be thought strange by some readers, that as a great number, if not the majority, of the commissioners who were empowered to act on this occasion, detested the guilt of the court, they did not attend and endeavour to prevent the sentence*: but the truth is, the furiousness of the army was such, that had any difficulty occurred in condemning Charles, it would have purged the court as it had done the parliament.

The substance of the charge against the king was, "that he had endeavoured to set up a tyrannical power, and to that end had raised and maintained a cruel war against the parliament." The king, on the hearing this charge read by the clerk of the court, made no other answer but by denying the authority of the court; the same he did on the twenty-second and twenty-third. At length being brought before them a fourth time, on January 27, he earnestly desired before sentence, to be heard before the lords and commons (intending, as it was thought, to have resigned his crown to his eldest son Charles, prince of Wales), but his request was not granted; and so still persisting in disowning the jurisdiction of the court, and consequently in his refusal to answer the charge, his silence was taken for confession; sentence of death was passed upon him, after an insolent speech made by Bradshaw, all the members present standing up by way of approbation: their names were as follows; Bradshaw, president, Lisle, Say, Cromwell, Ireton, Hardress Waller, Bouchier, *Heveningham*, *Pennington*, Martin, Purefoy, Barkstead, *Tomlinson*, Blackiston, Millington, Constable, Ludlow, Hutchinson, Livesey, Tichburn, Roe, Lilburne, Smith, Edwards, Clement, Wogan, Norton, *Harvey*, Venn, Scot, *Andrews*, Fleetwood, Mayne, J. Temple, Scrope, Dean, Okey, Hewson, Goffe, *Holland*, Carew, Jones, Corbet, *Allen*, Pelham, Blagrove, Walton, Harrison, Whalley, Pride, Ewers, Grey of Groby, Danvers, Maleverer, More, Alured, Cawley, Stapley, Downs, Horton, *Hammond*, *Love*, Potter, Garland, Dixwell, P. Temple, Waite. The sentence ran: "That he, Charles Stuart, king of England, having been convicted and attainted as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy, should be put to death, by severing his head from his body." This sentence, and the warrant for execution, in consequence thereof, were signed and sealed by all the commissioners above mentioned, except such of them whose names are printed in *Italic* characters. And here it will be necessary to take notice, that colonel Richard Ingoldsby's hand and seal were, against his consent, put to the death-warrant, by Oliver Cromwell; but his early disclaiming the fact, and his active and successful endeavours for the restoration of king Charles II. to his crown and kingdoms, not only obtained his pardon, but also gained him the king's favour, who conferred on him the dignity of a knight of the Bath at his coronation.

* It was a remark, that in calling over the court the first day of the king's trial, when the crier pronounced the name of lord Fairfax, which had been inserted in the number, a voice came from the gallery, crying, "He has more wit than to be here." When the impeachment was read, "in the name of the good people of England; "That is a lye," said the same voice, in a shriller tone, "Not a half, nor a quarter: where are the people or their representatives? Oliver Cromwell is a rogue and a traitor."

Axtel, the officer who guarded the court, gave orders to fire

at the place from whence these insolent speeches proceeded, calling out, "Down with the whores; shoot them:" but it was soon found, that the lady Fairfax was there, and that it was she who had the courage to utter them. She was a person of very noble birth, the daughter of Horace lord Vere of Tilbury; but, being misled by the prejudices of the times, she had long encouraged her husband's zeal against the royal cause, and was now, as well as he, filled with abhorrence at the fatal and unexpected consequences of all his victories and successes. Hume, Carte, Rapin.

Charles 1st. taking leave of his Children.



Wale del.

Graham sculp

To his Grace
Duke of
This Plate is most



Cha^s. Dowglas,
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 All Officers and Souldiers
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To Colonel ~~Wray~~ Mayne
 & Lieutenant Colonel
 Horton
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 Jones
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 Millington
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 Cluree
 Silburne
 Fay
 Stapley
 Norton
 Challoner

Tho wogan
 John Penn
 Gregory Clements
 Jo: Downes
 Tho Wayte
 Tho: Scot
 Jo: Carew
 Miles Corbet

Thelatterday

was not a higher block: then addressing himself to
 the colonels Tomlinson, Hacker, and some other
 persons who were on the scaffold, he declared him-
 self innocent of having commenced war against
 the parliament: he owned that his fate was a just
 judgment from Heaven, for having consented to

those he trusted had over him, increased the dis-
 tempers of his reign; and his losing entirely the
 confidence of his people, with the clashing interest
 of parties, violent and furious in their opposition
 to each other, at last completed his ruin, after

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Wm. Lloyd Garrison

Dear Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. in relation to the matter of the American Anti-Slavery Society. I am very glad to hear that you are so interested in the cause of the oppressed, and I am sure that your efforts will be successful. I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
Wm. Lloyd Garrison

Wm. Lloyd Garrison	John P. Lovejoy	Amos A. Phelps	Wm. A. Briggs	Wm. A. Briggs	Wm. A. Briggs
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Wm. Lloyd Garrison	John P. Lovejoy	Amos A. Phelps	Wm. A. Briggs	Wm. A. Briggs	Wm. A. Briggs

Yours truly,
Wm. Lloyd Garrison

By this time Pau, and another ambassador from the States General, had arrived in England, and had presented to the house of commons letters from their masters, demanding a respite of Charles's sentence, which was flatly denied them: in like manner the Scottish commissioners at London gave in very warm remonstrances to the house in favour of the king; but they were laid aside without being read, and the commissioners were voted to go from England to Scotland, to preserve a good intelligence between the two kingdoms.

Fairfax now found himself truly miserable, for contributing so much to the woes he could not prevent; and had even formed a design, which, if it had been executed, would have freed him from the load of disloyalty under which he laboured: this was, to assemble some of the officers most attached to him, and forcibly rescue the king from the hands he was in. Understanding the death-warrant was signed, in order to gain time he repaired to Cromwell, to procure a respite, for some days at least, of the execution; but Cromwell penetrated into his design, and, knowing Fairfax's weak side, seemed to approve of the motion, but requested his excellency to join with him and his brother officers in seeking God for a blessing upon their endeavours. This happened on the morning of the king's execution; and Fairfax was so plied with prayers, that after the king's head was struck off, meeting Herbert in one of the galleries of Whitehall, he asked how his majesty did? and was amazed and confounded when he heard of his being beheaded.

Three days were allowed the king between his sentence and his execution; this interval he chiefly employed in reading and devotion, having obtained leave for Juxon, bishop of London, for whom he had a great regard, to attend him: all his family that remained in England were suffered to visit him: it consisted only of the princess Elizabeth and the duke of Gloucester. Their meeting was extremely tender: Charles cautioned them both against popery, and the young duke against accepting the crown during the lives of his brothers: Charles then gave them a few jewels, which he told them was all that he could bequeath them: and the reader may easily conceive their parting to be the most moving that could happen.

On the thirtieth of January he was conducted on foot through St. James's Park to Whitehall, accompanied by Dr. Juxon, and guarded by a regiment of foot, under the command of colonel Tomlinson. He had taken the sacrament in the morning; and continued in his devotions at Whitehall till noon, where he drank a glass of wine and eat a morsel of bread: then he went through the Banqueting-house to the scaffold, erected adjoining to that edifice. It was covered with black cloth; in the middle of it appeared the block and ax, with two executioners in vizors; several troops of horse and companies of foot were drawn up on each side, and the palace was surrounded by a multitude of spectators. The king eyed the apparatus of death with great composure, and asked if there was not a higher block: then addressing himself to the colonels Tomlinson, Hacker, and some other persons who were on the scaffold, he declared himself innocent of having commenced war against the parliament: he owned that his fate was a just judgment from Heaven, for having consented to

the execution of an unjust sentence against the earl of Strafford: he forgave all his enemies, exhorted the people to return to their obedience, and acknowledge his successor as their lawful sovereign; and signified his inviolable attachment to the protestant religion as professed by the church of England. While he prepared himself for the block, Dr. Juxon told him there was but one stage more, which, though troublesome, was short, and would convey him to heaven, where he should find ineffable joy and comfort: "I go (said the king) from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can be." "You are exchanged (replied the good bishop) from a temporal to an eternal crown; a good exchange!" Charles, having taken off his cloak, delivered his George to the prelate, pronouncing the word "Remember!" Then he laid his neck upon the block, and stretching out his hands as a signal, one of the men in vizors severed his head from his body at one blow, and the other holding it up, streaming with blood, exclaimed, "This is the head of a traitor!" The spectators testified their sorrows in sighs, tears, and lamentations; and a great number attempted to dip their handkerchiefs in the blood of their murdered prince. The body was put into a coffin covered with black velvet, and removed to an apartment in Whitehall, then embalmed, and exposed for several days at the palace of St. James's: at length the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, and the earls of Southampton and Lindsey, obtained permission to bury it in the church of Windsor, where it was privately interred, without any funeral ceremony.

Thus fell Charles I. king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by the murderous decree of his own subjects, and the ignominious hand of a common executioner. There had been several instances formerly of kings of England deposed by act of parliament, and of the wives of kings who had fallen by the stroke of the executioner; Mary, queen of Scots, had been sentenced to death by English commissioners, who had no other right over her life than what a robber has over the defenceless person who falls into his hands: but there had never yet been an instance of any people bringing their own sovereign to the block, with all the pomp and solemnity of justice: we must go back three hundred years before our æra to find an example of the like catastrophe, in the person of Agis, king of Lacedemon.

There have been, through the course of this reign, so many opportunities for the reader to make himself acquainted with the character of Charles, that I shall be as concise as possible in what I have to say on that head. King Charles was certainly possessed of great abilities, and was endowed with many excellent qualifications: he was strictly sober, chaste, temperate, and constant in his devotions, both public and private. Happy had it been for himself and the nation, had he been as good a King as he was a Man! his aiming at more power than the constitution allowed, was the first cause of his misfortunes. The false steps he afterwards committed, the ascendancy the queen and those he trusted had over him, increased the distempers of his reign; and his losing entirely the confidence of his people, with the clashing interest of parties, violent and furious in their opposition to each other, at last completed his ruin, after

a troublesome reign of twenty-three years, ten months, and three days.

Matters of religion make up great part of Charles's history: some have impiously charged him with being a friend to popery: and others, from the concessions he made in favour of presbytery, will not allow him to have died in the faith of the church of England. It is to his immortal honour that we can say, that all his tenderness for his queen's person never brought him to harbour the smallest thought of adopting her religion; and we have it from unquestionable authority, that when he was at Oxford, he made the following declaration, as he was going to receive the sacrament from the hands of archbishop Usher: "My lord, I copy here many resolved protestants, who may declare to the world the resolution I do now make. I have, to the utmost of my power, prepared my soul to become a worthy receiver; and may I receive comfort from the blessed sacrament, as I do intend the establishment of the true reformed protestant religion, as it stood in its beauty in the happy days of queen Elizabeth, without any connivance at popery. I bless God, that, in the

midst of these public distractions, I have still liberty to communicate; and may this sacrament be my damnation, if my heart do not join with my lips in this protestation.*"

Charles, by his queen Henrietta, daughter of Henry IV. of France, had four sons and five daughters, namely:

1. Charles James, who died in the cradle.
2. Charles, prince of Wales, by whom he was succeeded.
3. James, duke of York.
4. Henry, duke of Gloucester, who died after the Restoration.

1. Mary, who espoused William of Nassau, prince of Orange, by whom she was left a widow.

2. Elizabeth, confined by the regicides in Carisbrook castle, where she died of grief.

3. Ann, and

4. Catherine, who died in their infancy.

5. Henrietta Maria, who was carried in her infancy, by the countess of Dalkeith, into France, where she married Philip, duke of Anjou and Orleans, brother to Lewis XIV †.

The COMMONWEALTH of ENGLAND.

A. D. 1649.

THE parliament, for such we must now call the small inconsiderable part of the house of commons that continued sitting, having murdered their sovereign in the manner already related, proceeded to settle the government of the state. The first step they took after the execution of the king, was to issue a proclamation, forbidding all persons, on pain of incurring the penalty of treason, to acknowledge or declare Charles Stuart, commonly called the prince of Wales, as sovereign of England: they likewise voted that those members of the house of commons who had, on the fifth of December, approved, by a vote, of the late king's concessions for a peace, at the Isle of Wight, should never again be re-admitted; and that even such others who had given their negatives to the said concessions, were ordered not to sit in parliament till they had entered their dissent to them.

The house of peers continued yet sitting, and

as the commissions of the judges were determined by the king's death, they sent to the commons for a conference about that, and other matters relating to the safety of the government; but they, without returning an answer, passed a vote the same day (February 5), by which they declared "the kingly office to be unnecessary and burthensome, and that the house of peers was dangerous and useless, and therefore to be laid aside." But that they might not be totally excluded from government, it was declared, "that they might be capable of being elected into the house of commons," of which three of them only afterwards accepted, the earls of Pembroke and Salisbury, and the lord Howard of Escrick; but the rest of the lords in general, burning with indignation at this insult put upon them by this fag-end of the house of commons, published a protestation in the name of all the peers and barons of the realm, in which they protested against all

* Dr. Wellwood says of king Charles, that he had a good taste for learning, and a more than ordinary skill in the liberal arts, especially painting, sculpture, architecture, and medals: he acquired the noblest collection of any prince of his time, and more than all the kings of England before him. He spoke several languages very well, and with a singular good grace. The book which he wrote during the height of his troubles, and which he entitled *Icon Basilike*, is a collection of the prayers and meditations of the king in the exercise of his private devotions, and reflections. The style of this book is strong, elegant, and perspicuous; and it abounds with such manly sentiments of piety and good sense, as do great honour to the royal author. Charles was not only a man of letters himself, but a judge of literary merit, and a generous patron of learning and ingenious men. He was very liberal to the celebrated Flemish painter sir Peter Paul Rubens, by whose advice he purchased the cartoons of Raphael (which were lately removed from Hampton-court to the Queen's Palace in St. James's Park); together with many excellent pieces of painting from foreign countries. He likewise caressed Vandyke, who

was the pupil of Rubens, and even bestowed on him his own kinswoman in marriage. His architect was the famous Inigo Jones, an artist that far surpassed all his contemporaries, and left many monuments of his inimitable genius, that still remain in England. Laws the musician was a particular favourite with Charles, who used to call him the Father of Music. He bestowed particular marks of favour upon the renowned Hervey, who, to the eternal honour of the English nation, discovered the circulation of the blood, by his own sagacity assisted by experiments.

During the peaceable period of this reign, the commerce of England increased considerably to the East Indies, Guinea, Spain, and Turkey. The colony of New England became populous; for great numbers of puritans fled thither in consequence of being severely treated by Laud and his high-church party: the catholics afterwards, to avoid the same kind of persecution from the puritans, resorted to America, and settled the colony of Maryland.

† Carte.

acts, votes, and orders of parliament, that should be made during their exclusion.

This made little impression on the commons; and, to prevent the assembling of the lords, the army, by their appointment and connivance, set a guard upon the door of that house; and, in further prosecution of their former votes against monarchy, they framed and passed "An act for the exhaeredation of the royal line, and the abolition of monarchy in that kingdom," by which it was decreed, that the nation should be henceforth governed by the representatives of the people, under the form of a commonwealth.

Sir Abraham Reynoldson, then lord-mayor, a person of great integrity and loyalty, refused to publish this act in the city of London, for which he was forthwith discharged from his office, and, with three of the aldermen that had joined him, was committed prisoner to the Tower; and one Andrews being chosen by the common-council mayor in his stead, he, with Pennington and other aldermen, proclaimed this most audacious act in the city. But this subversion of the constitution not being relished by the people in general, the parliament thought fit to give them some satisfaction, by publishing a declaration, in which they endeavoured to shew the reasons of their proceedings; wherein several plausible pretences were exhibited: among others, they made a promise of "deliverance from the bondage introduced by the Norman conquest, and of maintaining the ancient laws (which they extolled for their excellency and equality); adding, that they might well consist with the present government of a republic, upon some easy alterations of form, only leaving the substance entire, and reforming the abuses thereof. They promised likewise the establishment of a firm and safe peace, the advancement of the true protestant religion, and the liberal maintaining of a godly ministry; the settling of treaties and alliances with foreign princes and estates; the encouragement of the manufactories, for the increase and flourishing of trade, and the maintaining of the poor in all places of the land."

About the time of publishing this declaration, to complete the model of their government, they abolished all the ancient forms of sovereignty in the stile and tests of writs, commissions, and other public instruments; and ordered for the future all of them to be issued "in the names of the keepers of the liberties of England, by authority of parliament." They next caused the old great-seal to be broken, and a new one to be made, having on one side a red cross and harp quartered, as the arms of England and Ireland, with this inscription, THE GREAT SEAL OF ENGLAND; and on the other side the representation of the house of commons assembled, with this motto, IN THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM, BY GOD'S BLESSING RESTORED, MDCXLVIII. And, as another ensign of their dominion, they appointed that all the money which from that time was to be coined, should, instead of the king's impression, bear the cross and harp, with this motto, GOD WITH US. The clauses in the first of Elizabeth, and the third of James I.

which enjoined taking the oaths of supremacy and allegiance to the king and his successors, were now repealed, and a new oath, called "the engagement," was enjoined to be taken by all who were put into places of public trust, "to be true and faithful to the government established, without king or house of peers". The ancient judicial and legislative power of the king and both houses of parliament they assumed to themselves; but the executive part of government they committed to a council of state, consisting of thirty-nine persons*, whose places were to continue for one whole year, and then a new council of state to be chosen; and thus the commonwealth government was fully established.

In the mean while, the parliament of Scotland, who, by their commissioners here, had in vain protested against any violent measures being pursued with regard to the captive king, no sooner heard of his horrid murder, than they, on the third day of February this year, proclaimed his son Charles at the Cross of Edinburgh. They afterwards called home their commissioners in England, who, just at their departure, sent an expostulatory declaration to the house of commons, wherein they put them in mind of all their vows, obligations, and protestations for the maintenance of the king's person and just rights, and upbraided them with their shameful abjurations and infringement of the same, by their late bloody proceedings. This was so ill received by the parliament, that they imprisoned the messenger that presented it, and voted the paper scandalous and seditious, and all such persons traitors who should join with them, or adhere to the subscribers. They likewise secured the persons of the commissioners, till a copy of the paper was sent into Scotland, to see if the parliament and estates there would acknowledge the same; upon which a messenger was sent from the parliament of Scotland, to justify what their commissioners had done, and to complain of their detention as a breach of the law of nations. The English parliament, unwilling to embroil themselves in a war with Scotland, ordered the commissioners to be released, and they returned home; but these proceedings increased on both sides the distrust and jealousy they had of each other.

In March, a new high court of justice was erected, of which Bradshaw was again president, for the new trial of duke Hamilton (as earl of Cambridge in England) the earls of Holland and Norwich, the lord Capel and sir John Owen, who had been principally active during the preceding summer, in the attempts made to free the king out of the hands of his enemies by force of arms. They were all convicted, and sentenced to die; but, upon their petitioning the parliament, their pardon or execution was to be determined by the votes of the house, when duke Hamilton and lord Capel were cast, and sir John Owen saved by a considerable majority. The house being equally divided as to the two earls, the former was cast, and the latter saved, by the single vote of the speaker. Accordingly Hamilton, Holland, and

* These were the chiefs of the army, and others of desperate fortunes, and the most active in the late rebellious transactions, viz. the earls of Denbigh, Musgrave, Pembroke, and Salisbury, the lords Grey, Fairfax, Grey of Groby, Lisle, Rolles, and St. John, Wilde, Bradshaw, Cromwell, Skip-

pon, Pickering, Massam, Hazelrig, Harrington, Vane, jun. Danvers, Armine, Mildmay, Constable, Pennington, Wilson, Whitelocke, Martin, Ludlow, Stapleton, Heveningham, Wallop, Hutchinson, Bond, Popham, Valentine, Walton, Scot, Purefoy, and Jones.

Capel, were beheaded the twenty-ninth of March, on a scaffold before Westminster-hall.

It was now thought fit to abolish the council of agitators, who were at first set up by Cromwell and his association, to oppose the presbyterians in their project of disbanding the army. They had now done their master's work, and had been the chief instruments in all the late transactions; and lest they should take it in their heads to carry matters farther than the present rulers, between whom and the officers of the army there was now a perfect agreement, cared they should, those who had first set them up, judged it expedient to put them down; but this could not be effected without some effusion of blood; for those sons of rapine and misrule having notice of what was intended against them, after having in vain drawn up and presented a remonstrance to the parliament for continuing them as a council, had recourse to arms; and about four thousand met at Burford, under the direction of Thomson, a man formerly condemned for sedition by a court-martial, but pardoned by his colonel. Their resistance was not long-lived; Fairfax and Cromwell attacked them suddenly; four hundred were taken prisoners; some of them put to death, and the rest pardoned; and this mutinous spirit was for the present totally suppressed. Let us now attend the steps of the lawful heir to the crown, deprived of his right, and turned out a wanderer to the wide world.

Charles prince of Wales, now Charles II. by the death of his father, no sooner heard of that tragical event, than he took the title of king, being then eighteen years of age. He at that time resided at the Hague, whither two gentlemen had been sent by the parliament of Scotland, to acquaint him with their proceedings in his behalf, and to invite him into their kingdom; upon which Charles resolved to go to France, that from thence he might more easily pass into some part of his own dominions, to receive their commissioners. With this view he left Holland in the month of April, and came to St. Germain, near Paris, where the queen his mother then was; and all the way as he passed through the cities of the United Provinces and the Spanish Netherlands, he was very splendidly entertained. The duke of Lorraine met him on the frontiers of France, and the king of France came in person to Champagne to receive him, and accompany him to Paris, and from thence to St. Germain, where he staid a few months, together with his brother the duke of York, who came to him out of Holland, where we will leave him for the present, and turn our eyes towards the new government in England.

The parliament, notwithstanding their inconsiderable number, found every thing at home composed into a seeming tranquility, by the terror of their arms. Foreign powers, conjoined in mutual hostilities, had neither leisure nor inclination to interfere in the domestic quarrels of this island. Scotland had, indeed, in open defiance of the new republic, proclaimed the son of the murdered king; but the English having no pretext to intermeddle in the affairs of that kingdom, suffered the Scots for the present to settle their government after their own manner. Ireland being subject to the dominion of England, demanded a more anxious and more immediate care.

When the marquis of Ormond, in obedience to the command of his late majesty, surrendered Dublin and the other fortresses to the parliamentary forces, he came over to England, was admitted to the king's presence at Hampton-court, received a grateful acknowledgment for all his past services, and, during some time, lived in tranquillity near London. But being soon after banished, together with other royalists, to a distance from that city, and seeing the cause of his master actually ruined, he thought proper to withdraw into France, where he joined the queen and the prince of Wales. As soon, however, as he heard of the tragical death of his sovereign, he instantly returned into Ireland; and forming a confederacy of the catholics, as well as of such protestants as adhered to the royal cause, he assembled sixteen thousand men, with which he advanced upon the parliamentary garrisons; and having taken Dundalk, Tredagh, Newry, and other fortresses, he prepared, in the spring of this year, to lay siege to Dublin. In fine, the affairs of the royalists in a short time appeared in so prosperous a condition, that it was thought by every one that the young king would repair in person into Ireland.

In this exigency, the governors of the new commonwealth thought it behoved them to take the most vigorous measures for the preservation of that valuable island; and it was voted to send over a considerable body of forces for its defence. On this occasion there were struggles betwixt the several parties in the government: the presbyterians endeavoured to procure the lieutenancy of Ireland for Waller, the independents for Lambert. After the execution of the king, Cromwell himself began to aspire to a government, where so much glory, he saw, might be gained, and so much interest acquired. In his absence, he took care to have his name mentioned in the council of state; and both friends and enemies united immediately in voting him into that honourable post. The former imagined, that the motion had been made at his own request; the latter wanted to remove him to a distance, and flattered themselves that, during his absence, they should be able to open the eyes of Fairfax, whom he had hitherto blinded by his hypocritical professions.

Oliver being now appointed general for this expedition, and lord-governor (that was the title given him) of that island, both for civil and military affairs, for three years, he lost no time in making all the necessary preparations for his departure, and in the mean time sent over considerable succours to colonel Jones, the parliamentary governor of Dublin; by the help of which that officer made such vigorous and successful sallies, that he not only forced the marquis of Ormond, who had by this time formed the siege of the Irish capital, to abandon his enterprize; but falling upon him in his retreat, put his army to the rout.

This was in the beginning of August, 1649; and a few days after Cromwell set sail from Milford-haven, and arrived safe at Dublin with his whole army, consisting of fifteen thousand men, to the inexpressible joy of the king's enemies in Ireland. Having refreshed his men, he entered immediately on the great work he came about. His first attempt was upon Drogheda, a strong town, and well garrisoned with the flower of Ormond's forces, under

under the command of sir Arthur Aiton, which he resolutely took by storm, and put all that he found in arms therein to the sword; an act of terror that much facilitated his future conquests, and after this many places submitted to him without striking a stroke.

In October he took Wexford by storm in the like manner, and with the like effect as he had done Drogheda. In short, Cromwell carried on his conquests with such amazing rapidity, that in about nine months time he almost completed the reduction of the whole island; when, about the middle of May 1650, he was recalled by the parliament, in order to enter upon a new scene of artifice in another place. Leaving therefore his son-in-law Ireton, his deputy, to finish what remained to be done, he embarked for England; and landing at Bristol, proceeded in perfect triumph to London, where he arrived amidst the loud acclamations of the people, and had all imaginable honour and respect paid him by the members of parliament, officers of the army, the lord-mayor and aldermen of London, and other persons of distinction in the state.

In the mean time, the young king had removed, in September, from St. Germain's, and came over to the island of Jersey, where his authority was still acknowledged by colonel Clavering, governor of that place: and now finding that Ireland was on the point of being irrecoverably lost, he fixed his thoughts entirely upon Scotland; to which country he had been again and again invited over by the violent covenanters, but still upon their own terms. Though those were excessively disagreeable to Charles, yet he had several conferences with Windram, who was sent about the latter end of this year (1649) from Scotland to Jersey. The substance of the propositions from the Scots to Charles were as follow:

"I. That he would sign the covenant, and pass an act for all persons in Scotland to take it, and to ratify all that had been done there concerning the same. II. That he would pass divers acts of the parliament of Scotland, which were ratified by their two last sessions; as for his approbation of their disclaiming Dr. Hamilton's design for receiving the several acts made by the English for the militia, and for the kings of Scotland to have no negative voice in that parliament. III. That he would withdraw his commissioners to Montrose for raising forces, to be sent from beyond seas into Scotland, and to give present orders for the stopping thereof. IV. That he would put away all papists from about him, and let none be of his council but known protestants. V. That he would appoint some place about Holland to treat with commissioners from the estates of Scotland, who would send eminent lords to him, to treat and conclude there upon all particulars; and from the time he should come into Scotland, they would provide for him what was necessary to make him and his train to reside in a regal manner. VI. That he would give a speedy answer to their desires."

This is the mildest form of the Scottish conditions; for they were afterwards loaded with many odious particulars against the best friends of the royal family in both kingdoms, and with many intolerable indignities to the person of Charles himself. When the propositions came to be de-

bated in Charles's council, it was resolved to put off the acceptance of them for a few months longer, when the king was to give the commissioners from Scotland a final hearing at Breda, a place much more commodious for treating than Jersey was. Charles made use of this respite in encouraging the marquis of Montrose to hasten the preparations in which he was at that time actually engaged, to rescue the king his master from the necessity of submitting to the earl of Argyle and his party of rigid covenanters. Montrose having laid down his arms, in consequence of the late king's orders, had retired to France, after being degraded by the Scottish parliament. Charles, after the tragical death of his father, had sent Montrose a renewal of his commission, as captain-general of Scotland; and ordered him to endeavour to raise a body of forces in Germany, and make a descent in Scotland; chusing rather to come in by force of arms than upon the slavish conditions offered him. Montrose having completed his levies, landed in the north of Scotland, in the beginning of April, 1650, hoping that he should be soon strengthened by the coming in of the people, in consequence of a declaration he had caused to be published, previous to his descent, inviting his countrymen to join him in revenging the late king's murder, and in restoring his present majesty: but herein he was disappointed, and the Scottish government took such effectual measures in opposing him, that before the end of April he was entirely defeated by colonel Strachan, who commanded a body of troops, independent of Lesly. This defeat was owing to the rawness and inexperience of his troops; two hundred of whom were killed, and one thousand two hundred taken prisoners. The whole Scottish army soon after advanced against them under Lesly. As to himself, he seems to have been somewhat defective in point of intelligence, and to have been surprized by Strachan so suddenly, that he had no opportunity of displaying his wonted conduct and courage. He escaped however from the rout of this field; and, if we are to believe the tradition of the Scots themselves, he was betrayed by a gentleman of the country who owed him singular obligations. All I am certain of is, that he was sent up prisoner to Edinburgh, where he was put to death, with such circumstances of cruelty and ignominy, as barbarians would not have offered to a man whose virtues did honour to the human species.

After the death of Montrose, Charles finding himself absolutely without resource, he in a manner gave the Scots a *charte blanche*, agreed to all their mortifying propositions, quitted Holland (whither he had lately gone from Jersey), and putting himself in the power of those who had so lately hanged his general and faithful friend and protector, he embarked for Scotland in the beginning of June, where he arrived; after a very hazardous voyage, having been once in danger of shipwreck, and more than once, of falling into the hands of Popham, admiral of the parliament fleet, which had been sent out to intercept him in his passage. Before he was permitted to set foot on shore, he was required to sign the covenant, and with this request he thought proper to comply. Duke Hamilton, the earls of Lauderdale, Dunfermlin, and other noble-

men attached to the royal cause, were immediately removed from his presence, and were obliged to withdraw to their estates, where they lived without any trust or authority. None of his English friends who had served under his father were suffered to remain in the kingdom, the duke of Buckingham excepted; whose attendance on his person, Charles, by the most earnest intreaties, did with great difficulty obtain.

The parliament of Scotland now entered into deep consultation about forming an army for the service of the king, as they pretended; and an act was published for the rating of every fourth man through the kingdom, capable of bearing arms. Lesly, earl of Leven, was appointed general of the foot, and Holbourn major-general; David Lesly lieutenant-general of the horse, and Montgomery major-general; the supreme command of the whole army being reserved for Charles himself, whom, on the 15th of July, they again solemnly proclaimed king at the Cross of Edinburgh; and it was even intended to have crowned him the following month, but certain obstacles interposed which prevented it. Charles himself, though treated with great respect and deference, was totally debarred from all exercise of regal power, and was allowed to indulge in no kind of amusement; and the spirit of the Scots in religious matters being at that time remarkably gloomy and severe, the young king was forced to submit to many austerities that were extremely disagreeable to his natural temper, and which probably produced, or at least strengthened, that indifference for religion, which, during the remaining part of his life, he always discovered.

The English parliament was no sooner informed of the king's arrival in Scotland, than they immediately began to prepare for a war, which they plainly perceived must now prove inevitable; and they resolved not to suffer one half of the island to be an asylum for a person who pretended to be king of the other likewise. The rulers of the new commonwealth had hitherto supported the change of government with as much prudence and conduct, as they had shewn rage and fury in bringing it about: and it was the astonishment of all Europe, to behold a handful of private men, without any chief to command them, keep the peers of the realm at a silent and inactive distance, strip the bishops of their dignity, restrain the multitude within the bounds of order and obedience, maintain an army of sixteen thousand men in Ireland, and the like number in England, support a formidable fleet, well provided, and punctually pay all demands, without any one member of the house enriching himself at the nation's expence. To provide for so great a charge, they observed the strictest œconomy in the management of the revenues formerly annexed to the crown, and made a sale of the forfeited lands of the bishops and chapters for ten years. In short, the nation paid a tax of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds per month; a tax ten times greater than that of ship-money, which Charles I. had attempted to raise by his own authority, and which was the first cause of the disaster and bloodshed which followed.

This parliament was not under the direction of Cromwell, he being at that time on an Irish expedition; but it was chiefly guided by the indepen-

dent party, who still bore a great sway. It having been resolved by the house to assemble an army against the Scots, they resolved that Cromwell should be sent with it, next in command under Fairfax: accordingly, he received orders to quit Ireland, which he had almost subdued, and he returned in triumph to London. Fairfax, on having the chief command offered him, refused to accept of it; for though he had suffered the army to make use of his name in murdering their sovereign, and enslaving their fellow-subjects, yet he could not entertain the thoughts of invading the Scots, whom he regarded as zealous presbyterians, and united to England by the sacred bond of the solemn league and covenant. The parliament in vain solicited him to act as their general; he was peremptory in his refusal; and, to put a stop to their importunities, he resigned his command, and retired to end his days in peace. This was no extraordinary resolution, at a period and in a country where every one acted by his own rules. This however proved the æra of Cromwell's greatness, who, on the resignation of Fairfax, was appointed "general and commander in chief of all the armies of the commonwealth;" a post of the utmost importance in a state which stood entirely by arms.

The army being modelled and appointed after Cromwell's own mind, and all the grimace of fasting and praying being over, Cromwell, on the 29th of June, left London, and on the 22d of July entered Scotland, at the head of near twenty thousand men; and in the way he marched, he found the country deserted by its inhabitants, and every thing carried away that might serve to subsist his army; so that he could procure no provisions but what were sent him by shipping from England. It was therefore necessary for him to come to an engagement as soon as possible. The disposition of the Scottish generals were such as might have rendered all Cromwell's experience and valour useless, had it not been for the insolence of their men. The Scots were possessed of Edinburgh castle, and their army under Leven and Lesly, which was more than equal to that of the English, posted so advantageously near that city, that it could not be attacked. Cromwell had all the country between Dunbar and Edinburgh, a space of about eighteen miles; but though he marched and counter-marched his army, and though his men had all advantages in all skirmishes, yet he saw nothing before his eyes but famine, for the stormy weather did not admit his receiving any provisions from his ships. He still endeavoured, by acts of humanity to the Scots who fell into his hands, and of justice upon his own soldiers who were found plundering the country, to make a party among the Scots. But all was in vain; and their preachers already began to triumph from the pulpits, as if the whole English army was upon the point of being destroyed. Matters remained in this situation till the beginning of September, when Cromwell was forced to march from his camp on Pentland-hills, in order, as Whitelock expresses, to fight for his victuals; and, on the first of September, marched to Dunbar, hoping at that place to receive some provisions from his fleet; but Cromwell, to his great joy, perceived that the Scots had left their strong camp between Edinburgh and Leith; and on the first of September,

ber, they took possession of another strong camp near Dunbar, from whence he found means to draw them into the level ground.

This was regarded by Cromwell as the omen of a sure victory; and one body of the Scots coming down to support another, the engagement, on the third of September, became general, but the dispute unequal; for the Scots were so far from standing the shock of Cromwell's veterans, that though their forces were become by this time much superior to his, they suffered themselves, almost without resistance, to be cut in pieces: according to the relation made to the house of commons by major White, who was dispatched by Cromwell to London with the news of the victory, the defeat of the Scots was owing to the impatience of their preachers, who had the whole power over the private men, and who drove their generals from their wise conduct, which must have obliged Cromwell either to have laid down his arms, or to have fought under the most ruinous disadvantages. The chief dispute was about a pass between Dunbar and Edinburgh, which the English gained, and thereby opened their way to the Scottish army upon equal terms. Upwards of four thousand of the Scots were killed in the battle, and in their flight towards Edinburgh ten thousand were taken prisoners, one half of whom were desperately wounded, or unfit for service, and the other half sent to London, to be marketed for as common slaves to the English plantations in America: and all their colours, artillery, arms, ammunition, tents and baggage, were taken by Cromwell, with most of their officers of note, whose names deserve no particular mention in history. The Scots immediately, in consternation, quitted Edinburgh and Leith, when Cromwell took possession of them, and then laid siege to Edinburgh castle, which he became master of about the end of December.

The covenanters, humbled by their late defeat, began to relax in their severity to their sovereign: Hamilton, Lauderdale, and all his other friends, were suffered to approach him, and his coronation was performed with great pomp and ceremony at Scone, on the first of January, 1651.

Upon the news of the defeat of the Scots at Dunbar, the king of Spain ordered Cardinas to take upon him the character of his ambassador, and to demand an audience of the parliament; he sent notice at the same time to Charles's ambassadors that they must immediately leave his court and dominions. Affairs between France and the new republic were upon a less amicable footing; the trading friends of the parliament having suffered great hardships in France: cardinal Mazarine, who had then the government of the state during the minority of Lewis XIV. in vain endeavouring to amuse Augier, who was resident in France on the part of the parliament, that minister was called home; reprisals were granted upon the French shipping, and all Europe thought a war between the two nations unavoidable; but they were deceived in their conjectures, such a war being by no means consistent with the plan the parliament had laid down. This year also the court of Portugal, after suffering severely for giving shelter to prince Rupert with his squadron of ships, sent an ambassador to make their concession, who was admitted to audience in the parliament-house, with great state.

Early in the spring of the year 1651, the Scots had assembled another army, under the duke of Hamilton and general Lesly; and encamped at Torwood, in the neighbourhood of Stirling. The king himself was present in the army, and his generals determined to pursue the same prudent and cautious measures, which, so long as they were embraced, had been so successful during the former campaign. With this view they entrenched themselves much in the same manner as before the battle of Dunbar, and were well supplied with provisions from the county of Fife. This made Cromwell, then at Edinburgh, resolve, at all events, to cut off the communication with those parts; and having sent over a good body of troops into Fife, under the generals Lambert and Overton, on the fourth of June, they totally routed a strong party of the king's, which was sent against them. Cromwell, soon after, viz. in the month of July, also passed over with his whole army, and then marching northward, he made himself master of Perth, or St. Johnstoun, and thus posted himself at the king's back.

Charles now found himself under the necessity, if he staid in Scotland, either to fight the English army, or to starve in his camp: reduced to this extremity, he embraced a resolution worthy a prince contending for empire; the way to England being perfectly clear, he determined immediately to advance into that country, where he imagined that all his friends, and all who were dissatisfied with the present government, would repair to his standard. He prevailed on the generals to agree to his proposal, and, with one consent, the army, amounting to the number of fourteen thousand men, quitted their camp, and, on the sixth of August, entered England by Carlisle. The king immediately caused himself to be proclaimed at the head of the army, as he did at all the market-towns he passed through.

Cromwell foresaw and foretold the fate of this march; and his conquests in Scotland were now rapid and important: for, after making himself master of Perth, and several other forts, he saw the whole country, excepting Stirling, quite open before him, and therefore detached Lambert to follow upon the skirts of the king's army, with a considerable party, and leaving colonel George Monk (then an officer under him, and afterwards the famous general Monk) to command in Scotland, he began his march in person with the main body of the army in pursuit of the king.

The parliament exerted themselves to the utmost on this occasion: they not only published an act strictly forbidding the abetting Charles Stuart, or any of his adherents, on pain of high-treason, but ordered the militia of the several counties to be drawn out to obstruct his march; and the lord Fairfax, quitting his retirement, took the field with a considerable body for the same purpose; so that in a few days Charles had as great an army to encounter before him, as that which followed him at his heels; he also found that his friends did not come in to him so fast as he had expected: he had some hopes that Shrewsbury and Gloucester would have declared for him; but in this likewise he was disappointed; and Lambert had made such dispatch, that, on the thirteenth of August, he was within half a day's march; and in two days after he was joined by major-general Harrison with a body

body of troops, making in the whole six thousand horse besides three thousand foot, which were posted to defend Warrington bridge, to stop the passage of the royal army; but when Charles came to Warrington, he attacked the troops which had been posted to defend the bridge with so much success, that Lambert was obliged to retire, and the royalists took possession of the town on the seventeenth of August. Though there was no great matter in this advantage, yet it made a great noise in London, and threw all things into confusion. News coming to Charles's army of the distracted condition of that city, it occasioned a debate in council concerning the immediate march of the army thither; but, upon the result, it was resolved to make good all the passes that were thereabouts, for their better security, and to march forthwith to Worcester, of which place the king easily made himself master, by means of the warm side which the inhabitants there had for his cause.

I shall not trouble the reader with all the manifestoes, proclamations, and the like published by Charles after his entering England, nor with the particulars of the many wise precautions made use of by the parliament to defeat his invasion: it is certain that very little regard was paid to any thing that came from the king. General Massey had received a wound, which disabled him from being so useful as he had promised to be to Charles; and Cromwell, after his army had suffered incredible fatigues in its march, was joined by lieutenant-general Fleetwood and colonel Desborough, at Warwick, on the twenty-fourth of August, from whence they made dispositions to invest Worcester, which Charles was fortifying while his army lay near the town. He had by this time been joined by the lord Talbot, eldest son to the earl of Shrewsbury, and the lord Howard; but he still remained in a very desperate condition, being on the first of September, hemmed in on all sides by the parliament's troops.

The earl of Derby, ever since the death of the late king, had lived in the Isle of Man, without acknowledging the authority of the parliament; but hearing of Charles's march into England, he came over, and began to exert himself with great success in Lancashire and Cheshire: he got together about fifteen hundred horse, but, before he could join the king, he was set upon by colonel Lilburne, with a body of parliament forces, and entirely defeated, himself with difficulty escaping to the royal army before Worcester.

On the third of September, being that day twelve-month that the battle of Dunbar was fought, Cromwell charged the king's army so furiously, that, after some hours dispute, they were driven back on both sides the Severn, and retiring into the city in the utmost confusion, were followed by Cromwell's men, who made a dreadful slaughter of the royal troops, and obtained a complete victory. According to the best accounts two thousand royalists were cut in pieces, and upwards of seven thousand taken prisoners on that and the succeeding days. The chief of the prisoners were the duke of Hamilton, the earls of Derby, Cleveland, Lauderdale, Ruthen, Carnwarth, and Kelly, the lord Spynie, sir John Packington, sir Ralph Clare, sir Charles Cunningham, colonel Graves, Fanshaw, secretary to Charles, six colonels of horse, thirteen of foot, nine lieutenants-colonels of foot, six majors of

horse, thirteen majors of foot, thirty-seven captains of horse, seventy-two captains of foot, fifty-five quarter-masters, eighty of the king's domestics, with his coach and equipages, and a collar of SS. and standard. The king himself must have been taken, had not the earl of Cleveland, sir James Hamilton, colonel Careless, and a few other gallant officers, prevailed with the foot to keep the enemy a little in play till Charles could have time to escape, which he did, with about sixty horse, by one of the gates of the city in the dusk of the evening. He was attended by the duke of Buckingham, the earls of Shrewsbury, Cleveland, and Derby, with some other English and Scottish noblemen. His escape was chiefly favoured by the greediness of the parliament army, who immediately fell to plundering the town and lodgings of the royalists. We must not forget to observe, that the brave duke of Hamilton was mortally wounded in the engagement, and died a few days after. Cromwell, after the battle, ordered the walls of Worcester to be levelled with the ground. Charles having fled as far as Kidderminster, he was advised, by the earl of Derby, to make the best of his way to a place called Boscobel, in Shropshire, but upon the confines of Staffordshire, inhabited by William Penderel and his wife, trusty persons on whom he might depend. Thither Charles was conveyed, while the lords and others in his train took leave of him, and made the best of their way to join Lesly, who was on his march northwards; but in their route thither the earls of Derby and Lauderdale, with some other persons of distinction, were taken prisoners by the enemy. The earl of Derby was carried to Chester, where being condemned by a council of war, he suffered death at Bolton soon after. Sir Timothy Fetherstonehaugh, with several other loyal persons, underwent the same fate, about the same time. The earl of Lauderdale was sent prisoner to Windsor castle; and the earl of Cleveland, with the lords Wentworth and Kenmure, and the generals Massey and Middleton, having been taken at the same time, were sent to different prisons; but the duke of Buckingham, with the lords Levingston and Talbot, escaped beyond sea. It must not be forgot that the escape of Charles was greatly facilitated by colonel Careless, who kept several of the pursuing parties in play with a small handful of men he picked up upon the road.

The proper agents for secreting Charles being provided, he was instantly disguised in the most homely cloaths their several habitations would afford, and transformed into a woodman; but the enemy had got so good intelligence, that, the day after the battle, some of the parties were at the neighbouring villages in search of him, and actually passed very near the place where he absconded. Three brothers, of the name of Penderel, acted as scouts upon the skirts of the adjoining fields; a fourth brother acted as an instructor of his majesty in his new state; and one or two other persons behaved with equal fidelity. In a few days finding his safety there to be precarious, he made an attempt, with his faithful conductors, to pass into Wales, where he thought he would be more in security, but he found it impracticable, through the vigilance of his enemies: their soldiers lay upon all the roads, and guarded all the passes upon the rivers,

King Charles 2^d. with Col^l. Carlis conceal'd in the Oak.



To his Grace
Duke of
This Plate is most



L. O. Sackville,
Dorset.
humbly Inscribed.

Printed and Published by J. G. & C. at the Office of the



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rivers, and though all imaginable care was taken to disguise the person and discolour the skin of Charles, yet he was several times in danger of being taken. Being obliged to return to Boscobel, his strength and spirits were quite exhausted; but being joined by colonel Careless, he betook himself next day to a neighbouring wood, where he mounted the oak, which the devotion of his family's friends have since idolized under the name of Royal. This umbrageous tree for some time protected Charles from the pursuit of his enemies, and thus for several days he led a kind of woodland life, not without some diverting adventures too minute for this history, until he was discovered by the lord Wilmot, who had been concealed by Mr. Whitegrave and Mr. Huddelston, both of them papists, the latter a priest. By their advice he changed his lodging to Mr. Whitegrave's house, being guarded thither on horseback by the five brothers Penderel. All this time the parliament officers were very inquisitive about Charles in the neighbourhood of those parts; and perhaps it would have been more difficult to have concealed him, had not the houses where he absconded generally belonged to Roman catholics, and contained many ingenious lurking holes in the walls, wainscoting, and the like, for the benefit of their priests when hard beset by the officers of justice. In the neighbourhood of this place lived colonel Lane, a loyal gentleman, who was well known to the lord Wilmot, and therefore trusted by him with the secret of the king's concealment: after some consultation it was resolved to make use of a pass that Mrs. Jane Lane, the colonel's sister, had obtained for herself and a servant to go to Bristol. Upon this Charles was equipped as a servant-man, and was mounted on the same horse before the lady, another gentleman and his wife being in company, and the lord Wilmot attending them at a distance as a servant, with a hawk on his fist; in this equipage they travelled, not without Charles running many risks of being discovered, till they came to a gentleman's house within three miles of Bristol. From thence he removed to colonel Windham's house, at Trent, and endeavoured to procure a passage from Charmouth to France; but being not only disappointed, but almost discovered, he was obliged to return to Trent; and his dangers every hour multiplying, he went to Heale, near Salisbury, and from thence to Brightelmstone in Suffex, and, on the fifteenth of October, went on board a small bark at Shoreham, which landed him in Normandy, near Havre de Grace.

Cromwell in the mean time returned in triumph to London: he was met a few miles from the city by the speaker of the house in his formalities, accompanied by several of the members, and the lord-mayor and magistrates of London, in their formalities. The first thing they did after his return, was to persuade the parliament to an abuse of the victory their troops had gained, and which was so flattering to the English; for Monk having in a short time completed the reduction of Scotland, the English republic had dispatched sir Henry Vane, St. John, and other commissioners, to settle the government of that kingdom, and an act passed including the Scots in the commonwealth with England; the Scots, who in general were more favourably inclined to the parliament than to the

king, not being displeased with this establishment.

During these transactions in England, Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, after many successes in Ireland, died at Limerick of the plague, and the command of the army in that kingdom was given to lieutenant-general Ludlow: the administration of civil affairs was trusted to commissioners. Ludlow continued to prosecute the war with equal vigour and good fortune, and every where defeated the dispirited Irish.

Never had England been more powerful than since it had become a commonwealth. The parliament, which was wholly composed of republicans, formed the extraordinary project of joining the seven United Provinces of Holland to England, as it had lately incorporated Scotland. The stadtholder, William II. son-in-law to Charles I. was lately dead, after having attempted to make himself absolute in Holland, as Charles I. had attempted to do in England, and with no better success: he left an infant son behind him, and the English parliament hoped that the Dutch would as easily give up their stadtholder as England had done its king, in which case the united republic of England, Scotland, and Holland, might hold the ballance of Europe: but the friends of the house of Orange opposed this project with all their might, and represented the proposed union as so detrimental to the freedom and commerce of their own nation, that the states not only refused to come into it, but the English ambassadors were very much affronted by the populace. The parliament finding they could not bring the Dutch to their terms, sought all occasions of breaking with that republic; and to this end, in the beginning of the year 1652, they passed an act, forbidding all commodities that were not of the growth and manufacture of the country from whence they came, to be brought to England in any other than English bottoms; which put an end to the commerce between England and Holland.

The states of the United Provinces hereupon sent ambassadors to request the repeal of this act; but the English parliament were so far from answering their desire, that they insisted on satisfaction for several old injuries done by the Dutch to the English, in particular the massacre of Amboyna, in the reign of James I. A war therefore necessarily ensued, in which were fought several of the most terrible and bloody sea-fights that ever had been known, between the Dutch under the famous Van Tromp, and the English under the renowned Blake. It would be neither pleasing nor instructive to the reader, were we to particularize the several circumstances of those scenes of bloodshed and raging animosity, which took up the chief part of the year 1652: let it suffice then to observe, that the Dutch were generally worsted, though the English also suffered great loss.

The expences of this war made the parliament contrive all ways they could to husband their finances; and because they thought the entertainment of the duke of Gloucester (whom, since the murder of the king, they had kept as a kind of state prisoner at St. James's) too great an expence, they resolved to send him abroad: and, about the beginning of February, 1653, they sent him with two servants to Dunkirk, promising to allow him a small pension for his maintenance, if he would not

go near his brother nor any of his relations: but as soon as he arrived on the other side of the water, he was received according to his birth and quality; and from Brussels he was attended to the princess of Orange, at Breda, from whence he was conducted to Paris, to the king his brother. His sister, the princess Elizabeth, died a few days before he left England, in the Isle of Wight, where she had been confined ever since the murder of her father.

It is commonly observed, that it is much easier to obtain a conquest than secure it; and in nothing was this more visible than in the present posture of affairs in England, where the new commonwealth, now advanced to the very pinnacle of power and prosperity, began to sink under its own weight, and, by intestine divisions at home, to meet that ruin, which all the strength and power of their enemies abroad, or their confederates, could not effect.

Some of the wisest and most discerning of the house of commons had, for some time, began to dread Cromwell's great influence and power, and had concurred in carrying on the war by sea, that they might have a pretence for increasing the national expence, which might oblige the parliament to disband the army, and thus by degrees overthrow the dangerous power of the general. Cromwell saw into these schemes, as they had penetrated into his, and, without hesitation, resolved to prevent them; and as he never lingered in the execution of his projects, he forthwith proceeded to effectuate his purpose. His influence in the army being altogether unlimited, he knew he might safely depend on their assistance in whatever he should attempt: he accordingly called a council of his officers, in which it was resolved (and carried into execution) to present a petition to the house, demanding the payment of their arrears, and affirming that the public revenues, if rightly and honestly managed, would be sufficient for the regular subsistence of the land army; as well as for all the other necessary expences of government. The parliament ordered the officers to be reprimanded for this insolent address, and forbid to intermeddle in the administration. Then the petitioners produced another remonstrance, importing that the members had not performed their promise of dissolving their assembly, that there might be a regular succession of parliaments; they therefore desired they would put an end to their administration, after having convoked another parliament, and named a council of state to administer affairs in the mean time. This proposal was seconded by all the members who enjoyed employments in the army, as well as by the presbyterians, who had been admitted into the house, in consequence of having sworn to the engagement; but the majority was of a different opinion: they resolved, that it was not a proper time to dissolve the parliament, while the nation had a war and a great many important affairs upon its hands; but that the vacant seats should be filled up by new elections. At the same time they appointed a committee to prepare a bill for an act prohibiting all persons to present such petitions, on pain of being guilty of high treason.

Cromwell finding the parliament thus warm, knew he had no time to lose, therefore on the twentieth of April (1653) while the commons were

sitting and debating on those matters, and the disbanding of the army, he went, attended by a detachment of chosen men, to the house, and, having set a guard about the doors and avenues, he entered, followed by a number of officers who were most at his devotion, and having taken his place, and listened for some time attentively to the debates; he whispered to Harrison, that he now thought the parliament ripe for a dissolution. Harrison requested him to think seriously before he undertook so dangerous an action. "You say well," replied Cromwell, and sat still for about a quarter of an hour. When the debates were finished, and the speaker was going to put the question, he suddenly rose up, reviled the parliament in the most opprobrious terms for their tyranny, cruelty, and oppression: then stamping with his foot, which was the signal for the soldiers to enter, he ordered the speaker to leave the chair, telling the house to be gone, that they were no longer a parliament, that the Lord had done with them, and had made choice of other instruments. After this fanatic speech, he reviled several of the members present by name, reproaching one as a drunkard, another as a whore-master, &c. then pointing to the mace, he bade one of his soldiers to take away "that fool's bauble," as he termed it. Major general Harrison then went up to the speaker, who still kept his chair, and pulled him out of it by violence: Cromwell then turning to the members, "it is you (said he) that have forced me to this: I have prayed to the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon this work." Having said this, he turned out all the members one by one, locked the doors of the house himself, and carried away the keys in his pocket.

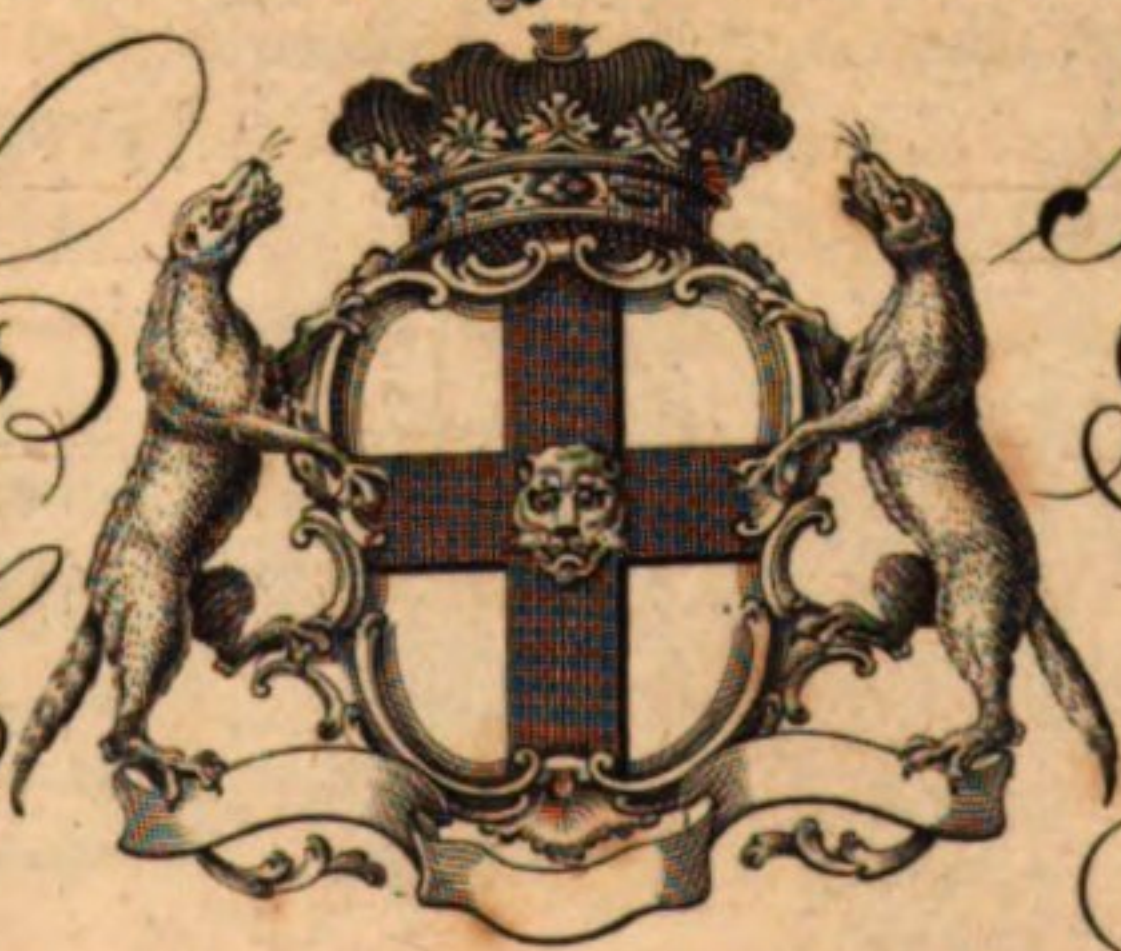
Thus, by one bold effort of power, Cromwell in a few minutes effected a work, which would have cost a common plodding politician his whole life to have brought about, and in the end he might have been the victim of his own intrigues. What is still more strange, is, that the parliament being thus dissolved by force, and there being no acknowledged legislative authority, every thing did not fall into confusion. Cromwell's genius had foreseen and provided against such a consequence. At first he made some cunning essays to procure an invitation from the chief of the members of parliament to take upon himself the government. But in this he was unsuccessful, and by his own authority he appointed a new council, composed of men whom he thought most likely to advance his design: "Oliver Cromwell, esq. captain-general, lieutenant-general Fleetwood, major-general Lambert, lord-commissioner Lisle, major-general Harrison, colonel Desborough, colonel Hewson, colonel Montagu, colonel Tomlinson, colonel Jones, colonel Sydenham, colonel Lawrence, Anthony Stapely, esq. sir Charles Wolsey, John Carew, esq. Walter Strickland, esq. Mr. Hope, Mr. Norton, Mr. Bennet, Mr. Broughton, Mr. Hollister, Richard Major, esq. Mr. Courtney, Mr. St. Nicholas, Mr. Meyer, and Mr. Williams."

At Cromwell's instigation, this council nominated one hundred and forty-four persons to represent the nation in parliament: these were chiefly taken from the lowest class of people, such as shopkeepers and journeymen handicrafts: one of the most active members of this ridiculous assembly was

Oliver Cromwell dissolves the Parliament



*To his Grace
Duke of
This Plate is most*



*Henry Bridges,
Chandos
humbly Inscribed.*

was a leatherfeller in Fleet-street, called Praise God Barebones*, whence this parliament was called, by way of derision, Barebones Parliament. Cromwell, by his own authority, sent a written order to all these members, requiring them to come and take upon them the sovereign power, and to govern the nation: this order, or writ, is too curious to withhold it from the reader's perusal. It ran in the following terms:

"Forasmuch as, upon the dissolution of the last parliament, it became necessary that the peace, safety, and good government of this commonwealth should be provided for; in order wheretunto divers persons, fearing God, and of approved fidelity and honesty, are by myself, with the advice of my council of officers, nominated, to whom the great charge and trust of so weighty affairs is to be committed, and having good assurance of their love to and courage for God, and interest of his cause, and of the good people of the commonwealth:

"I, Oliver Cromwell, captain-general and commander in chief of all the armies and forces raised, and to be raised, within this commonwealth, do hereby summons and require you,— (being one of the said persons nominated) personally to appear at the council-chamber, commonly called by the name of the Council-chamber in Whitehall, within the city of Westminster, on the fourth day of July next ensuing the date hereof, to take upon you the said trust, unto which you are hereby called, and appointed to serve as a member for the county of—; and hereof you are not to fail.

"Given under my hand and seal the sixth day of June, 1653.

"Oliver Cromwell."

This assembly, after sitting about five months, during which time it became the object of ridicule and contempt to the whole nation, came to a resolution to dissolve itself, and a motion was made and carried, on the second of December, "that the sitting of this parliament any longer, as now constituted, will not be for the good of the commonwealth, and that therefore it was requisite to deliver up unto the lord-general, Oliver Cromwell, the power which they received from him. And that motion being seconded by several of their members, the house rose; and the speaker, with several of the members of the house, departed out of the house to Whitehall, where they, being the greater number of members sitting in parliament, did, by a writing under their hands, resign unto his excellency their said powers; and Mr. Speaker, attended with the members, did present the same accordingly." By this means the politic Crom-

well, who had all along managed matters in such a manner as to bring on this issue, was again in possession of the supreme power. Calling a council of his officers, he advised with them how the government should be carried on; when his creature, Lambert, proposed another scheme of government, which was to temper the liberty of a commonwealth by the authority of a single person, who should be distinguished by the name of Protector. This was agreed to, and it was unanimously voted, that the captain-general, Oliver Cromwell, should be chosen into that high office: at the same time a paper, called the Instrument of Government, was produced and read to them, which contained as it were the pacta conventa of the future constitution. This instrument consisted of forty-two articles, which would be too long for insertion here; I shall therefore content myself with giving the heads of the principal articles, which were:

"I. A parliament to be called every three years.

"II. The first to assemble on the third of September, 1654.

"III. No parliament to be dissolved till it hath sat five months.

"IV. Such bills as are offered to the protector by the parliament, if he assent not in twenty days, to be laws without him.

"V. That his council shall not exceed the number of twenty-one, nor less than thirteen.

"VI. That immediately after the death of the present and succeeding protectors, the council shall chuse another before they rise.

"VII. No protector, after the present, shall be general of the army.

"VIII. The protector shall have power to make war and peace.

"IX. That, in the interval of parliaments, the protector and his council may make some laws that shall be binding to the subject."

Cromwell was installed into his high office on the sixteenth of December, by the title of His Highness the Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with prodigious solemnity, in the court of Chancery, attended by the commissioners of the great-seal, the barons of the Exchequer, the judges in their robes, the council of state, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, and all the officers and other persons of distinction of his party in and about London.

The new protector now proceeded to nominate a council, in pursuance of the article for that purpose in the instrument of government already recited; these were, colonel Edward Montague (afterwards earl of Sandwich), colonel John Lambert, Philip lord viscount Lisle, colonel John Desborough (newly made also one of the generals

* The enthusiasts of this age seemed to despise the New Testament in comparison of the Old; from which they usually borrowed the names which they bestowed upon their children. The appellations of James, John, Peter, and Andrew, were rejected for those of Hezekiah, Habbakuk, Joshua, Zerobabel. Sometimes a whole sentence of scripture was used as a name. Here follow the names of a jury enrolled in the county of Sussex about this time:

Accepted Trevor, of Northam,
Redeemed Compton, of Battle,
Faint not Hewet, of Heathfield,
Make Peace Heaton, of Hare,
God reward Smart, of Fivehurst,
Stand fast on high Stringer, of Crowhurst,
Earth Adam, of Warbleton,
Called Lower, of the same,

Kill Sin Pimple, of Witham,
Return Spelman, of Watling,
Be Faithful Joiner, of Britling,
Fly Debate Roberts, of the same,
Fight the good fight of faith White, of Emer,
More Fruit Flower, of East Hadley,
Hope for Bending, of the same,
Graceful Harding, of Lewes,
Weep not Billing, of the same,
Meek Brewer, of Okeham,

"Cromwell," says an anonymous author of those times, "hath beat up his drums clean through the Old Testament. You may learn the genealogy of our Saviour by the names of his regiment. The muster-master has no other list than the first chapter of St. Matthew."

at sea), sir Gilbert Pickering, sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, sir Charles Wolsey, major-general Skippon, Walter Strickland, esq. colonel William Sydenham, colonel Philip Jones, Francis Rous, esq. John Lawrence, and Richard Major, esq.

The first act of these counsellors, after their establishment, was to issue the following proclamation, notifying the new form of government.

“Whereas the late parliament dissolving themselves, resigned their powers and authorities, the government of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, in a lord protector and successive triennial parliaments, now established: and whereas Oliver Cromwell, captain-general of all the forces of this commonwealth, is declared lord-protector of the said nations, and hath accepted thereof; we have therefore thought it necessary (as we hereby do) to make publication of the premises, and strictly to charge and command all and every person or persons, of what quality and condition soever in any of the said three nations, to take notice hereof, and to conform and submit themselves to the government so established. And all sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, &c. are required to publish this proclamation, to the end none may have cause to pretend ignorance in this behalf.”

Thus did a private gentleman, by an amazing conjunction of courage and hypocrisy, rise to the kingly power, though under another name. Cromwell was near fifty-three years of age when he attained the sovereign power, forty-two of which he had passed without having had any employ civil or military. He was hardly known in 1642, when the house of commons, of which he was a member, gave him a commission of horse in the army they levied against the king: from this beginning he rose, by the steps we have seen, to be master of that house; and, after having humbled and subdued Charles I. and his son, he now stepped into the royal seat, and, without being king, reigned more absolutely and fortunately than any king had ever done. As soon as he was invested with the protectorship, he ordered the army to be paid one month's advance; the magazines of all kinds were supplied; in the treasury (of which he had the sole management), there were three hundred thousand pounds, and about half as much in that of Ireland. This year, the Dutch having suffered a severe defeat in a sea-fight, in which admiral Van Tromp, the glory of their nation, was slain, and half their fleet destroyed, they sued to the new protector for peace; and he dictated the conditions, which were, that they should pay him three hundred thousand pounds sterling; that the ships of the States General should pay the compliment to the British flag; and that they should never restore the young prince of Orange to the office of stadtholder. This treaty was finally concluded and signed on the fifth of August, 1654. All the nations of Europe seemed to vie with each other in courting this rising star: the Spanish ambassador was as early as any to congratulate him on his new dignity; as did also the queen of Sweden; the conde or count de Saa, lord-chamberlain of the kingdom of Portugal, arrived in splendid embassy from that court, to sue for his alliance; nor were the French behind-hand in owning his power, having given to monsieur Bourdeaux, their resident here, the dignity of ambassador, to qualify him more highly for entering

into a negotiation with the lord-protector, and added to him the baron de Bas.

An accident, which happened about this time, made great noise all over Europe, and shewed the spirit with which Cromwell intended to govern: don Pantaleon de Saa, brother to the Portuguese ambassador above-mentioned, being full of his own exploits as a soldier, and of his high quality, resented an affront which he imagined had been offered him upon the New Exchange, by ordering his servants to his assistance, and, after wounding some English, he shot Mr. Greenaway dead, an English gentleman, who was innocent of the fact. The murder being committed, the Portuguese thought to elude the ordinary officers of justice by retiring to, and barricading themselves within the Portuguese ambassador's house, which they threatened to defend against all attempts to take them; but the fact being notorious, colonel Whaley invested the house with a party of horse. Upon this the ambassador ordered his domestics to their arms, and sent to complain to Cromwell of a breach of the law of nations: Cromwell with great magnanimity answered, that justice must be done, and that blood must be satisfied with blood. All the other foreign ambassadors in and about London, took a very warm concern in the matter, not being able to conceive that a man of quality, an ambassador's brother, and a knight of Malta, as don Pantaleon was, ought to be questioned for the murder of a mechanic, for so they esteemed an English gentleman to be; but all remonstrances to Cromwell were ineffectual, and the ambassador's brother, to the admiration of the world, was tried, condemned, and publicly executed for the murder. Cromwell proceeded so coolly in this affair, that he concluded a treaty with the ambassador almost the very hour that his brother was carrying to execution. By this treaty his Portuguese majesty bound himself to pay a very large sum of money by way of indemnification to England, and gave Cromwell all the satisfaction in other respects he required. Upon the same day (July 10, 1654,) and scaffold, were executed two gentlemen of the names of Gerard and Vowel, for being concerned in a conspiracy for killing Cromwell, surprizing his guard, and altering the new-established form of government.

Cromwell being now at peace with all the protestant powers of Europe, proceeded with great firmness in his government. His fleet and army were more powerful than ever; he never appeared abroad but with an attendance and splendor that equalled or exceeded the majesty of kings; but still the instrument of government, by which he reigned, had not been complied with, and a parliament must necessarily be called in terms of the said instrument: the writs were accordingly issued by the protector, and the parliament met on Sunday the third of September, when the protector went in great state, and opened it with a speech, in which he informed them of the steps he had taken for modelling the new government; assured them of his upright intentions; recapitulated what he had done for the nation; told them he had convoked a free parliament, and that he did not pretend to be their master, but their fellow-labourer. Notwithstanding all the pains he had taken to procure a favourable parliament, he soon found him-

self

telf disappointed in his endeavours: they chose Lenthall their speaker, at his recommendation; but their first deliberations were employed in examining the nature of that authority by which they were convoked. Cromwell had too many friends in the house to believe this enquiry would be brought to any determination; nevertheless he would not tamely suffer his power to become the subject of dispute, he therefore summoned them to the Painted Chamber, where he talked to them in a style quite different from that which he had used in his first harangue: he said, they assumed too much liberty in questioning the established government, from whence they derived all their authority; for if they were not lawfully assembled, they had no power to deliberate. At their return to the house they found a guard at the door, which would not suffer any member to enter till he had signed a recognition, by which he promised to be faithful to the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and that he would never consent to a change in the government established under a protector and a parliament. A good number, who refused to sign the engagement, were excluded from the house, and many signed it with no other view than that of having opportunities to thwart Cromwell's measures. Several members engaged in a conspiracy, formed chiefly by the cavaliers, to take arms in different parts of the kingdom: Cromwell having received intelligence of the scheme from his spies, anticipated the purpose of his enemies by dissolving the parliament, eleven days before the expiration of the time fixed by the act of government; and he gave them to understand at parting, that he knew several members were engaged in a plot against his administration.

The meeting of a discontented parliament is always a sure sign of a discontented nation: the hasty and abrupt dissolution of such a parliament never fails to inflame the discontent to a higher degree of malignity. The members of this assembly returning to their several counties, carried along with them that spirit of disaffection which they had discovered in the house.

The royalists seeing this general disaffection towards the government, could no longer be held in subjection; they rashly imagined that every one that was displeased, like them must have adopted the same views and interest. This false notion urged them on to practices which, in the end, subjected them and their friends to the severest vengeance.

The cavaliers (for by this name we are henceforth to distinguish the royal party) had designed two insurrections, one in the North, and another in the West. The former, which was to have been headed by Wilmot, earl of Rochester, was wholly laid aside before it was well begun: but the year 1655 was opened by a rising in the West. Sir John Wagstaff, colonel Penruddock, Grove, and Jones, entered Salisbury, with about two hundred horse, at the time of the Lent assizes, seized the judges and the sheriff, and proclaimed the king. But finding the people not in a disposition to join them, they marched farther westward, and being pursued by a troop of horse that lay in the neighbourhood, under colonel Butler, they were defeated on the fifteenth of March, and most of them taken prisoners. Penruddock and Grove were executed at Exeter, and several were tried

and hanged both there and at Salisbury; but Wagstaff luckily made his escape. The remainder of the insurrection, which, if properly carried on, might have gone a good way towards restoring the royal authority, was crushed with still greater ease to the government. Cromwell had so exact intelligence, that neither sir Thomas Harris in Shropshire, nor sir Henry Slingsby in Yorkshire, nor the earl of Rochester in the North, nor many thousand noblemen and gentlemen who had engaged to rise, gave the government any farther uneasiness than to be at the trouble of securing their persons, or chasing them beyond sea to their disconsolate king, who remained all this while concealed at Terver, with an intention to embark for England; but returned to Cologne as soon as he understood the confederacy was defeated.

Cromwell, enraged at these attempts of the royalists, determined to humble their mutinous spirit by some severe chastisement. With this view he issued an edict for levying the tenths of all cavaliers, and to inflict other severe taxes upon those concerned. The most obnoxious of the royal party, who escaped death, were transported to the English colonies in America. In order to levy the cruel and oppressive imposition he had laid upon those who remained at home, the tyrant appointed twelve major-generals, among whom he parcelled out the whole kingdom of England: these men, in conjunction with commissioners, were empowered to decimate whoever they pleased, to raise all taxes imposed by the protector and his council, and to seize and imprison any person who should incur their jealousy or suspicion; nor was there any appeal from their decision, but to the protector himself and his council. Vested with such unlimited powers, these major-generals became so many tyrants, and so oppressed the people, that Cromwell thought it necessary first to restrain, and afterwards totally to abolish them; but not till they had answered his ends on the wretched royalists, not one of whom, foolish and forward as they generally were, durst publicly avow his principles.

Cromwell having now reduced the kingdom, if not to a perfect obedience, at least to a total subjection, had leisure to look abroad and attend his concerns in foreign countries. He had for some time been equipping a very formidable fleet, the destination of which was known to no one, not even the commanders themselves; only it was given out that they were going on an expedition that would bring great increase of honour to the nation, and of wealth to those concerned in it. Before we proceed to unravel this secret, it will be necessary to give the reader a cursory view of the situation of the several powers of Europe, at that time connected with England.

The famous war of Germany, occasioned by the Palatine's acceptance of the crown of Bohemia, and which had now raged with great violence for the space of thirty years, was at last terminated by the treaty of Westphalia. In 1648, the young Palatine was restored to part of his dominions; and the rights and privileges of the several members of the Germanic body were thoroughly fixed and ascertained.

Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, who had hitherto supported the protestant interest in Germany, was succeeded on the throne by his daughter

Christina;

Christina; and that princess, tired of the fatigues of royalty, had resigned the crown to her kinsman Charles Gustavus, who trod in the steps of the great Adolphus, and carried his arms to the south side of the Baltic.

In France, cardinal Richelieu, desirous of humbling the house of Austria, had artfully encouraged the troubles against Charles I. of England. His successor Mazarine pursued the same plan of politics too far; for, instead of maintaining the balance between the king and parliament, he suffered Charles to be totally subdued, and a much more formidable power to be erected on his ruins. He sacrificed the interests of Charles II. to his fear of disobliging the new republic, by which he was so little regarded, that their fleet attacked the French navy on their way to the relief of Dunkirk, which was besieged by the Spaniards, and which by that means, fell into the hands of the enemy. The cardinal thought proper to digest this affront: and even sent ambassadors to London to solicit the protector's friendship.

The court of Spain had observed the same conduct with regard to the troubles of England; and had discovered a strong partiality in favour of the parliament. True it is, that, after the death of Charles I. they received lord Cottington and chancellor Hyde, as ambassadors from the young king; but they received them coldly, and disappointed them in the purport of their embassy, which was to procure some supply of money for their indigent prince. Ascham, sent thither as the parliament's envoy, was murdered by some Irish officers at Madrid; and the court of Spain either could not or would not deliver up the author of this outrage; though one of them was actually seized*.

Whether the protector was provoked at this incident, or whether he was cajoled and encouraged by Mazarine, is not now to be determined; what we know for certain is, that he resolved to adhere to the interests of France, and to declare war against the Spanish monarchy. The king of Spain (Philip VI.) had by this time gotten intelligence that the great naval preparations making in England were designed to make an attempt upon his dominions in the West Indies; and therefore, after having dispatched expresses into those parts, to put them upon their guard, he sent the marquis de Leda in a splendid embassy to the protector, to divert or prevent the prosecution of his hostile designs. The marquis arrived at London on the twenty-second of May, 1655, but had so cold a reception, and was so much discouraged in his negotiation, that he quickly returned home.

In the mean while a squadron of English ships, having on board Venables, with five thousand soldiers, set sail for the Spanish West Indies, under the command of admiral Penn, to whom Cromwell delivered his orders sealed up, that he should not know their purport till he had reached a certain latitude: by these he was directed to make a descent upon the island of Hispaniola, and attack the capital, St. Domingo. They arrived there in safety and good health; but, by some misconduct in landing the troops, the design miscarried, and they were repulsed to their ships with great loss. In order to make some amends for this miscarriage, the fleet sailed to Jamaica, which they conquered al-

most without opposition, and took possession of it in the name of the English republic, on the second of June, 1655. Having left some troops on this island, they returned to England about the beginning of September; and the protector was so exasperated at their having failed in their attempt upon Hispaniola, that he ordered Penn and Venables to be sent to the Tower; from whence, however, they were not long after released. In the mean time care was taken to reinforce the garrison of Jamaica, and that colony soon after became what it still continues, a flourishing and wealthy colony.

The king of Spain was no sooner informed of these hostilities, than he issued orders for confiscating all the effects belonging to the English in his dominions, and the Spanish trade thereby fell into the hands of the Dutch, who were thereby soon indemnified for the losses they had sustained in the war with England. On the twenty-third of October, this year, Oliver published a treaty of peace which he had concluded with France: one principal condition of this treaty was the exclusion of Charles II. and all his relations and adherents, out of the king of France's dominions. Cardinal Mazarine governed in France, during his sovereign's minority, as absolutely as Cromwell now did in England: and having entered into a close connexion with the usurper, he was determined to deny him nothing. Charles II. had actually solicited one of the cardinal's neices in marriage; but the bad condition of the royal fugitive's affairs, which obliged him to take so humiliating a step, was the only cause of his meeting with a refusal; and the cardinal is said to have formed the design of marrying the very niece he had refused to the king of England, to one of Cromwell's sons. Henrietta of France, the mournful relict of Charles I. and mother to his exiled children, saw herself reduced to beg of the cardinal to intercede with Cromwell that she might at least receive her jointure. It was certainly the most extreme and grievous of all humiliations, to be obliged to sue for subsistence to the man who had spilt her husband's blood on a scaffold. Mazarine, after some few remonstrances in the queen's favour to the protector, acquainted her that he had not been able to obtain any thing: she therefore continued in very low circumstances at Paris, with the shame and mortification of having implored Cromwell's pity. As to the young king, he having foreseen what the connexion between France and England would end in, had some time before retired into Germany, and lived at Cologne, with the duke of Gloucester, his younger brother: the duke of York, in consequence of the above-mentioned treaty, now left the French court, and entered into the army commanded by the prince of Condé and don John of Austria, to learn the art of war against France, which had thus infamously abandoned his family.

Cromwell, immediately after his elevation to the protectorship, had sent the gallant admiral Blake, with a fleet, into the Mediterranean, to chastize the corsairs of Barbary, who had committed depredations on the English traders: upon this command he exerted himself in so vigorous and effectual a manner, that those piratical states were obliged to implore the mercy of the English republic, and to submit to every condition which

* Hume, Voltaire.

her admiral was pleased to impose, the fame of whose valour was now diffused all over Europe.

Upon the dismissal of Penn from the navy, colonel Montagu (afterwards the famous earl of Sandwich), one of the commissioners of Cromwell's treasury, was appointed to succeed him; and, early in the year 1656, was sent out with a strong squadron to reinforce Blake, and to carry him orders for acting vigorously against the Spaniards. Having joined Blake in the Mediterranean, the two admirals anchored with their fleet, on the twentieth of April, before Cadiz, and it was deliberated in a council of war to attack that port; but it was judged impracticable, for want of a sufficient body of land forces: the admirals therefore divided their fleet into two squadrons; one under captain Stayner, was left to cruise before Cadiz, with a view to intercept the Spanish plate fleet on its return home; the other, under the two admirals, stood for the coast of Portugal, to revictual and refit their ships. On the seventeenth of September, captain Stayner descried the Spanish homeward-bound West India fleet, consisting of eight large ships. Though Stayner had with him but seven frigates, yet he immediately attacked the Spaniards; and, though he could bring but three of his ships to act, he took two of the Spanish ships, sunk and burnt three, and three escaped, according to the account sent by the admirals to the government of England. In the admiral's ship, which they took, they found an immense quantity of silver; and proper care being taken to prevent embezzlements, Montagu returned with the booty and part of the fleet to England, carrying with him the son of the marquis de Badajoz prisoner, his father, a Spanish West India governor, his mother and sister, being burnt to death in the engagement: but himself was nobly treated and sympathized with by Montagu.

While the English nation was thus acquiring glory abroad, at home Cromwell continued to rule with despotic sway: he had deprived Harrison, Overton, Rich, Okey, and others, of their commissions, because they had great influence in the army, and strenuously opposed him from the time of his assuming the office of protector: on the other hand, conscious of his own unpopularity, he endeavoured to engage the affections of the people by an impartial administration of justice. The benches were filled with judges of incorruptible integrity, who gave their decisions without respect of persons; and he laid aside his major-generals, who had now incurred the hatred and resentment of the whole nation. And now thinking that he had established his authority on a firm foundation, and that, in order to make it as lasting as it was extensive, it wanted nothing but the consent of a national assembly; he therefore convoked a parliament: but as he had no great confidence in the good-will of the people, he employed every art to influence the electors, and to fill the house with his own creatures. By those and many other arts and contrivances the protector secured an undisputed majority, and fully imagined he should now be able to accomplish all his ambitious projects.

Among the first acts passed by this obsequious parliament, which sat down on the seventeenth of

September this year, was one "for renouncing and disannulling the title of Charles Stuart unto the sovereign dominions of the nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland." This was the first act of that nature which had the least appearance of a parliamentary sanction. An act was also passed "for the securing his highness the lord protector's person, and the continuance of the nation in security and peace." This act was occasioned by the discovery of a plot some time before, that had been entered into by the Fifth Monarchy men, or Anabaptists as some call them; among whom was major-general Harrison, to depose Cromwell; but it was timely discovered by the vigilance of the protector's spies; as was also another conspiracy formed this year against his life by one Miles Sandercome, a leveller. In a word the members of this parliament proceeded in every thing just as Cromwell would have them: they approved of the war with Spain, and granted large sums of money for carrying it on; and, after they had sat some months, a formal motion was made by alderman Pack, one of the city members, for advancing Cromwell to the royal dignity: this proposal occasioned great disorders, and threw the whole house into parties. The chief opposition proceeded from the major-generals, and such officers as were attached to their interest. Lambert, Desborough, and the other officers, made no scruple openly to declare, that if Cromwell accepted the crown, they would instantly resign their commissions, and would no longer have it in their power to serve him: but, notwithstanding all their opposition, the motion was approved by a great majority in the house; and a bill was brought in and passed, on the fourth of April following, for that purpose.

Cromwell was undoubtedly desirous of obtaining the crown; and it was more than probable that the motion for offering him the title of King, was made with his own knowledge, and carried through by the interest of his dependents in the house; but he was extremely disconcerted by the opposition of Lambert and the other officers. He dreaded a mutiny in the army, and indeed a general insurrection throughout the whole kingdom; he therefore declined accepting the regal title, when it was first offered him by a committee of the house, and desired some time to consider of it. Hereupon another committee was appointed to reason with the protector, and overcome any scruples that might prevent him from accepting this offer. The conference lasted for some weeks, all which was apparently done to gain time, in order to bring the army to approve of the design; which Oliver finding he could not do, he, with great shew of humility, on the eighth of May, told the parliament, that he could not undertake the government with the title of King. This plainly implying, that he was willing to hold the reins of government with any other title, the house formally confirmed him in his dignity of Protector, and ascertained his authority by a solemn act, entitled, "the Humble Petition and Advice*." Cromwell having obtained this sanction of his authority, resolved to consecrate his title by a new auguration, which was performed on the twenty-

* By this deed, which consisted of forty-two articles, the authority of the protector was in some things augmented, in others it was considerably diminished. He was empowered to name his successor; he had a perpetual revenue settled on him.

twenty-sixth of June, 1657, in Westminster-hall, with the like pomp and magnificence as at a coronation. Then the parliament adjourned itself to the twentieth of January. After the adjournment the protector stripped Lambert of all his commissions, which he bestowed on his own son-in-law, Fleetwood; but he still indulged Lambert with a pension of two thousand pounds a year, as a bribe for his quiet and peaceable behaviour. Being thus confirmed protector by the authority of his parliament, and having fortified himself by alliances abroad, he began to make it his next care, for the better establishing his interest at home, to advance his nearest friends and relations, and to match his children into the noblest families: his eldest son Richard Cromwell, he called out of the country, where he led a private life, to bring him acquainted with a court, and to initiate him into the knowledge of public affairs. Soon after his arrival he prevailed on the university of Oxford to elect him their chancellor, in which honour he was solemnly installed at Whitehall. His second son Henry Cromwell, he made lord-lieutenant of Ireland: his two younger daughters, Mary and Frances, he matched to the lord Falconbridge, and Mr. Robert Rich, grand-son to the then earl of Warwick; the nuptials of both being kept with great pomp and splendor, at Whitehall and Hampton-court.

According to the conditions of the late treaty between England and France, by which each power was to assist the other, if attacked by an enemy, the French court sent this year to demand auxiliary forces from England, to assist it in its war with the Spaniards in Flanders; which request was readily granted by the protector, and six thousand foot forthwith ordered to be sent over under the command of sir John Reynolds, an officer remarkable for his courage and other military accomplishments, who had been some time commissary-general of Ireland, under Ireton. The arrival of these forces enabled the French to make themselves masters of two very important places in the Spanish Netherlands, Montmedi and St. Venant: and soon after of the strong fort of Mardyke, which afforded them an easy passage to the conquest of Dunkirk, which followed not long after. The fort was by the French delivered into the hands of major-general Morgan and the English, who fortified it in such a manner, that the Spaniards, sensible how much it imported to the preservation of Dunkirk to recover this fort, made an attempt, with a very numerous body of forces, to take it by storm, but were beaten off with great loss.

King Charles having resided at Cologne ever since he left France, now entered into a treaty with the court of Spain, by which he was allowed to reside privately at Brussels, with a pension of six thousand livres a month, and half as much for his brother, the duke of Gloucester, who, after his father's death, had been sent to Holland by order of the parliament; besides, the court of Spain engaged to furnish Charles with six thousand men as soon

as he should be possessed of a good port in England. This treaty being ratified, the king quitted Cologne, and repaired to the Low Countries, at the same time that Leopold resigned that government to don John of Austria, natural son to Philip IV. Lord Muskerry, who commanded an Irish regiment in France, abandoned that service at his majesty's desire, and joined the Spanish army; and four other regiments, consisting of English, Scots, and Irish, followed their example. About this time there was a plot laid for an insurrection in England, in favour of the king, and the marquis of Ormond came over to London to favour the design; but Cromwell, having notice of it by his spies, published a proclamation for apprehending the conspirators before they could form a body: the marquis narrowly escaped, but Dr. Hewit, sir Henry Slingsby, Mr. Mordaunt, and several others were seized; and the two former being tried by an high court of justice, were condemned and executed.

During the whole of this year the Spaniards were greatly distressed by the remarkable good fortune of the English arms, especially at sea: for in the spring of this year, the gallant Blake, who had been for a long time cruising in the Mediterranean, to intercept the Spanish plate-fleet, having received advice that it had got safe into the bay of Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe, he sailed thither with his fleet, resolved to give a good account of them. On the twentieth of April he had an opportunity of observing the situation of the enemy, whom he found disposed in a very formidable posture: the bay was defended by a strong castle, well furnished with cannon, besides seven forts in several parts of it, all united by a line of communication, and supplied with a good number of musqueteers. Don Diego Diagues, the Spanish admiral, had moored his smaller vessels close to the shore, and the larger galleons farther off, with their broadsides to the sea. Blake was rather animated than discouraged by this warlike appearance. Favoured by a brisk gale, which blew full into the bay, he instantly rushed in among the thickest of the enemy. After an obstinate struggle of four hours, the Spaniards yielded to the English valour, and quitted their ships, which were set on fire, and consumed with all their treasure. The greatest danger still remained to the English. They were exposed to the fire of the castle and forts, which must, in a short time, have done them considerable damage: but the wind shifting, so as to blow from the shore, enabled them to weather the bay; where they left the Spaniards equally confounded at their own loss, and the happy temerity of their undaunted victors.

This was the last and greatest action of the illustrious Blake, for he died on ship-board on his return home: the protector, to shew his esteem for his memory, gave him a pompous interment in Henry VII's chapel, at Westminster.

We cannot close the history of this year without taking notice of the memorable trial of one James Naylor, the great champion and ringleader

of one hundred thousand pounds a year, a million a year for the fleet and army, and three hundred thousand pounds for the civil government; besides what sums should be occasionally raised by the parliament: and he was allowed to appoint another house, the members of which should enjoy their seats during life, and exercise some functions of the former house of

peers. But he relinquished the authority, which he had formerly claimed, of enacting laws with the consent of the council; and he engaged, that no member of either house should be excluded without the consent of that house, to which they belonged. In other respects the Humble Petition was the same with the Instrument of Government.

of the sect called Quakers*, who, having spread his doctrine, and gained many profelytes to it, in divers parts of the nation, was more especially taken notice of at Bristol, and was from thence brought up to London, attended by several men and women of his opinion, who all the way they came (the women especially) are said to have sung hosannahs to him, and to have used the same expressions towards him as anciently the people of the Jews did to our Saviour, when he rode triumphant into Jerusalem. The parliament took it upon them to judge him themselves, before whom being convened, he was accused of blasphemy, for assuming to himself divine honours, and such attributes as were due to Christ only; and tho' he used many cunning sophisms and evasions to clear himself, such as argued him not altogether ignorant of human letters, he was nevertheless sentenced by the house to be first publicly whipped, pilloried, and stigmatized as a blasphemer; then to be re-conveyed to Bristol, there to be also whipped; lastly, to be brought back to London, to remain in Bridewell during pleasure; which sentence was punctually inflicted on him.

The parliament met again according to the adjournment on the twentieth of January, 1658. This session, which differed from the other as much as one distinct parliament could possibly have done from another, gave more disturbance to Cromwell's ambition and safety, than he, with all his policy and foresight, was aware of.

In the first place, the admission of those members who had been excluded the house of commons the last session, and who now returned to their seats in consequence of the following article in the Humble Petition, "that the persons who are legally chosen, by a free election of the people, to serve in parliament, may not be excluded from doing their duties, but by the consent of the house whereof they are members." Cromwell would gladly have eluded this article if he could; but there was no possibility for him to do it without coming to extremities with the nation. The next thing which proved prejudicial to his high towering views of arbitrary power, was the erecting of a new assembly, intended, in imitation of the monarchical constitution, to answer to the house of peers; but it was not thought proper to give it that name; but to distinguish it only by the title of the Other House: it consisted partly of such whom the protector principally relied upon, in the army and other departments, many of whom were picked out of the house of commons, to be called (by his writ of summons) to the Other House; partly of the late excluded commonwealthmen, and such also of the army whom he thought hereby to win over to his party; and about half a score of the old nobility were nominated, but re-

fused to attend. Now in this contrivance, whatever his expectations might be, Cromwell found himself wretchedly disappointed, since by the coming in of great numbers of the lately excluded members, and the translation of several of his warmest friends among the commons into the Other House, his interest was greatly weakened; and sir Arthur Haselrig, and the rest of the staunch republicans, disdaining to accept of Cromwell's offered baronage, took their places among the commons, in order by their presence to strengthen their own party, by which means the republican faction grew so powerful, that an undisputed majority appeared against the protector, and the commons refused to acknowledge the authority of his Other House, which had been summoned: even the legality of the Humble Petition and Advice was questioned, as being enacted by a parliament which was deprived of its liberty by a great number of its members having been excluded by military force, for not agreeing to take the oath of recognition.

Cromwell, apprehensive of some secret combination between the parliament and the malecontents of the army, determined once more to try a strain of authority, and therefore acquainted the commons, that he expected they should pay the same regard to the Other House, and give it the same appellation as had been given to any former house of peers in England. But the commons, instigated by Lambert and Haselrig within doors, and Harrison and the fifth-monarchy-men without, paid no regard to his threats or his authority, but again resumed their strictures upon the late Humble Petition and Advice. Hereupon Cromwell determined to allow them no leisure for carrying their schemes into execution, and therefore, without consulting any one, on the fourth of February flung himself into a mean coach, and going to the house sent for the commons into the Painted Chamber, where, after reproaching them with their factious spirit, and charging them with being privy to conspiracies against his authority, and in favour of "the king of Scots (as he affected to call Charles); since such (said he) is your purpose, and such are your proceedings, I think it high time to put an end to your sitting: I therefore declare this parliament dissolved: and God be judge between me and you." "Amen," replied the members, with no less vehemence than the protector. Thus was Cromwell driven from one inconvenience to another; from the inconvenience of a parliament that crossed him, to the inconvenience of no parliament at all, whereby he found himself equally straitened for want of those supplies of money which he expected. Soon after the dissolution of the parliament, he cashiered several officers of the army whom he thought not sufficiently devoted to his purpose. Reynolds, the protector's

* Among the various sects produced in the last twelve years of civil discord and anarchy, one of the most remarkable was that of the quakers, which was founded by George Fox, son of a weaver, at Drayton, in Lancashire. This enthusiast was bound apprentice to a shoe-maker; but having a turn to spiritual contemplations, he quitted his mechanical profession, and strolled about the country in a leathern doublet, that he might not be interrupted in his sublime meditations. He wandered in woods, lodged in hollow trees, and read the Bible without ceasing: at length he believed himself inspired, and began to disregard the scripture as a dead letter. He now assumed the character of an apostle, returned to the world, and exerted his talents in making profelytes. The fanatics of these times assisted his endeavours with extraordinary success. He and his disciples were seized with such violent transports of enthusiasm as threw them

into contortions and universal trepidation, from whence they acquired the name of Quakers. Their peculiarities in manners and doctrine are too well known to need any description. They were severely persecuted, confined in prisons and mad-houses, reviled, scourged, and set in the pillory; but they suffered with such patience and equanimity, as excited the admiration of mankind. They renounced all rites and ceremonies of religion, and pretended to be directed by the illumination of the Spirit. One of this sect perished by attempting to fast forty days as Christ fasted in the wilderness. A female quaker appeared naked in the church before Cromwell, the protector, saying she was moved by the Spirit to appear as a sign to the people. A good number believing that the renovation of all things had commenced, threw away their cloaths as superfluities.

ambassador and general in France, being unfortunately drowned in the spring of this year, in his passage to England, was succeeded in command by Lockhart, a native of Scotland, who resided as ambassador at Paris*.

The king about this time received a petition signed by several independents, quakers, and anabaptists, professing their detestation of Cromwell, and offering to risque their lives and fortunes in his majesty's service, provided he would assent to some propositions joined to the address. In these they demanded that he should restore the long parliament, confirm the concessions which his father had made in the treaty of Newport, and allow every man to worship God in his own way. Charles, who did not relish their demands, and had no great opinion of their interest, returned a general answer, importing he was not of a humour to persecute any person on account of his religion; and that those who were disposed to serve him effectually, might always depend upon his favour.

On the third of June, this year, marshal Turenne, who commanded the French army, undertook the siege of Dunkirk, which was but indifferently provided for defence. Don John of Austria, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, drew together all his troops, and amongst the rest the British and Irish under the duke of York, to relieve it. The English under Lockhart were full six thousand at the siege, and lay with a brigade of French horse on the Mardyke side, as marshal Turenne did on the Nieuport side, a communication being kept up between the two bodies. After the siege had continued about twelve days, intelligence came that don John and the Spanish generals were at hand to relieve it: upon which it was resolved to fight the enemy, and to unite both armies upon the Nieuport side. In the mean while the marquis de Leyda, who commanded in the place, made two desperate sallies, one upon the French and another upon the English quarter, but was repulsed in both; and Turenne acknowledged that the English performed wonders on this occasion. The junction of the two armies being formed, though Lockhart was very ill of the stone, yet he appeared at the head of the English, who, with the French horse, formed the left of the army. The Spaniards likewise were in two bodies; their left wing was commanded by the prince of Condé, and their right by don John, the duke of York, and the marquis of Caracene: each army consisted of about eighteen thousand, but the dispute lay between the English under Lockhart, and the old Spanish infantry under don John. Lockhart drew up the men, and formed the attack with the English upon the flank of the Spaniards, whom he defeated after a very desperate engagement, in which only two officers of his own regiment escaped being killed or wounded: it is certain that the glory of the day was chiefly owing to the English, who, not content with routing the right wing of the Spaniards, fell upon their left wing, which had put Turenne into some disorder. About two thousand of the Spaniards were killed and taken prisoners, with the loss of about two hundred of the English

under Lockhart, besides great numbers who were wounded. The dukes of York and Gloucester were present in this battle, and shewed great personal courage, but the English in the Spanish army were far from behaving so well as those in the French. The defeat of the Spaniards put an end to their hopes of saving Dunkirk. The marquis de Leyda, finding his condition desperate, made a sally with all the forces he could collect, but was repulsed with loss, and received a wound, of which he died in a few days after. On the twenty-fifth of June Dunkirk surrendered, and immediately, according to treaty, was given up to Lockhart, who took possession of it in the name of the lord-protector of England. Cromwell placed a strong garrison in this important fortress, and made Lockhart governor of it.

While the dispositions were making for the siege of Dunkirk, the French monarch, Lewis XIV. endeavoured to cultivate the friendship of the protector by every mark of esteem and regard. Lord Falconbridge, Cromwell's son-in-law, was sent over to Lewis, then in the camp before Dunkirk; and was received with the same respect which is usually shown by the French court to foreign princes.

Mazarine dispatched to London his nephew Mancini, along with the duke of Crequi; and expressed his sorrow, that, on account of the multiplicity of public affairs, he could not enjoy the pleasure which he had so long desired, of paying his compliments, in person, to the greatest man in the world. It appears, however, from good authority, that these were not the real sentiments of the cardinal, who used to say of Cromwell, that he was no better than a fortunate madman†.

But all the homage paid to his person and authority, and all the successes which attended his army, were not able to preserve him from the poignant cares which now preyed upon his mind. Oppressed with the burden of public affairs, perpetually apprehending some fatal accident in his precarious government, and under continual dread of being assassinated by the hands of fanatical or interested persons, he felt such a perturbation of spirit as left him not a moment's ease. He wore defensive armour under his cloaths, always kept a loaded pistol in his pocket, and never lay twice in one room. It is said that the death of his favourite daughter, Mrs Claypole, with that of Mr. Rich, his son-in-law, and his old friend the earl of Warwick, shortened the days of the tyrant: be this as it may, we know that about the middle of August this year, he was seized with the gout, which confined him for some days, and shifted from his foot into his body; and about the twenty-fourth of August it appeared he had a tertian ague, upon which, by the advice of the physicians, he removed from Hampton-court to Whitehall. It is incredible into what phrenzies of praying, fasting, revelation, and the like, the preachers and retainers about Cromwell's person fell during his illness: his own imagination, indeed, seems to have been so transported with enthusiastic ravings, that, insensible of his danger, he affirmed "that God had reserved him to greater attempts than ever he had yet underta-

* Colonel Saxby, who was a prisoner in the Tower, upon some design against Cromwell, on republican principles, died about this time, and his death was not without suspicion of poison. He was a constant enemy to the late king and all

the royal line, and supposed to have acted the horrid murder upon him, by cutting off his head, or assisting therein, disguised with a vizor; for upon that action he was promoted from a private trooper to the command of a regiment. † Hume.

ken, and that he was assured he should not die of this sickness." Goodwin, one of his favourite chaplains, had the following expression in one of his prayers, "Lord, we beg not for his recovery, for that thou hast already granted and assured us of, but for his speedy recovery." Nay even Thurloe, his secretary, has the following expression in his dispatch to Henry Cromwell, then in Ireland, "that which is some ground of hope, is, that the Lord, as on some former occasions, hath given to himself (Oliver) a particular assurance that he shall yet live to carry on the work he hath put into his hands." After this frantic stuff coming from the pen of so great a man as Thurloe, we cannot wonder at any thing done or said by the preachers and divines of Cromwell's court; as to himself, I am inclinable to think, with other writers, that in this affair he only acted the hypocrite, as he must know that he hazarded nothing by his prediction of his recovery; for if he did not survive, the rumour of his recovery, which began now to be diffused through the whole kingdom, would keep the minds of men in suspense, and prevent his enemies from coming to any certain resolutions; on the other hand, if he should recover, it would add new credit to his government, and the bulk of the people would actually have believed him to be a prophet.

On the thirty-first of August all the symptoms began to wear a mortal aspect, and the physicians declared he could not withstand the next fit with which he was threatened: the council was no sooner informed of this circumstance, than they immediately sent a deputation to know his will with regard to his successor. He was now become delirious, and altogether incapable of expressing his intention: they asked him if he did not mean that his eldest son Richard should succeed him in the government? A simple affirmative was all he was able to utter. Soon after, viz. on the third of September, he expired, at three o'clock in the afternoon, amidst a storm, so dreadful all over Europe, that it seemed to threaten the wreck of nature, after living fifty-nine years. The day on which he died was likewise much taken notice of, it being the anniversary of his most glorious successes at Dunbar and Worcester.

Historians are not more particular in their accounts of the minute actions of any great man than those of Oliver, and perhaps never man commanded so particular an attention to all his words and ways, deeply politic as he was in all he said and did. We shall endeavour to preserve the middle path between uninformative brevity and tedious prolixity, in what we have to say of this glorious usurper.

Oliver Cromwell was born at Huntingdon, of a good family of Welsh extraction; their name being originally Williams; but one of his ancestors marrying the sister of the famous Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, in the reign of Henry VIII. a son by that marriage took that name, and transmitted it to his posterity. Oliver made no figure in the world before the breaking out of the civil war. We have seen by what steps and incidents he mounted afterwards to power, which he could not have done, unless he had been endowed with a most extraordinary genius and capacity to discern the favourable incidents as they happened, and dexterously convert them to his own advantage; and with a courage and perseverance in the pro-

cution of his measures which no danger could appal, no difficulties weary out. After he rose to sovereignty, under the name of protector, though his government was arbitrary, and supported only by military force, he did many things worthy of praise: he encouraged trade and commerce, maintained the honour of the nation, and in many instances shewed himself a magnanimous and intelligent governor. The English nation certainly never made a greater figure abroad since the days of Elizabeth, than it did under Cromwell.

Cromwell was in his disposition morose; he was sober, temperate, parsimonious, though not greedy of another's possessions; he was diligent and punctual in all public affairs. By his dexterous management he kept well with all sects; he did not persecute those of the Romish communion, nor those of the church of England; he had chaplains of all parties; he was an enthusiast with the fanatics, whom he had cheated, subdued, and no longer feared; and would laugh at these with the deists, placing confidence only in the independents, who could not subsist but through him. By this conduct he preserved to the last an authority which had been cemented with blood, and supported by fraud and artifice. Upon the whole, his greatest enemies allow, that had he not employed his great parts to evil ends, and by the most impious and traitorous practices usurped the government which did not belong to him, he might have filled the first posts in it with dignity and reputation to himself, and advantage to his country.

Cromwell was married to Elizabeth, daughter to sir James Burchier, by whom he had two sons, Richard, who succeeded him, and Henry, lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and four daughters, viz. Bridget, married to lieutenant-general Ireton, Elizabeth, to John Claypole, of Northamptonshire, esq. Mary, to the lord viscount Falconbridge; and Frances, to the honourable Robert Rich; all of them ladies of incomparable accomplishments.

Cromwell had a most pompous funeral bestowed upon him, and his body was in all appearance interred in Westminster abbey: but some say it was wrapped in lead, and sunk below-bridge in the river Thames; and others affirm it to have been buried in Naseby field.

Notwithstanding the jarring interests which prevailed at this time, Richard, Cromwell's eldest son, was, immediately on the death of his father, proclaimed protector in London. Far from meeting with any opposition, the whole nation seemed to acknowledge his authority: Fleetwood and Desborough, though secretly discontented with the preference that had been shewn to Richard, as well as to his father, in the government, made the most abject professions of duty to the new protector: Henry Cromwell, Richard's brother, who governed Ireland with great ability, secured him the obedience of that kingdom: general George Monk, who was, with the army under his command, absolute master in Scotland, being greatly attached to his family, immediately proclaimed him in that kingdom: the army, the navy, recognized his title: above ninety addresses were sent up from different counties and corporations, felicitating him on his succession: foreign ministers vied with each other in the usual compliments, and treated him with the same respect as they had done his father. But we shall soon have occasion to see that all this compliance

compliance, especially on the part of the English, was no better than a deceitful calm, which suited the views of all parties, as a breathing-time for concerting their own ends. No one person could have been found more unexceptionable for this purpose than Richard was; who, not having the talents of his father, could not have the same fortune; his sceptre was not supported by the sword; and as he wanted the resolution and dissimulation of Oliver, he knew not either how to make himself feared by the army, nor how to manage the different sects and parties which divided the nation.

Richard soon found himself treated with contempt, and even insolence, by his father's council, and therefore thought to secure his authority by convoking a parliament, which sat on the twenty-seventh of January, 1659. It consisted, like the former, of two houses, one of which was formed of the principal officers, representing the peers, and the other of deputies from the counties of England, Scotland, and Ireland, representing the three kingdoms; and although there were a great many republicans in the house of commons, who held long debates about the Other House, and other points in the Humble Petition and Advice; yet Richard's friends at last prevailed, and he was recognized protector by the parliament. But, before it met, several cabals had been set on foot by discontented persons against his government. His uncle Desborough was a republican, and his brother Fleetwood a violent fanatic presbyterian; consequently both averse to the government of a single person. Fleetwood was the idol of the army, whom Richard had disoblged by the promoting some officers they disliked: Lambert and Ludlow, with many other officers whom Oliver had laid aside, came forth from their retreats, and joined the council against the new protector. Some of these, under a shew of friendship, advised him to call up to London as many officers as could be spared from the regiments quartered in different parts of the country, for the better supporting him in his authority, if the parliament should not prove favourable to him.

Richard fell into the snare, never suspecting that it was designed only to strengthen the combination against him, and ordered all the officers that could be spared to repair to London. These constituted a numerous assembly, which met frequently at Fleetwood's house, and because he dwelt in Wallingford-house, the party were known by the name of the Wallingford-cabal. As soon as they were all assembled, they assumed the name of the Great Council of the Army; and being actuated by Fleetwood, Desborough, and their associates, they presented a petition to the protector, demanding "that no member of the army should be subject to the civil magistrate; and that the officers should enjoy the privilege of chusing their own general." Richard, shocked at their presumption, and perceiving that their design was to make themselves independent of him, rejected their petition, and even threatened to dismiss them from the service, should they make such extravagant proposals for the future. Had this firmness been followed by a proper spirit, it might have put an end to all the intrigues of the cabal; but it went no farther than words, and rather encouraged than daunted the petitioners, who presented a remonstrance to the

parliament, demanding that Fleetwood should be appointed general of the army.

The commons, dreading their designs, passed a vote, that there should be no assembly or general council of officers without the protector's consent or by his authority; and that no person should be permitted to exercise an employment in the army, until after he should have taken an oath that he would not interrupt the deliberations of the commons. This measure immediately brought matters to a crisis. The officers, conscious of their own power, resolved to compel Richard to part with this parliament, so unfavourable to their views. They brought up their forces to Whitehall, seized all the avenues, and Desborough, a man of a rough and clownish disposition, attended by a strong guard, demanded an audience of the protector, and required him, in the name of all the officers, to dissolve the parliament. Richard at first refused; but upon Desborough's threatening him that they were resolved to obtain their request by some means or other, he complied; and the parliament having adjourned for three days, he published a proclamation, on the twenty-second of April, 1659, declaring them dissolved. By this act the protector was considered by every one as effectually deposed.

The council of officers having thus assumed the supreme authority, began to consider what form of government they should establish; and, after much debate, it was resolved to retain the appearance of civil authority, and to restore the long parliament, which, having brought Charles I. to the block, had been so disgracefully dismissed by Oliver Cromwell, in 1658. This parliament, which was entirely at the devotion of the army, met on the eighth of May in the house (having chosen Lenthall their old speaker) to the number of forty-two; and the presbyterian members who had been excluded, attempted to re-assume their seats; but they would not admit of such troublesome associates, and the army supported them in their renunciation of those members. This assembly was so hated for their former tyranny, that the people in general could not forbear deriding them under the denomination of the Rump, in allusion to their being the most inconsiderable and ignoble part of the parliament.

One of the first public acts of this parliament, was to summon all their members together who were at a distance from London, and to publish a declaration concerning their meeting, and of their intentions to proceed in the government, without a single person, kingship, or house of peers. They next chose a committee of safety (to which all officers, soldiers, and ministers of justice, were to give due obedience), consisting of Fleetwood, Haselrig, Vane, Ludlow, Sydenham, Salaway, and Jones, members of the house; to those were added Lambert, Desborough, and Berry, who were not of the house; and Scot, another member: and the time of their continuance was to be for five days, that is, till they could agree upon a council of state.

Richard Cromwell still remained at Whitehall, and many of the Wallingford-house officers continued to tamper with him. This came to the ears of the chief republicans; upon which the lord chief-justice St. John and sir Gilbert Pickering were ordered by the house of commons to repair

to him, to require him to sign a formal abdication of the government. Had Richard possessed one spark of spirit, he had still a fine game to play: the Danish ambassador, Petrum, offered him any terms if he would declare for Charles, and to bind himself and his master to make them good. Richard, it is true, had at this time little or no influence in the public councils: but there still was a party in the army who would have been ready, under the sanction of his name, to have declared against the parliament: even Fleetwood and Sydenham, two of the council of state, with several other members, refused to take the oath prescribed by the parliament against the government of a single person; and a vote of the house passed for dispensing with their taking it. Several warm speeches had been made in the house in his favour, and great opposition was made to the promotion of all officers who were known to be enemies to the Cromwell family, or the government of a single person. Richard, however, signed his abdication, gave in a list of his debts, and sent a very dutiful letter to the parliament, expressing his desire to live quietly under their allegiance and protection.

Thus fell suddenly from the pinnacle of fortune, but, by rare felicity, without any hurt or injury, the family of the Cromwells. Richard continued to enjoy an estate, which was very small, and loaded too with a large debt, which he had contracted for the funeral of his father. After the Restoration, though he escaped with impunity, he chose to retire to the continent, till the spirit of party faction should in some measure be abated. Some time after he returned to England, where he lived to a great old age, not dying till towards the latter end of queen Anne's reign*.

There being a great number of republicans in the army and among the inferior officers, and both Fleetwood and Lambert having been disappointed in their expectation of succeeding Oliver, will account for the strong and early combination against Richard. Lambert was ambitious of being a second Cromwell, but as he could not compass his end whilst Fleetwood was general, he complied with the rest in restoring the rump-parliament, in hopes that he should be able to manage Fleetwood as Cromwell had managed Fairfax. But to follow the parliament in their proceedings.

Upon the resignation of Richard Cromwell, they proceeded to appoint Fleetwood commander in chief; they ordered that all commissions should be signed by the speaker of the house; they voted that Ireland should be governed by commissioners appointed in parliament, and recalled Henry Cromwell to London. He obeyed the order with a good grace, though he might have given them abundance of trouble, for he had a great influence among the troops in that kingdom, and was beloved by the people for his mild and upright administration. The parliament dreading the power of the superior officers, whom they knew were averse to their government, began to new-model the army; the committee for examining commissioners cashiered many officers whom they suspected, and filled their places with others in whom they could confide: they would have practised the same method with the troops under Monk, but he was no sooner apprized of their intentions than he

wrote letters to the parliament, complaining of their design to sap his authority, and hinting that it would not be for their interest to drive him to extremities. They did not think it prudent to quarrel with an officer of his ability, at the head of twelve thousand veterans, supported by the whole Scottish nation; and therefore they recalled the commission they had granted. They continued the tax of thirty-five thousand pounds a month, which had been imposed by the parliament during Oliver's protectorship; they appointed commissioners for the civil government of Ireland, and bestowed the chief command of the forces of that kingdom upon Edmund Ludlow, an experienced officer and a rigid republican.

We purposely omit many particulars of these transactions, and others in the Journals of the parliament, as their constituting a council of state for the more immediate executive power of the commonwealth, the nomination of judges, commissioners of the great-seal, and commissioners of the navy, and colonel Henry Cromwell's letter to the parliament when he submitted to its authority, as not very essentially pertinent to this history.

Fleetwood and his friends were troubled at the restriction of his commission, yet he dissembled his passion, and yielded to necessity, till a more favourable conjuncture might give him opportunity to enlarge his power; however, both he, Desborough, Lambert, and many of them, were dissatisfied with the way of receiving their commissions from the hands of the speaker, and would have remonstrated against it; but by enquiring into the temper of the inferior officers, they found them well enough affected towards it, and therefore did not proceed against it for that time: and Fleetwood himself, to dissemble his acquiescence with great submission and protestation of obedience to the parliament, received his commission in the house, from the hands of the speaker, as did all the rest of the officers in and about London, who had commands in the army.

The parliament, however, had not sat long before differences began to arise, as usual, between them and the principal officers of the military. The parliament meditated no less than to bring the army under absolute subjection to their authority, while the commanders, aware of their design, bent their whole study to preserve their posts and influence over the inferior officers and soldiery.

But before this animosity arose to any height, they had information of divers plots forming by the royalists, in different parts of the kingdom, with whom the presbyterians from this time seem to have joined, in hopes of freeing themselves from the restraints the independents kept them under. The designs of the king's party were, however, frustrated by means of the timely intelligence Thurloe, the secretary of state, had from Richard Willes, who, being in great confidence with the king and his little court, was entrusted by them with all their cabinet-secrets. This man had suffered himself to be bribed by Oliver, and continually betrayed all the resolves of Charles and his friends. The only rising of any consequence was in Cheshire, where sir George Booth having got together about five hundred men, seized the city of Chester, and published a manifesto against the parlia-

ment. In the mean time his majesty removed from Brussels to Calais, to be ready if any fortunate event should invite him over; and the duke of York joined him from Breda. Colonel Ireland at the same time declared for the king at Liverpool; and Mr. Brooks, one of the members of the long parliament, willing to expiate his former mistakes, cordially joined with them for the freedom of his country.

The parliament, alarmed at these proceedings, caused all the houses in and about London to be seized, and all the avenues to the city to be guarded, and several detachments of horse and foot to be placed in the roads from the west and north-west parts of the kingdom. Lambert was sent, about the beginning of August, with a brigade, against sir George Booth and his party: the lord Mordaunt, who was suspected of being a principal agent for the king, was summoned, on great penalty, to appear; and Brooks and some other members of the house, whom they suspected to be engaged in the royal cause, were, on the penalty of one hundred pounds each, required to attend the service of the house. The parliament next sent to Dunkirk for three regiments, to strengthen the army; and colonel Zanchy brought out of Ireland his regiment of horse and Axtell's regiment of foot, which landing in Anglesey, marched to join Lambert, who, at his leaving London, had not above fifteen hundred men with him, but by the conjunction of these and other troops, on his march, increased to about five thousand. Sir George Booth had not above half that number; and those he had were without any order or discipline, most of them being noblemen and gentlemen of quality, aspiring every one to command, whilst nobody obeyed. Sir George Booth having intelligence of Lambert's drawing near to him, thought to have got a day's march before him into Lancashire, to have increased his numbers; and to gain time, he and sir Thomas Middleton sent a trumpeter with two ministers, to shew the ground of their raising an army, and desired a treaty to save the effusion of blood, to which Lambert agreed, on condition they would first lay down their arms, and surrender to him the garrisons in their power. To this there was no reply; but some of Lambert's men pressed so hard upon Booth, that, at a bridge near Northwich, a sharp encounter ensued between the forces of each party: the royalists defended the pass very courageously, till they were overpowered by numbers. Captain Morris, a gallant loyal gentleman, was killed, and some few others of Booth's party; of Lambert's very few fell, and those of no great note. All the vanquished dispersed themselves: sir George Booth and sir Thomas Middleton made their escape; the lord Kilmarry, Mr. Brooks, major-general Egerton, sir William O'Neil, and others, were taken prisoners, and all the garrisons immediately submitted to Lambert. Sir George Booth was, however, soon after seized at Newport Pagnel, and conveyed to the Tower of London.

In the mean time Dr. Nicholas Monk, an eminent divine, brother to the general, and a most zealous friend to the royal family, came over from Holland to London, in his way to Scotland, where he was sent to see if he could engage his brother to promote his majesty's cause, and was directed to receive farther instructions from sir John Grenville. He first applied to Mr. Clarges, brother-in-law to

Monk, and communicated his business to him; and afterwards to Grenville, who much encouraged him in his undertaking, and shewed him two letters he had received from his majesty, one to general Monk and the other to himself. Clarges had been sent by the parliament, upon the resignation of Richard, to Scotland, to persuade the general to acknowledge their government, and therefore he did not chuse to appear openly in this affair, well knowing that the least suspicion of his actions from those in power, might make him useless to the service he wished well to; however, when the doctor arrived in Scotland, he found means to prevail so far on his brother, the general, not a little encouraged by the news of sir George Booth's success, that the latter resolved to march into England in support of the loyalists under arms; but as he had many seditious officers in his army, who were spies upon all his actions, he was obliged to be very wary and circumspect in his proceedings; and the news of the fatal defeat of sir George Booth arriving, he laid aside for the present all design of declaring himself.

But the success which Lambert had met with in quelling the rising of the loyalists was so far from establishing the authority, that it served only to precipitate the ruin of the parliament. Lambert, conscious of his own strength, and of the extreme weakness of the rump, was no less dangerous to them than Booth: he made use of a thousand pounds, voted him as a reward for his service, in bribing the officers under his command, who all swore to stand true to his interests. In pursuance of his advice they framed a petition, and sent it signed to the parliament, demanding that they would comply with the contents of the address formerly presented by the council of Wallingford-house; that they would establish general Fleetwood in his command, which, according to his present commission, would expire in a few months; that Lambert should be appointed lieutenant-general, Desborough general of the cavalry, and Monk general of the infantry; that they would take vengeance on those communities which had assisted the enemy in the late insurrections; and regulate the corporations in such a manner as to exclude from the magistracy all such as had expressed their affection for a commonwealth. This petition, dated at Derby, was communicated to Fleetwood for his approbation, before it should be presented to parliament. But sir Arthur Haselrig having received intimation of their scheme, communicated his intelligence to the house; Fleetwood being interrogated on the subject, owned the design, and three officers, who brought it to town, delivered a copy of the petition to the speaker. The house having taken the substance of it into deliberation, voted, "that to have other officers than those appointed by parliament, would be useless, chargeable, and dangerous to the commonwealth."

Monk's conduct was all this while so impetrate, that it can only be accounted for by supposing him to have resolved to be determined by events, and to chuse his party as they should present. He knew himself to be hated on many accounts by Fleetwood and Lambert, and that all their courtship to him had proceeded from their fear of what he could do against them. He had therefore again and again assured the parliament of his

his resolution to stand by them at all hazards. At the same time his behaviour in regard to those whom he knew to be the king's friends, gave Charles great hopes that he meant him no ill. The parliament however, encouraged by his professions, and extremely incensed at the above petition, immediately dismissed Lambert, Desborough, and some other officers who had signed it; revoked Fleetwood's commission, and appointed commissioners to govern the army for a limited time: but the army paid no regard to their acts or resolutions. Lambert, drawing some regiments into the city, secured all the avenues to Westminster-hall; and when the speaker arrived in his coach, he in person laid hold of the horses, and, turning them round, very politely conducted him home. The other members were prevented meeting by the like stratagem, and two regiments which the parliament had ordered to mount in Old Palace-yard, as a guard to the house, finding they could not stem the torrent, quietly departed to their quarters.

Thus the rump-parliament was again deposed by the army, on the thirteenth of October, five months after they had been restored. And now there was a second anarchy of a few days, which was rendered tolerable by the army's being kept in exact discipline, and by the officers, who had now the supreme authority, appointing a council of ten persons, out of their own body, to take care of such affairs as were most pressing. Then they declared Fleetwood their general, Lambert their lieutenant-general, and Desborough commissary-general of the horse. At length, on the twenty-sixth of October, they established a committee of safety, consisting of twenty-three persons, and entrusted to them the government, who were to consider farther of a settlement, "without a king, single person, or house of peers."

During these distractions in England, the king, disheartened by the miscarriage of every enterprize in his favour, was determined to try the weak resources of foreign aid; and he repaired to the Pyrenees, where the ministers of France and Spain were about this time engaged in conferences for composing all disputes between the two crowns, by a final treaty. Don Lewis de Haro, the Spanish plenipotentiary, gave the young monarch a very kind and cordial reception, and expressed his inclination, had the low condition of Spain permitted him, to furnish assistance to the unhappy king. The politic Mazarine, pretending the alliance of France with the English commonwealth, would not so much as deign him an interview; nor could Charles, even by concessions that, if true, do him no great credit, obtain aught but empty professions of respect and friendship. But, while every thing wore such an unfavourable aspect, blind chance (or what at least we blindly call so), by a surprising revolution, was now preparing the way for Charles to mount the throne of his ancestors.

Monk, who hated Lambert, no sooner heard of that demagogue's proceedings in London, and that he governed the army and nation in the name of Fleetwood, than he resolved to march out of Scotland, with the best of his troops, and restore the rump-parliament. This measure rendered him generally suspected of having formed some deep designs, either in his own favour, or that of the king, yet nothing certain could be fixed upon, as he all along used the most profound dissimulation, and opened him-

self only as circumstances offered. He now wrote letters to Fleetwood and Lambert, wherein he complained "of their violation of faith to the parliament, and declared his resolution to endeavour to restore them to their power, against all opposition whatsoever. Fleetwood, Lambert, and Desborough, were struck with consternation at this resolution, so peremptorily signified to them, and sent to desire Clarges to come to them: who, when he came, after some question of his knowledge of the general's proceedings (to which he gave very cautious answers), they desired him to go into Scotland, with colonel Talbot (whose regiment was then at Edinburgh), to prevail with Monk for a treaty of mediation, to prevent the effusion of blood: they said they chose Talbot to accompany him because he was grateful to the general. Clarges was very glad of this opportunity to get away (for he feared to be much worse treated), and they were so pressing for his departure, that they allowed him but three hours preparation for his journey. Monk, on his side, was indefatigable in carrying his design into execution: he assembled all his officers, the chief of whom he knew to be devoted to his service, having occasionally, and from time to time, purged his army of all malecontents or suspicious persons, and laid before them his resolution to march into England, and restore the parliament; to which they unanimously gave their consent, promising to stand by him with their lives and fortunes: and every precaution was taken by the general and his friends to strengthen themselves against the prevailing faction in England.

During these preparations colonel Talbot and Clarges arrived at Edinburgh, on the second of November, with the proposals for a treaty between general Monk and the committee of safety: they were both very well received by Monk, especially Clarges, his brother-in-law, whom he thought himself happy to have with him to assist his design. By this gentleman's advice he consented to a negotiation, in order to gain time, and sent three of his officers, namely, Wilkes, Cloberry, and Knight, as commissioners to treat with the committee, though they were expressly ordered to start such obstacles as should protract the negotiation. They found Lambert at York, with a body of forces, to oppose the progress of Monk, whom he hated as a rival in military fame and preferment. He said he was sufficiently authorized to treat with them; but when they demanded the restoration of the parliament, he owned he had no instructions on that head, and they proceeded to London, where the committee immediately assented to all their proposals. The treaty was accordingly signed on the fifteenth of November, both sides engaging to act vigorously in opposition to Charles Stuart.

The nation, mean while, had fallen into a state of perfect anarchy; and by refusing the payment of all taxes, reduced the troops to the greatest extremities. While Lambert was collecting his forces at Newcastle, Haselrig and Morley entered Portsmouth, and declared for the parliament. A party sent to quell the insurrection, were induced by their commander to embrace the same interest. The city apprentices rose in a body, and insisted on a free parliament. Though they were suppressed by colonel Hewson, a man who had once been a cobbler, but was now possessed of a high rank in the army, the city still retained its ill-humour, and discovered

discovered marks of the highest dissatisfaction. It even erected a kind of separate government, and exercised a supreme authority within itself. Admiral Lawson with his squadron entered the river, and declared for the parliament. Haselrig and Morley, informed of these events, quitted Portsmouth, and hastened towards London. The regiments in the neighbourhood of that city, were persuaded by their old officers, who had been dismissed by the committee of safety, once more to espouse the cause of the parliament. Desborough's regiment, which was sent to Lambert to assist his friends, no sooner reached St. Alban's, than it declared for the same assembly.

Lenthall, the speaker, at the desire of the officers, resumed his former authority, and, on the twenty-sixth of December, assembled the parliament, which had already been twice expelled with so much contempt and ignominy.

Their first step was to annul the act against the payment of excise and customs: they next chose commissioners for assigning quarters to the soldiers: and, without taking the least notice of Lambert, they enjoined the forces under his command to repair directly to those garrisons which were allotted them.

Lambert's situation was now totally desperate; by these orders of the parliament his army was rendered entirely useless to him; and, which was still worse, the few troops that remained with him, thinking to make their court to those in power, or perhaps to gratify some pique of their own, put their general under an arrest, and he was brought up to London, and committed prisoner to the Tower.

Monk having received a supply of thirty thousand pounds from the Scots, and taken proper precautions for maintaining the peace of that kingdom, entered England on the second of January, 1660. On his way he heard of the disbanding of the army, as also that the lord Fairfax, with some of the chief gentlemen in Yorkshire, were in arms, demanding a free parliament. This was going a step farther than Monk had yet proposed to do; however, he was received with open arms by the lord Fairfax and all his friends, who had taken possession of that city for a free parliament. The rump now grew to be more the public detestation than the army had been before, and every step which Monk advanced forwards, occasioned some fresh declaration or association of the counties for a free parliament. The rump then began to think that they had made the breach between themselves and the Wallingford officers too irreconcilable; they suspected that Monk had something farther in view than restoring them, and would have been better pleased had he remained in Scotland: however, to put a good face upon the matter, and if possible to stop his farther progress, the house sent him a letter, wherein they informed him of their having re-assembled, and attributed the restitution of their authority wholly to his fidelity, care, and courage. This message was far from being pleasing to the general; on the contrary, he looked upon the event it announced as one of the crossiest accidents that could have befallen him. He was under a thousand perplexities how to act; for by the parliament's over-hasty resumption of their power, backed with a great army newly returned to their obedience, he despaired of being able to com-

pass his designs, and thought no longer of continuing in arms than till the first opportunity should be offered him to lay them down, and retire; for he expected they would not have thought their sitting safe till his arrival in London with his army, and then he would have restored all the other members with them, without undertaking to judge the difference between them. Nevertheless he found pretences to continue his march, still professing it was purely for the service of the parliament. At Lancaster he was met by a deputation from London, with an address praying the restoration of the members who had been excluded in 1648, when the army put a force upon the parliament, in order to accomplish their designs upon the late king.

In this, and the other numerous addresses sent to him upon the road, the presbyterians seemed to have had a great share; as those secluded members were mostly of the presbyterian stamp, they were desirous now to rescue themselves out of the power of the independents at any rate. Oliver had, indeed, suffered their church-government to continue, but with a full liberty to the other sects, which was their great grievance. The parliament finding that Monk was in no humour to stop his march, and well knowing themselves incapable to give him law, thought it most prudent to temporize. Accordingly, on the twelfth of January, an act was voted to justify Monk's marching into England; and on the sixteenth they voted a thousand pounds a year to be settled on him, and that Scot and Robinson, two of their members, should be sent to compliment him on the road. Scot and Robinson were designed as no better than spies upon Monk, and their observation of those who seemed to be chiefly in his favour, and resorted mostly to him, with the universal disposition of the country of England for a free parliament, being communicated to the heads of the faction, gave them great uneasiness. His army was not quite six thousand strong: had the members of parliament been united among themselves, or had they dared to trust the experienced officers under them, they might have effectually ruined his scheme: instead of that, upon his approach to St. Alban's, the parliament tamely complied with a letter sent from him to the house, desiring that the regiments quartered in and about London might be ordered to retire to a greater distance, to make room for his troops. Lambert was now in the Tower, and Fleetwood and the rest lost their courage, as doubting whether they should be able to preserve the command over their inferior officers, and therefore tamely acquiesced in the orders of the parliament for leaving London; but the common men were less submissive, for about four thousand of them mutinied, and were with difficulty prevented either from joining with the royalists in the city, or from marching out against Monk. The parliament considering this mutiny as a fresh insult upon their authority, in great terror pressed Monk to hasten his march, and he entered London the fourth of February. The next day he was introduced to the house with great solemnity, and received, by the mouth of Lenthall, the public thanks for the great services which he had done his country.

During the late distractions, the payment of taxes had been interrupted; and though the parliament, upon their restoration, had renewed their orders for all collections and impositions, yet so little

little authority did they possess in the nation, that the people obeyed their commands with great backwardness and reluctance. The common council of London absolutely refused to submit to an assessment demanded of them; and openly declared, that, till a free and legal parliament was assembled, they would never consent to make any payment. This refusal would immediately have destroyed the authority of the parliament; they were, therefore, resolved, upon this occasion, to make at once a full trial of their own strength and of the general's fidelity.

On the ninth of February orders were given that part of the northern army should be quartered in London; that its posts and chains should be taken away, and its portcullices destroyed: Monk was ordered to execute these resolutions against the city, and to seize the persons of some of the most obnoxious amongst the citizens, that is to say, such as had been loudest in demanding a free parliament. Monk knew so well how to dissemble, that he marched into the city, and in part obeyed the orders; but thinking that he ought to make himself sure of one party before he entirely broke with another, he therefore, after some secret consultations with the disaffected citizens, sent a letter to the parliament, informing them of what he had done, and begging they would mitigate the severity of their order; but the parliament, on receipt of this letter, repeated their orders, that the gates and portcullices of the city should be forthwith destroyed by Monk, and they dissolved the common-council by a vote. On the eleventh of February they voted that no person, engaged in any conspiracy or design in behalf of the royal family, should either elect or be elected into parliament. In the afternoon of the same day they received a petition from Praise God Barebones, signed by a great number of persons, desiring that every individual of the kingdom should be compelled to take the oath of abjuration*; and returned the fanatic thanks for his affection towards the commonwealth. At the same time the commission for the army being expired, a fresh commission was given to Monk, Haselrig, Morley, and Allured; but it was voted, that there should be a quorum of the commission, who might act without Monk.

That general now began to think he had carried his dissimulation to the farthest stretch, having punctually complied with the last order of the house, to dismantle the city; and therefore, after making many apologies for what he had done, declaring it to have been purely in compliance with the orders of the odious rump, whom now he said he found to be a set of merciless unrelenting tyrants, he and his officers joined in a letter to the parliament, peremptorily requiring them to issue out writs for filling up the vacancies in their own body, and to declare a period to their own sitting, so that they might make room for a free parliament. After this he threw off the mask with the parliament, and declared his resolution to the city,

begging that they would join with him in his attempts for the settlement of the nation. This declaration turned the late mourning of the city into a rapture of joy, which was demonstrated by the ringing of bells, illuminations, and bonfires†.

The parliament foreseeing the approaching danger, resolved to make another effort for the preservation of their power; they dispatched a committee to the general, and endeavoured, if possible, to gain him to their side; they even went so far as to offer him the supreme authority. But Monk would not trust them, and retired to his own friends in the city, where he formed and modelled a new militia, but tho' without doing any farther than declaring for a commonwealth, under a free parliament, and for re-admitting the excluded members. Ludlow, and those members at Westminster who had any spirit left, were for adjourning to the Tower; but their motion was disregarded. In short, on the twelfth of February, the secluded members attended the general in a body to Whitehall; from whence, after receiving their promise to call a free parliament, and then dissolve themselves, he gave them a guard to the parliament-house, where they took their seats. The leaders of the independent and republican party, surprized at the sudden appearance of the excluded members amongst them, withdrew from the house.

The parliament, thus altered, repealed the act for abjuring Charles Stuart, as also the engagement to be faithful to the commonwealth without a king or house of peers; passed several other votes tending to the restoration of monarchy; and then, having issued out writs for calling a new parliament, and appointed a new council of state, composed of men of prudence and moderation, they dissolved themselves on the sixteenth of March.

Scot, Haselrig, and some others of the zealous republicans, were greatly alarmed at these proceedings of the parliament, which they took to be an inevitable prognostic of introducing the king; and though they so much affected power as to endure no rival in it, yet they chose rather to have the general take the dominion of the three kingdoms upon himself, than to have the king restored, from whose just resentment they thought they had every thing to fear. They consulted privately with some officers of the army, whom they most trusted; and those approved so well of the expedient, that they waited on the general at Whitehall, to treat with him about it; but Monk would by no means encourage any temptations of that kind, and sent them away with a severe reprimand. Probably the experience of Cromwell's fate gave him reason to avoid the rock on which that family had split.

Before the new parliament met, Lambert, having escaped out of the Tower, put himself at the head of some discontented troops, in Northamptonshire. But Ingoldsby, being immediately sent against him by Monk, came unawares upon

* The oath was in the following words: "I do hereby swear, that I do renounce the pretended title of Charles Stuart, and of the whole line of the late king James, and of every other person, as a single person, pretending, or which shall pretend, to the crown or government of these nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, or any of them, and the dominions and territories belonging to them: and that I will, by the grace of Almighty God, be true, faithful, and constant to the parliament and commonwealth; and will oppose the bringing

in, or setting up, any single person, or house of lords, and every of them, in this commonwealth."

† The most comical expedients were employed to ridicule that odious assembly. At every bonfire rumps were roasted; and when these could no longer be found, pieces of flesh were cut into that form; and the funeral of the parliament, the populace said, was solemnized by these marks of hatred and derision.

them, dispersed them, and took Lambert prisoner, who was again sent to the Tower.

Soon after the dissolution of the parliament, Monk, by the intervention of one Morrice, a gentleman of Devonshire, nearly allied to Monk, and one in whom he had always reposed the most unlimited confidence, opened himself to sir John Grenville, whom he engaged to be an agent between himself and Charles; and, to distinguish himself above all others of his profession or religion who pressed for the restoration, he secretly agreed that Charles should be brought in without any limitation; and imparted to him an important piece of intelligence, which he had casually learned by the Portuguese ambassador, from which he had understood that Charles was not safe in the territories of Spain, and that he ought to remove to Breda, because the court of Spain intended to detain him until either Jamaica or Dunkirk, or both, were restored to that crown. The reader may easily conceive the joy of the king upon this message. Notwithstanding the high spirits in which his followers were, he, and the wisest about him were extremely damped at being in a manner forsaken by all the powers of Europe, with nothing but the prospect of want before their eyes; he knew that the kindness of the Spaniards would soon be at an end, when he could no longer be useful to their interests. He heard of the re-settlement of the rump, of their triumphs over the army, of Monk's warm declaration for a commonwealth: and he had been so often deceived by the sanguine hopes of his friends, that they added to his dejections.

The council of state was all this while sitting, and though Monk daily sent to, and received messages from the king, and now acted under his commission; nay, though Montagu, who was at the head of the fleet, offered himself, and all under his command, without any reserve, to the king; yet such was Monk's caution, that all the officers of the militia, before they were put in commission, were obliged to swear solemnly to acknowledge the lawfulness of the parliament's war against the late king. This gave Charles little or no disturbance: he had by this time removed to Breda, where he received applications from all parts of England, and the court was as splendid as if he had been already on the throne. It was with no small satisfaction he heard of Lambert's defeat, and his imprisonment, with that of Cobbel, Creed, and others of his fanatical officers; of the quashing the meetings of the army; and displacing all the suspected officers in the fleet; and, above all, of the favourable prospect of the elections into parliament. His only difficulty now was, how to comply with Monk's advice, which, in his situation, was little less than a command, that all might remain in possession of what they had; that liberty of conscience should be granted for all religions; and that an act of grace should be passed, so extensive as to comprehend even the murderers of his father. Charles shewed both great virtue and great wisdom, by neither denying nor granting those matters, but referring all to the consideration of the ensuing parliament. This was very agreeable to Monk; and Grenville received the following letters from Charles, to be by him delivered, viz. one to the general and the army, one to the house of commons, one to the house of lords (no notice of whom had been taken in the summons to parliament),

one to the fleet, one to the lord-mayor and aldermen of the city of London, and a declaration for the satisfaction of all his subjects. The letters themselves are to be found in all our common historians, but the substance is contained in the Declaration for the satisfaction of all subjects who should return to their allegiance, exclusive of those who should be hereafter excepted by parliament. As to matters of religion, he declared free liberty of conscience, and that no man should be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom. As to matters of property, liable to actions at law on account of their titles, he leaves to the same authority from which they were derived, that of a parliament; and, to quiet the army under general Monk, he promised them all their arrears, and to continue the soldiers in his service on the same pay and condition they then had.

The elections for the approaching parliament, which all this time was carried on in favour of the king's party, being completed, and every thing appearing ripe for the restoration, the new parliament assembled on the twenty-fifth of April, in two houses, that of lords and commons. The house of lords consisted at first of no more than ten peers, and all, or most of them presbyterians, viz. the earls of Manchester, Northumberland, Lincoln, Suffolk, and Denbigh, the viscount Say and Seale, and the lords Wharton, Hunston, Grey of Wark, and Maynard. The writs that had issued being in the name of the keepers of the liberties of England, had made no mention of the house of lords; but the latter thought nothing that had happened could disquiet them, and the present temper of the times gave them no reason to apprehend any objection.

The house of commons chose sir Harbottle Grimstone for their speaker. This gentleman, with other presbyterians, had gone as far as he could in contributing to the ruin of the late king; but stopped when his personal death was under consideration. On the first day of their meeting, the commons received a message from the lords; and on the second day Grimstone, by order of the house, gave thanks to Monk for conquering all their and the kingdom's enemies without the effusion of blood. On the twenty-seventh of April they ordered, that the great business of the settlement of the nation should be taken into consideration on the first day of May, to which time they adjourned. It was, in the mean while, generally understood that the restoration of the royal family was to take place; but how, or in what manner, none had ventured to pronounce: every mouth, however, was now filled with invectives against the memory of Cromwell, and in expressing a detestation and abhorrence of the inhuman murder of their sovereign.

On the first of May, when the house re-assembled after its adjournment, Mr. Annesley was the first who mentioned sir John Grenville's having delivered a letter from the king to the council of state; and the house being informed that sir John was at the door, he was immediately called in, and at the bar of the house presented all the letters and the Declaration, which he had from the king. These being severally read in each house, both lords and commons concurred in passing a vote, "That by the

the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the government ought to be by the king, lords, and commons." It is incredible with what ardour both houses strove to express their affection and loyalty to the king on this occasion; but as the most substantial proof of their attachment, they voted a present of fifty thousand pounds to the king, ten thousand to the duke of York, and five thousand to the duke of Gloucester. A committee of lords and commons was appointed to draw up a dutiful and thankful answer to the king's letters and Declaration, and to invite his majesty to return and take possession of his dominions.

In a word, every step relating to this important event was taken with such zeal and unanimity, that, according to the expression of the noble historian of those times†, "one could not but wonder where those people dwelt, who had done all the mischief, and kept the king so long from enjoying the comfort and support of such excellent subjects. The king himself said, that it must surely have been his own fault, that he had not sooner taken possession of the throne, since every body was so zealous for restoring him to it."

On the eighth of May the king was proclaimed in Palace-yard, Whitehall, and at Temple-bar, the two houses attending at the solemnity, and the people rending the air with acclamations of joy. The intermediate time between the eighth and the twenty-ninth, which was the day of the king's entering London, was spent in preparing every thing for his reception. All imaginable methods were taken for stopping the farther waste of the lands of the king or the royalists; and great assiduity was shewn in securing the persons of the regicides, and the most criminal of those concerned in the late troubles.

The respect of foreign powers soon succeeded the submission of the king's subjects: Spain importuned him to return to the Low Countries, and take shipping in any of her maritime ports; Mazarine, the lately insulting and insolent minister of France, pressed him with the greatest earnestness to accept

of Calais for the same purpose: Charles civilly declined them both, and after making a tour to the Hague, where he was magnificently received, he embarked on board the English fleet, which lay to receive him, under the command of admiral Montague; and made his public entry into London on the twenty-ninth of May (his birth-day), where he was received with the most extravagant demonstrations of joy.

Thus was this great revolution effected without any effusion of blood: but what is still more the object of wonder, is, that whereas so much blood had been spilt to compel Charles I. to come into terms with his people, to which it is certain he at last made large concessions, his son Charles II. should be received without any conditions at all. Upon this bishop Burnet, in his History of his own Times, tells us that Hale, afterwards lord chief-justice, did move, that a committee might be appointed to look into the propositions that had been made, and the concessions that had been offered by the late king, and that something similar thereto might be demanded of Charles, previous to his restoration. This motion was seconded, but by whom the bishop had forgot. Monk, it seems, was apprized of such a motion, and prepared for an answer to it: he observed, that if they stood debating and lingering longer before they declared themselves, he could neither answer for the peace of the nation, nor the disposition of the army; that the presence of the king must be immediate; and that being without an army or money, it was as much in the parliament to bind him down to conditions after he was restored, as before; and that those conditions, if obtained after the restoration, would be more binding, because agreed to by the king upon his throne, and not in a manner under the restraint of exile. That the two houses were afterwards too remiss in not pointing out the proper limitation of the king's authority, is not to be disputed; and to that remissness, says the bishop, may well be imputed all the errors of the succeeding reign*.

† Clarendon.

* This æra had the honour of producing the celebrated Milton, whose poems do honour to the nation that gave him birth, and indeed to human nature. He was Cromwell's secretary for the Latin tongue; though his genius seems to have been very little known to his employers, for he is mentioned by Whitlock as an obscure blind man, very unfit for his office. About the same time flourished sir William Davenant, sir John Denham, Waller, and Cowley, who, though but indifferent poets, acquired a good share of reputation. The republican principles

of the age gave rise to the Oceana of Harrington, containing the idea of a perfect commonwealth: and the controversies and absurdities that deformed religion, encouraged Hobbes to write and publish his Leviathan. Among the eminent persons who died under Oliver's protectorship were the famous Mr. John Selden, the great antiquarian; the venerable Usher, archbishop of Armagh, who came over to England a little before the breaking out of the Irish massacre; and Dr. Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood. Clarendon. Whitlock. Ludlow. Hume.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
E N G L A N D

F R O M

The Restoration of King CHARLES II. to the REVOLUTION, which, with
the foregoing Part, contains the Transactions of Eighty-seven Years.

P A R T XI.

CHARLES II. The third King of ENGLAND of the House of STUART.
A. D. 1660.

KING Charles I. being deprived of life by the hands of his rebellious subjects, on the thirtieth of January, 1649, in the manner already related, his eldest son prince Charles, then in the eighteenth year of his age, by unquestionable right succeeded to the crowns of England, Scotland, and Ireland, immediately on that fatal event. Proclamation and coronation, the usual ceremonies attending royal succession, could not then have their due course, nor are they in this kingdom necessary circumstances of monarchy; for by our law, which admits of no interregnum, the successor to the crown has all the rights thereof from the first moment of the death of his predecessor. We are to consider Charles II. therefore, at the time of his restoration, in the twelfth year of his reign.

With monarchy the ancient order and discipline was restored both in church and state, and a round of magnificence and pleasures succeeded the gloomy ferocity which had so long taken possession of all minds. Charles introduced an excess of gallantry and diversions into the palace, yet stained with the blood of his father. The independents were shortly heard of no more; the puritans hid themselves; the spirit of the English nation underwent so total a change, that the late civil war became a subject of ridicule: the austere and gloomy sectarists, who had filled the kingdom with their enthusiastic notions, were now the butts of raillery to the gay and licentious courtiers. Cautious deism, which

the king himself seemed openly to profess, became the reigning religion among the many others then in the kingdom.

If we would know the source of the principal events of this reign, it will be necessary to consider not only the character of Charles II. but that of the duke of York his brother, who bore the chief sway in the royal councils.

King Charles was endowed with many engaging qualities and excellent talents, which might have rendered his reign glorious, if he had made a better use of them. He was affable and good-natured, had a surprising ready wit, a solid judgment, and a deep penetration. But his other qualities were by no means correspondent: he was careless, indolent, and so immoderately addicted to pleasure, that he would sacrifice any thing to it, even the good of his kingdom. His court was filled with his mistresses, and his whole time and treasure were in a manner devoted to them: add to this, that, though he had embraced the popish religion abroad, in hopes of having the aid of the catholic princes towards the recovering the throne of his ancestors; yet he was so totally indifferent to all religion, that he mattered not whether popery or protestantism was the religion of England, so that he could be left to pursue his pleasure unmolested.

James, duke of York, the king's eldest brother, was of an active, violent, and vindictive temper, and such a confirmed bigot to popery, that he would

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History of England



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CHARLES II.

would stick at nothing to promote its establishment; and with this view laboured to extend the prerogative, and to establish an arbitrary government. This then, joined with the indolence of the king, of which the duke of York made his advantage to favour the schemes he had formed, was the chief occasion of the distractions and animosities in the latter part of this reign; for it was some time after the Restoration, and as it were by insensible degrees, that these designs discovered themselves. After these remarks, it will be no longer necessary to detain the reader with any occasional comments on the principal transactions and events we are now about to relate.

Charles had no sooner taken possession of the throne, than he began to turn his attention towards the affairs of the public. The first object that ingrossed his care was the choice of his council, into which were admitted the most ancient men of the nation, without distinction of parties. The presbyterians, as well as the royalists, shared this honour; Annesley was made earl of Anglesey; sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, lord Ashley; Denzil Holles, lord Holles; the earl of Southampton, lord-treasurer; Edward Montagu, who had been one of Cromwell's admirals in conjunction with Blake, was made commander in chief of the fleet, and shortly after earl of Sandwich; George Monk, who had been made a knight of the garter at the king's landing, was continued general of all the forces, and created duke of Albemarle*. Sir Edward Hyde, a sworn enemy to the presbyterian party, and who had constantly attended the king in his exile, was created earl of Clarendon, and made high-chancellor and prime minister; the marquis, created duke of Ormond, steward of the household; the earl of Manchester, lord high chamberlain; sir Edward Nicholls and Sir William Morrice, secretaries of state; and in order to gratify the presbyterians, Calamy and Baxter, two of their favourite prelates, were appointed the king's chaplains.

As the parliament had been summoned without the king's consent, they received on his arrival only the title of Convention; but two days after, viz. May 31, the king went to the house, and gave his assent to an act for changing the convention into a parliament.

In the next place, special care was taken for the committing all military as well as civil affairs of great trust, into the hands of such persons as were judged most faithful to the king's service; so that the governments of all the most important fortresses in the kingdom, and the first commands of the several regiments of the army, were by the lord-general conferred upon such lords and other persons of honour as the king was pleased to recommend unto the lord-general for that purpose, until the army could conveniently be disbanded. Likewise, for the further settling of the militia of the nation, noblemen of the first rank and abilities were constituted lord-lieutenants of the several counties, each having under him, as deputy-lieu-

tenant, such gentlemen of the same counties as had been most eminent for their loyalty and affection to his majesty and his royal house.

The king, in his declaration from Breda, had promised an indemnity to all criminals, but such as should be excepted by parliament. He now issued a proclamation, importing, that such of the late king's judges as did not surrender themselves within fourteen days, should have no pardon. Nineteen complied with this proclamation; some were taken in attempting to escape; others fled to the continent.

The act of oblivion or indemnity hung for some time in the house, owing to the opposition of the lords, who, enraged by the cruel treatment they had received from the republican party, were determined, besides the late king's judges, to condemn every one who had sat in any high court of justice; and this rigor made them begin to suspect that there was some court intrigue to invalidate the king's merciful declaration; but his majesty soon removed their scruples. He came to the house of peers, and in the most pathetic terms pressed them to pass the general indemnity. He also sent repeated messages to both houses to the same purport. At length the act passed, and received the royal assent on the 29th of August. Those who had an immediate share in the late king's death were then executed: even Cromwell, Ireton, Pride, and Bradshaw, and twenty others already dead, were attainted, and their estates confiscated. Philips and Haselrig underwent the same fate. Hutchenson and Laicelles were condemned in a fine, and declared incapable of exercising any employment. Vane and Lambert, two more of the king's judges, were likewise excepted. St. John and seventeen persons more were deprived of all benefits from this act, if they accepted or executed any office, either ecclesiastical, civil, or military. All who had sat in any illegal high court of justice, were disabled from bearing office. In a few days the regicides were tried and condemned. The indignation entertained against the atrocious crime which those men had committed, made the people rejoice and triumph in their punishment; while they, on the other hand, justified what they had done to the last, and looked upon themselves as martyrs in a glorious cause. Lambert, who was tried and condemned at the same time, was reprieved from death, but imprisoned for life in the island of Guernsey. The bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and Pride, were taken up and hanged for a whole day at Tyburn, and then buried under the gallows. This may be true as to the three last, but whether the body taken up for Cromwell's was really his, may be doubted, from the uncertainty of the place of his burial, as before mentioned.

At the same time that the king passed the act of indemnity, he gave his assent to an act for a perpetual anniversary thanksgiving on the twenty-ninth of May, the day of his arrival in England. Mean while the parliament were employed in settling the

* As also earl of Torrington, baron Monk of Potheridge, Beauchampe, and Teyes, and summoned by writ to the house of peers. The titles of Albemarle and Beauchampe were conferred on him, because he was descended from Margaret, one of the daughters and coheirs of Richard Beauchampe, earl of Albemarle and Warwick, who was married to the famous warrior John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, well known in France in

the reign of Henry V. whose son, John, had one daughter, married to Edward Grey, viscount Lisle; whose daughter and heir, Elizabeth Grey, was married to Arthur Plantagenet, a natural son of king Edward IV. who was in her right viscount Lisle; and Frances, one of the daughters and coheirs of the said viscount Lisle, was married to sir Thomas Monk, grandfather to the present duke of Albemarle. Dugdale. Baron.

king's revenue. In this work they shewed an equal regard for maintaining the liberties of the nation and supporting the dignity of the crown.

The tenures of wards and liveries had long been considered as a public grievance. During the reign of James several attempts had been made to purchase this prerogative from the crown. In the time of the commonwealth, wardships and liveries had been utterly abolished: and even in the present parliament, before the king's restoration, a bill had been introduced, offering him an equivalent for these revenues. An hundred thousand pounds a year was the sum which the parliament proposed; and the king, sensible that these imports did not yield so much profit, readily accepted the offer. Half of the excise was granted in perpetuity to the crown as the fund for producing that revenue. Tonnage and poundage, and the other half of excise, were settled upon the king during life. The parliament went so far as to vote that the yearly revenue of the crown, for all charges, should amount to twelve hundred thousand pounds; a sum greater than any English monarch had ever before enjoyed. This revenue, however, was only voted: no funds were appointed, which would furnish above two thirds of that sum: the fulfilment of these engagements was left to the future consideration of parliament.

To disband the forces, so formidable by their numbers and valour, and so much accustomed to violence and outrage, was absolutely necessary for the public tranquillity; and, in order to enable his majesty to effect that purpose, an assessment was imposed of seventy thousand pounds a month. Having taken these steps towards compleating the settlement of the nation, the parliament thought proper to adjourn on the thirteenth of September, to the sixth of November following*.

In the midst of the joy for the Restoration, the king and the kingdom met with a sensible loss in the death of Henry, duke of Gloucester, his majesty's younger brother, which happened on the thirteenth of September, in the twenty-first year of his age. The king was never so deeply afflicted by any incident of his life: Gloucester was a young prince of many amiable qualities, had a clear judgment and a quick perception, and was warmly attached to the religion and constitution of his country; a quality in which his two brothers, the king and the duke of York, were unhappily very deficient.

The hierarchy, which had suffered the same fate with the monarchy, was now to be restored with it. His majesty judging the form of church-government which had been established in England,

from the time of the Reformation until the late troubles, to be the most ancient and decent way of worship and discipline, and tending to uniformity in religion, made it one of his first businesses to restore the late extruded episcopacy to the dignity and authority they formerly exercised in the church of England; to which end he speedily proceeded to the nomination of such persons as were most eminent for their piety and learning, for supplying those sees which were become vacant since the first time of the abrogation of their power. Reynolds, Calamy, Baxter, Moreton, Bates, and Bowles, all eminent presbyterian ministers, were offered bishoprics and deaneries, though none accepted but Reynolds, who was made bishop of Norwich.

In October the princess dowager of Orange came over to England, to congratulate the king her brother on his restoration; and the queen-mother arrived in the following month, bringing with her the princess Henrietta, her youngest daughter, who, by the king her brother's consent, was married to the duke of Orleans. The princess of Orange had been but about two months in England, when she was taken ill of the small-pox, and died on the twenty-fourth of December, leaving only one son, William, prince of Orange, about ten years old, who was afterwards king of England by the name of William III.

The king now thought it high time to settle the peace of Scotland as well as that of his other dominions; and in order thereunto he summoned a parliament to meet at Edinburgh on December 12, and, by his proclamation in that kingdom, signified to all, that he relied so much on the loyalty, prudence, and care of his parliament, as absolutely to commit to them the trying and judging the conduct of his subjects during the late troubles, concerning which he declared himself ready to receive addresses and informations from his parliament or committee of state in Scotland, and no others; at the same time he assured them in the strongest terms, that he desired nothing so much as that his people should be settled in happiness, peace, and plenty, under his government; and that his own honour and the ancient prerogatives of the crown being vindicated, he purposed to grant a full and free pardon, by an act of indemnity.

For the government of Ireland, he made sir Maurice Eustace Kerl lord-chancellor, Roger, earl of Orrery, lord-president of Munster, and Charles Coote, earl of Montrath, lord president of Connaught, lords high-justices of that kingdom, who governed affairs there with great credit and moderation.

* Upon this occasion his majesty gave the royal assent to fourteen private and eight public acts; among the latter was the famous Act of Navigation, entitled, "An act for encouraging shipping and navigation, wherein it is enacted, that, from the first of September, 1660, no commodities shall be imported or exported out of any lands, islands, plantations, or territories, belonging unto, or which may belong to his majesty, his heirs and successors, in Asia, Africa, or America, in any other vessel but such as shall belong unto the people of England, Ireland, Wales, or Berwick, or are of them built, or do belong to them as the right owners, and whereof the master and three fourths of the mariners are English; and under penalty of all the goods imported or exported in other vessels, with all their guns, furniture, tackle, ammunition, and apparel, one third to his majesty, his heirs and

successors; one third to the governor of such lands, islands, plantations, or territories, in case the ship or goods be there seized; and the other third part to him that shall seize, inform, or sue for the same, in any court of record, by bill, information, plaint, or action, wherein no essoin, protection, or wager of law shall be allowed. And all captains or commanders at sea, by commission from the king, or his successors, are required to bring in all ships or vessels so offending, and deliver them into the court of admiralty, there to be proceeded against; and in case of condemnation, one moiety is to be divided to the use of the admiral and commander, and their companies, according to the rules in case of a prize; and the other to the king and his successors. With many other clauses and provisos, tending much to the advancement of the English manufacture.

After an interval of near two months, the parliament re-assembled, and resumed the consideration of public affairs. They established the post-office, wine-licences, and other branches of the revenue; they continued the assessment of seventy thousand pounds per month, for paying the arrears of the army. Business being conducted with great unanimity, as soon as finished, and after a session of near ten months, the king, in a speech full of the most gracious expressions, thought proper to dissolve them on the twenty-ninth of December.

The confidence the people had in the king, from the extraordinary good opinion they had been prepossessed with in his favour, and their transports of joy at being delivered from the late confusions and distractions by means of his restoration, will account for the excessive complaisance that was shewn to the court, at the beginning of this great event, so that the parliament could scarce deny the king any thing: we wish that a regard to truth would permit us to conceal, that the ill use made of this confidence was the great cause of the opposition that was afterwards made to the court.

Sir Edward Hyde, whom the king had lately created earl of Clarendon, was generally considered as his majesty's chief counsellor; and so long as the advice of that able statesman was followed, the conduct of Charles, in most respects, may be said to be unexceptionable. He now applied himself to the paying and disbanding the army. When he reviewed these veteran troops, he was charmed with their beauty, order, discipline, and martial appearance; and thinking, as was too natural, that regular forces were a necessary implement of royalty, he expressed a desire of still retaining them in his service. But the chancellor set before him the dangerous consequences of such a measure. All the forces, therefore, were immediately disbanded, except a few guards and garrisons, amounting to a thousand foot. This was the first appearance, under the monarchy, of a regular standing army in England. The fortifications of Gloucester, Taunton, and some other towns, which had opposed the king during the civil wars, were likewise diminished.

Clarendon was now closely connected with the royal family. His daughter Anne Hyde, a woman of great beauty and spirit, had hearkened, while abroad, to the addresses of the duke of York, and, under promise of marriage, had indulged him in the privileges of a husband. Her pregnancy appeared soon after the Restoration; and though the duke seemed unwilling to contract so unequal an alliance, the king, in pity to his friend and minister, who had been totally unacquainted with these engagements, compelled his brother to espouse her. Clarendon expressed great uneasiness at the honour which had been bestowed upon him; and frequently said, that, by being raised so much above his rank, he thence apprehended a more terrible downfall*.

Of all the manifold sects and separations that sprung up from the licentiousness and anarchy that prevailed during the late civil war, there were scarce any that dreaded not the name of monarchy, as apprehending the consequence thereof to tend to uniformity in church and state. It is not therefore to be wondered at, that they who had set them-

selves up as professed enemies to the king and his right of government, should, after his coming in, be agitated with a restless spirit of impatience and disaffection, which was ever and anon breaking forth in such attempts as, had not a timely stop been put to them, by the prudent and vigilant care of his majesty and his council, might have embroiled the nation in a new civil war. The first alarm was given by the fifth-monarchy-men, a set of people, however so called, the most inveterate enemies to the ancient settled monarchy of the nation, of all the whole Hydra. Of these, about fifty or sixty wretches broke forth into open hostility, under the conduct of one Thomas Venner, a cooper, a frantic enthusiast, who had often attempted the life of Cromwell. That which first gave him and his followers a pretence for their treason, was the oath of allegiance and supremacy, which they loudly exclaimed against, as also against all oaths in general. The madness of these men went so far as to expect the personal reign of Christ upon earth; they believed that they and the rest of their sect were called by God to reform the world, and make all the earthly powers (which they termed Babylon) subservient to the kingdom of king Jesus; and in order thereunto they were never to sheathe the sword till the carnal powers of the world became a hissing and a curse; and in the frenzy of their zeal they taught and believed, that one of them was alone sufficient to subdue ten thousand of their adversaries; and had very gravely planned, after having led captivity captive in England, to march into France, Spain, Germany, and other parts of the world, there to prosecute their holy design.

On Sunday the sixth of January, 1661, they sallied forth, in number about sixty persons, completely armed, from their meeting in Coleman-street, and first marched to St. Thomas Apostle's, to call some of their party, and from thence to Bishopsgate, and afterwards to White-cross-street.

Sir Richard Brown, the lord-mayor, having notice of their being abroad, got together some files of the trained bands, but not sufficient, as was supposed, to make any impression upon them, they being imagined more numerous than they were; by which means they escaped to St. John's Wood, and from thence to Cane Wood, between Highgate and Hampstead.

By this time the alarm being come to Whitehall, and the general's regiment drawn up, the duke of York and he, with the earl of Oxford and some others, and a detachment of the guards, marched into London, where they were informed the rebels were dispersed, except a party that was seen to go towards Cane Wood, whither sir Thomas Sandys was sent, with a party of the guards and a company of foot; but, by the darkness of the night, they got away: and on the Wednesday morning came again into the city, and divided themselves into two parties, one whereof, about five or six in the morning, appeared about Leadenhall, and from thence marched to Little Eastcheap, where they fought obstinately enough, but were dispersed by the trained bands. Venner and another party came to my lord mayor's house, thinking to have taken him prisoner; but missing him, they marched into Woodstreet, where they were met by colonel Cor-

bet, and about twenty horse. Corbet and nine of his party charged through the rebels and broke them, whereby the trained band foot had little more to do than to pursue them. They fought with courage to admiration; and if they had not been hindered by the care of the lord-mayor from increasing their numbers, a thousand men so resolved might have caused such a disturbance in the city, as might have had an influence much further. Venner himself was very much wounded before he was taken, and about five or six killed that refused quarter; of which some of them were so obscure, that their names were not known: and about eight or ten days after, Venner, with about sixteen or seventeen of the most notorious, were arraigned at Justice-hall in the Old Bailey, found guilty, and executed in several parts of London. This insurrection served as an handle to the court to suppress the presbyterians, and all other sects, who were begun to be confounded under the general name of Dissenters and Nonconformists.

Measures had been taken last year to suppress the kirk party in Scotland, and this year episcopacy was restored in that kingdom, and the parliament there, wholly devoted to the court, abrogated the solemn league and covenant, the idol of the majority of the Scottish nation, and made several acts in favour of the king's prerogative, and against the presbyterians. Sharpe, who was deputed by that body to manage their affairs in England, was persuaded to abandon their party; and as a reward for his compliance, was created archbishop of St. Andrews. The conduct of ecclesiastical affairs was committed to him; and as he was esteemed a traitor and apostate by his old friends, he became on that account, as well as from the violence of his measures, extremely odious to the nation. As Charles, in his declaration from Breda, had not come under any engagements to the Scots, he resolved, very ungenerously, to take advantage of that circumstance, and to wreak his vengeance on some of those whom he supposed to be the principal authors of the late commotions. The marquis of Argyle, and one Guthrie, a minister, were the unhappy victims.

The presbyterians, finding themselves confounded with other sectaries whom they mortally hated, desired a conference with some of the episcopal persuasion, in order, if possible, to effect a thorough accommodation. A conference was accordingly opened on March 25, 1661, in the Savoy, between twelve bishops, and as many leaders among the presbyterians; and great hopes were entertained, that some scheme might be devised which would finally give contentment to both parties; but this conference had the fate usual with most conferences of the like nature: it came to nothing, both parties being too rigidly tenacious of their own way and opinions not to say that the party, which soever it be, that is uppermost, has seldom a sincere desire of a coalition.

On the 23d of April, being St. George's day, the ceremony of his majesty's coronation was performed with great solemnity in Westminster-abbey; on which occasion he created sixty-eight knights of the Bath, six earls, and as many barons.

Writs had been issued for a new parliament to meet on the 8th of May, and the court had influenced the elections so successfully, that the majority of the members returned were strongly attach-

ed to the hierarchy and the royal prerogative. The king, in his first speech to both houses, recommended two bills for confirming the act of indemnity, and made them acquainted with his intention to espouse Donna Catharina, Infanta of Portugal, a match already concluded with the advice of his council.

The commons having chosen Sir Edward Turner, solicitor to the duke of York, speaker, immediately proceeded to business. They passed an act for security of the king's person and government: 1. Making it treason during the life of his present majesty, to intend or devise the king's imprisonment, bodily harm, or dethronement, or to make war against him. 2. To call him a papist or heretic, or to endeavour by speech or writing to deprive him of the affection of his subjects, was declared to incapacitate the person so offending, from enjoying any employment in church or state. 3. To maintain the indissoluble authority of the long parliament, or to affirm that either or both houses, without the king, are possessed of a legislative power, or that the covenant is obligatory, subjected the offender to the penalty of a premunire. The covenant itself, together with the act for erecting the high court of justice that sat on the late king and his friends; as also that for signing the engagement, and that for converting England into a commonwealth, were ordered to be burnt by the hands of the hangman. The custom of petitioning having been so much abused in the course of the former reign, it was now decreed that no more than twenty hands should be subscribed to any petition, without the authority of three justices, or the majority of the grand jury; and that no petition should be presented to the king, or either house, by above twenty persons. The violation of this law subjected the delinquent to a fine of an hundred pounds, and three months imprisonment.

On July 30, the king gave his assent to the above bills, as also to an act for restoring the bishops to their seats in the house of peers; and to another, declaring the sole right of the militia to be vested in the king; and then his majesty permitted the two houses to adjourn to the 20th of November, after they had thus restored monarchy and episcopacy to their full splendor, which were now exalted to as great an height as they had ever before aspired. This parliament was afterwards called the "pensionary parliament," because it was known that many of the members had pensions from the king. How agreeable the proceedings of the parliament were to the court, appears by its long continuance, which was almost eighteen years.

The two houses meeting according to their adjournment, on the 20th of November, petitioned the king to issue a proclamation, commanding all reduced officers and soldiers to retire to the distance of twenty miles from London; then the commons voted 1,200,000 l. for his majesty's present occasions.

Charles, though perfectly indifferent to all forms of religion, had been so rudely treated by the Scottish ecclesiastics, that he ever after entertained a violent prejudice against those of their character and opinions. He was often heard to say, that presbyterianism was not a religion fit for a gentleman. Not only the king, but the members of both

both houses, and especially the earl of Clarendon, hated the presbyterians, and wanted an opportunity to humble them, under the general term of nonconformists. With this view the earl of Clarendon, in a conference between the two houses, positively affirmed that a conspiracy had been formed since the month of March, to interrupt the peace of the nation. He named several persons concerned in the plot, the particular circumstances of which he explained; and said, that although it had been defeated at London by the precaution taken with regard to the disbanded officers and soldiers, it would nevertheless be prosecuted in different counties of England. The two houses immediately appointed a committee to enquire into the affair, that measures might be taken to secure the peace of the kingdom. This pretended discovery was the foundation of the corporation act, which was now passed in parliament, ordaining all mayors, aldermen, counsellors, or officers of all corporations, to take an oath, importing, that they did not think it as lawful, on any pretence whatever, to take arms against the king; and that they abhorred the detestable maxim of arming against the king's person, under shadow of his authority, or even by opposing such as acted by virtue of his commission. This was a most scandalous concession, by which the liberties of England were left at the mercy of regal power. The committee of both houses proceeded on their enquiry into the nature of the conspiracy, and the earl of Clarendon made an alarming report of a design to surprize Shrewsbury, Coventry, and Bristol. But this plot seems to have been no other than a fiction of the ministry to pave the way for the act of uniformity; for that was no sooner passed than the inquiry was laid aside.

Elizabeth, electress-palatine, and queen of Bohemia, the king's aunt, and daughter of king James I. who resided in England, died at London on the 13th of February, 1661-2. She had eight sons and five daughters, of whom the youngest surviving, the princess Sophia, mother of king George I. was declared heir to the crown of Great Britain in 1701.

On the seventeenth of May, 1662, the king gave his assent to the act for establishing uniformity in the public worship, and in the administration of sacraments. By this statute, which began to be in force on St. Bartholomew's day, every minister was obliged to conform to the worship of the English church, according to the book of Common-prayer, lately revised, and to sign a declaration approving of that ritual, to take the oath of canonical obedience, abjure the solemn league and covenant, and acknowledge his detestation of the principle of taking up arms against the king, or those acting under his commission, on any pretence whatsoever. He was likewise restrained from administering the sacraments, unless he had been previously ordained by the bishop. By an act regulating the militia, all lords-lieutenants of counties, and their deputies, together with officers and soldiers, were obliged to declare upon oath, that they held it unlawful to take arms against the king, and those acting by his commission. As another instance of the parliament's devotion to the king, the commons voted an annual tax of two shillings upon every hearth to his majesty and his successors. This imposition, joined to the tonnage and poundage, the

excise, and duty upon merchandize, augmented his revenue to a much greater sum than had ever been paid to any of his predecessors.

In consequence of the act of uniformity, about two thousand ministers, mostly presbyterians, but some of other parties, for refusing to conform to the said act, were obliged to quit their livings in the church. These and some other acts being passed, the parliament was prorogued to February 13, 1662-3.

Before the end of the session, the court was employed in making preparations for the reception of the new queen, Catherine of Portugal, to whom the king was affianced, and who landed in the beginning of May at Portsmouth, where the king met her, and the marriage was solemnized. The queen-mother, who left England the year before, now came over to assist at the nuptial ceremonies, and after a stay of three years in England, returned again to France.

Charles's prodigality always kept him in want, notwithstanding the supplies granted him far exceeded any thing that had been given by parliament to queen Elizabeth. His necessities put him upon a measure which has exposed him to much censure, and is regarded as one of the greatest blemishes of his reign, I mean the sale of Dunkirk to the French. Clarendon and Southampton, tho' virtuous ministers, were both concerned in this transaction; but in all probability the expedient was proposed by Charles himself. The chancellor invited d'Estrades, the French minister at the Hague, to come over to London, which he did soon after the king's marriage, and negotiated his affairs; and the French king purchased Dunkirk, with all the artillery and ammunition in the place, for the consideration of five millions of livres, or four hundred thousand pounds sterling.

We have already observed that Charles, during his exile, especially while at the court of France, had been prevailed on to adopt the religion of the church of Rome, at least in such a degree as a man of his latitudinarian principles can be said to adopt any religion: his brother the duke of York, of whom he was extremely fond, and who indeed directed almost all his actions, was an absolute bigot in popery, and as such could not fail to be alarmed at the late act of uniformity, which, though designed by the court to persecute the presbyterians, was found to bear equally hard upon every dissenter from the church of England. James and his party therefore exerted all their endeavours to weaken the force of this act. It was now pretended that great danger was to be apprehended to the state, from so numerous a body as the dissenters connected together; and that there was a necessity of granting toleration to all nonconformists, in which the papists were consequently to be included. The king readily adopted his brother's views, and in the month of January 1662-3, published a declaration under pretence of favouring the presbyterians, by dispensing with their compliance with some articles in the act of Uniformity: but though in this declaration the king alledged in excuse his solemn promises (in his declaration from Breda) of granting toleration to his subjects, and advanced several other specious topics, the parliament, who strongly suspected that he had another, and a deeper design in view, determined to defeat the measure.

The avowed design of gratifying the dissenters, and the secret resolution of supporting the catholics, were equally disagreeable to them; and in these sentiments they were confirmed by the lord-chancellor Clarendon, without whose privity and concurrence this declaration had been issued, and who, as he hated the presbyterians, was no friend to the papists, and therefore from this time began to sink in his credit at court.

The parliament assembling on February 18, drew up a remonstrance against the late declaration of indulgence, which they presented to his majesty, and both houses joined in desiring him to issue out a proclamation against all popish priests and jesuits. To this request the king returned a very obliging answer; but in the proclamation afterwards issued, the terms were so artfully couched, as to render it of little or no effect*. This seeming compliance of the king, however deceitful, passed so well with the parliament, that upon his application they voted him a supply of four subsidies, and this was the last time that taxes were raised in this manner.

The opposition the lord-chancellor had made to the plan of toleration, had exposed him to all the hatred of the duke of York and the popish party, and all means were devised to get rid of him. Digby, earl of Bristol, who had, during his residence abroad, embraced the catholic religion; and as most converts are, was a great bigot to his new faith, undertook to attack this enemy of the holy mother-church. Clarendon and he had, during the exclusion of the royal party, been upon terms of intimate friendship; but the chancellor having refused his assent to certain grants which Bristol had solicited for a court lady; this affront, as it was deemed by the latter nobleman, added to the motives of religion above-mentioned, determined him to attack the minister in the most violent manner; and on the tenth of July, 1663, he openly impeached him of high-treason before the house of peers; but the apparent malice of the charge, from the almost total deficiency of proofs to support it, occasioned the lords to throw it out with indignation; and Bristol himself was so ashamed of what he had done, that he went abroad, where he remained for some time. On the twenty-seventh of July, the parliament, after having settled the revenues of the post-office and wine-licence on the duke of York, was prorogued to the following spring†.

Gratitude was not one of Charles's shining virtues. The royalists, who had ventured so much, and suffered so deeply in his service, were after his restoration wholly neglected by him. When applications were made to him on this head, he used to answer, that those who were truly his friends would still remain so; and that if he was to bestow favour, it should be on his enemies, in order to win them over to his service. His parliament had more generosity. They took some notice of the poor cavaliers, and at one time distributed among them about sixty thousand pounds.

Mrs. Lane likewise and the Pendrells had handsome presents and pensions assigned them for the great service they had been of, in preserving the king's person after the battle of Worcester.

Ever since the Restoration, the government had at different times been alarmed with the rumour of plots carrying on by the republicans; and this year one was discovered, which was said to be for a general insurrection; it was an idle scheme of some inconsiderable fanatics and disbanded soldiers, thirty of whom were taken and executed. It served Charles, however, as a pretext to demand of the parliament, when it next met again on the sixteenth of March, 1664, a repeal of the act for triennial parliaments, affirming that the kingdom was exposed to continual troubles, from the suggestions of a set of men, who gave out that this parliament was dissolved by virtue of that act. The parliament, who still continued to adhere to the principles of exalting monarchy, even beyond the bounds of reason and moderation, readily complied with the royal request. The act was repealed, and thus all the securities which the subject had against the illegal extension of court influence, were dissipated by a breath; and Charles failed not to make his own advantage of these concessions to shorten difficulties, and baffle opposition.

This parliament was not more servile in its compliance with the king, than it was rigorous and uncharitable with regard to its fellow-subjects; the true spirit of persecution seemed to actuate all its deliberations in religious matters; it seemed to forget that the like rigid maxims of intolerance adopted by Laud, had been one cause of the dreadful calamities from which the nation had been so lately delivered; for now, as if the penalties denounced in the act of Uniformity against dissenters of all denominations, were not sufficient, in May 1664, the famous Conventicle Act was passed, whereby it was enacted, that if any one should repair to conventicles (as the meetings of the nonconformists to religious worship were called) the first offence was to be punished with a fine of five pounds, or three months imprisonment, and ten pounds for a peer; the second offence ten pounds and six months imprisonment, and twenty pounds for a peer: but for the third offence, after a trial by a jury of the peers, according to the quality of the offender, the party convicted was to be transported to some foreign plantation, unless he commuted by the payment of one hundred pounds.

There was about this time a dispute between our court and the states of the United Provinces, in relation to commerce; and the royal African company in particular had been opposed by the Dutch, in establishing their settlements on the coast of Guinea. In the preceding year, sir Robert Holmes had been sent from England with a fleet of twenty-two ships to the coast of Africa, to protect our merchants and traders there, and expel the Dutch from some places they had seized

* The parliament had agreed, that all foreign priests belonging to the two queens should be excepted, and allowed without molestation to continue in England. In the proclamation, the word "foreign" was purposely left out; and the queens were, by that means, intitled to grant protection to as many English priests as they pleased. Burnet. Hume.

† In the course of this session, several laws were enacted relating to trade. Some rules were likewise established for putting the militia into better order; and it was decreed, that the king should not have the power of keeping them under arms above fourteen days in the year. See stat. 15 & 16 Car. II.

against the faith of treaties. Holmes executed his commission with equal spirit and success, after taking from the Dutch Cape Verd and the island of Goree, together with several of their trading ships on that coast; and sailing to America, he made himself master of Nova Belgia, since known by the name of New-York, which had never been occupied by any but the Hollanders. The Dutch warmly remonstrated against these hostilities, but receiving no real satisfaction, they resolved to employ force against force, and dispatched de Ruyter, one of their admirals, to the coast of Guinea, who in a short time re-established the Dutch in possession of those settlements of which they had been deprived, except Cape Corse. He afterwards attacked Barbadoes, but without success. These acts, which were so many preludes to a rupture between the two nations, were by no means displeasing to Charles, whose growing necessities, the natural consequences of a blind prodigality, made him glad of any pretext to draw money from his parliament. The disposition of this latter, indeed, was as favourable to this design as the king could wish; for the commons having taken the state of the national trade into consideration, they voted, "That the wrongs, dishonours, and indignities offered to the English by the subjects of the United Provinces, had greatly interrupted the commerce of these kingdoms: that his majesty should be humbly requested to demand and obtain reparation for those damages; and that in the prosecution of this affair, the house would assist him with their lives and fortunes against all oppositions whatsoever." This vote was deemed a sufficient sanction for those vigorous measures which the court had now proposed to adopt, and the parliament was prorogued till the month of November.

In the mean time, the naval preparations were carried on with uncommon diligence: the whole nation seemed to be inspired with jealousy and animosity against the Dutch. The parliament having as yet granted no supplies, the city of London lent the king one hundred thousand pounds, that no stop might be made to the armament. Charles himself visited the arsenals and magazines in person, and in a short time the English navy was put in a very formidable condition. Admiral Lawson was sent out in September, with orders to seize all Dutch ships he met with on his cruise; in which he had so much success, that in a short time one hundred and thirty-five of their merchant ships fell into the hands of the English; and the parliament meeting again on the twenty-fourth of November, granted two millions five hundred thousand pounds for carrying on the intended war, the largest supply by far that had been granted to any English monarch*.

The king having had his hands thus strengthened by his parliament, declared war against the States in the month of March, 1665, after having prorogued the parliament to August, and afterwards to October. In this session the clergy gave up their right of taxing themselves in convocation, and have ever since been taxed by the parliament in common with other subjects: from this time, indeed, the clergy had votes at elections for members of parliament, but, by parting with their import-

ance as a distinct body of the state, they have been held in very little public consideration since.

The Dutch, alarmed at the great preparations making in England against them, had, towards the close of the last year, sent over an embassy, to endeavour if possible to compromise the quarrel in an amicable manner; but seeing all their application slighted, they set about all the necessary preparations for a vigorous defence: in the mean time they earnestly importuned Lewis XIV. of France, who being then of age, and having taken the reins of government into his own hands, began to be considered as a warlike and politic prince, to declare against England, in consequence of the last treaty concluded between the crown of France and the States General. Lewis was at the same time as warmly pressed by Charles to observe a strict neutrality. In this conjuncture the French monarch was greatly divided in his sentiments: he wished to keep fair with Charles, lest the latter should throw himself into the arms of Spain; and on the other hand, it was his interest to support the de Wit and Louvestein party in Holland, against the prince of Orange, who naturally claimed the assistance of his uncle the king of England: in order to gain time, he sent the duke de Verneuil at the head of a splendid embassy to London, with offers of mediating a peace between England and Holland; but, after a stay of several months, that nobleman's endeavours proved fruitless.

The man who at this time directed all the measures of the Dutch republic, and infused spirit into that phlegmatic community, was the famous John de Wit, a minister equally distinguished for greatness of mind, for extent of capacity, and for integrity of manners: though modest in his private behaviour, he well knew how to support in his public conduct that magnanimity which becomes the minister of a great state. It was always his opinion, that no independent government should ever make any mean or unreasonable concessions to another; and that all such compliances, instead of preventing war, served only to invite farther insults and indignities. By his management a spirit of harmony was preserved in all the provinces; great sums were raised, and a navy was prepared, consisting of larger ships than any which the Dutch had ever built before, and able to contend with the fleet of England*.

The English navy was already on so respectable a footing, that, by the eighteenth of May this year, the duke of York set sail with a fleet of one hundred and fourteen sail, exclusive of fire-ships and bomb-ketches, having under him prince Rupert and the gallant earl of Sandwich: this noble armament carried on board about twenty-two thousand men. On the other hand, the provinces of Zealand and Holland having joined their squadrons, they composed a fleet of one hundred and twenty ships of war, besides fire-ships, of which the command was given to Opdam, an experienced sea-officer, and of an undaunted courage, who had orders to seize the first opportunity of giving battle to the enemy.

It was not long before the two fleets met, and on the third of June a remarkable engagement was fought between them, when the Dutch were beaten,

* It was to be raised at quarterly payments in three years.

† Hume's Hist. of Great Brit. Charles II.

having lost a great many of their ships, though the number is variously related; according to the lowest account they were about twenty: Opdam himself was blown up, together with his ship and all the men on board. The English lost but four ships; but several persons of distinction were killed. A day of thanksgiving was appointed in England for this victory, and several medals were struck in honour of the duke of York: it is indeed confessed on all hands, that the duke displayed great courage and conduct during the whole engagement, being all the time engaged in the hottest of the fight, and exposing himself like a common man.

Terror and dismay seized on the Dutch, when they received the news of this defeat; and it required all the abilities and constancy of de Wit to revive the spirits of his drooping countrymen: he repaired in person on board their fleet, and quickly rectified all the disorders occasioned by the late misfortune. In the mean time the Dutch fleet of merchant ships from Turkey and the East Indies, having sailed north-about in order to avoid the English cruizers, anchored in the port of Bergen, in Norway, where they lay till de Ruyter should come and convoy them to Holland. Sir Gilbert Talbot, the English envoy at Copenhagen, proposed to the king of Denmark, that he should seize all those ships, which were richly laden, by way of revenge upon the Dutch, who, he said, had involved his Danish majesty in a troublesome war with Sweden. The king was tempted by the richness of the prize, but observed he was not in a condition to execute such a design: Talbot promised to procure the assistance of the English fleet, provided he would recompense the captors with one half of what they should take; the bargain was struck between the two monarchs, and Charles ordered the earl of Sandwich to sail immediately to Bergen. The earl detached sir Thomas Tiddeman with part of the fleet on that service, and he attacked the Dutch with great impetuosity; but the governor of Bergen, who had not yet received orders to remain passive, joined the Hollanders in giving him such a warm reception, that he was obliged to quit the enterprise, after having received considerable damage. Charles was not a little chagrined at this disappointment; and so displeased with the earl of Sandwich for having omitted to sail thither in person, that he was deprived of his command, and sent on an embassy to Madrid.

While these affairs were transacting abroad, the city of London was groaning beneath the most dreadful scourge of the plague, which broke out in the beginning of May this year, and in the space of eleven months that it continued to rage, swept away in that single city upwards of one hundred thousand souls: the king, on its first appearance, withdrew to Hampton-court, but afterwards, to be at a greater distance, removed to Salisbury.

The parliament, agreeable to its prorogation, assembled on the ninth of October, but held its sessions at Oxford, on account of the plague, which, though it still continued to depopulate the capital, did not so much affect the other part of the kingdom. The king having represented to them in his speech, that the supply of two millions and an half, granted him towards the maintenance of the war, was nearly expended in fitting out the fleet, and paying some foreign powers, especially the warlike bishop of Munster (Bernard Van Galen) for mak-

ing a diversion upon the frontiers of the states; the commons, who appear to have been very zealous for the vigorous continuation of the war, quickly voted a second supply of one million two hundred thousand pounds for that purpose, and at the same time made a present to the duke of York of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, as a reward for his eminent services in the late sea engagement with the Dutch. The independants, anabaptists, and republicans, had this year formed a design for an insurrection, having been encouraged thereto by emissaries from the Dutch; but all their projects had proved abortive. However, this furnished the king and court, who naturally hated the presbyterians, with a handle to bring them in under the general denomination of non-conformists, from whom the church and nation was represented to be in the utmost danger; tho' we cannot find any authority to charge the former with having been any way concerned in the practices or designs of the other fanatic sects. Be that as it may, a bill was brought into the house this session, and was passed without any difficulty; by which it was enacted, "That no nonconformist teacher, under what denomination soever, shall dwell or come, unless upon the road, within five miles of any corporation, or any other place where they had been ministers, or had preached after the act of oblivion, unless they first took the following oath: "I do swear that it is not lawful, on any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the king, and that I do abhor the traitorous position of taking arms against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him in pursuance of such commissions: and that I will not at any time endeavour any alteration of government, either in church or state."

This act has since been famous, under the name of The Five Mile Act; and the penalty denounced against every offender was forty pounds and six months imprisonment. It would not be doing justice to the character of the earl of Clarendon and his great friend the earl of Southampton, both of them the warmest adversaries of the presbyterians, if we did not observe, that the rigor of this act seemed so unjustifiable to them, that when it came into the house of lords, they opposed it with all their might. Nevertheless, it got through that house, and the king gave it the royal assent on the thirty-first of October, as he did at the same time to the money-bill, and some others; after which he prorogued the parliament to the twentieth of February, 1665-6.

This same year the council of Scotland discovered no less heat and animosity against the presbyterians, on pretence of some insolence committed by a private minister, named Alexander Smith. A proclamation was published the twenty-fourth of December, ordering that all the silenced presbyterian ministers should, within forty days, remove themselves and their families from the places where they had been ministers, and that they should not reside within twenty miles of the same, or within six miles of Edinburgh, or any cathedral church, or within three miles of any royal borough, nor should be more than two together in the same parish, on pain of incurring the penalties of the law against movers of sedition. Every man of a charitable disposition must confess, that this was a most cruel and unjustifiable rigor, especially when

when we reflect that the presbyterians composed the bulk of the Scottish nation.* The times were however now so thoroughly changed, that the very people who thought the shadow of royalty too great a concession to grant their prince in the last reign, now thought no sacrifice too great to be made to his will. The ill effects of such a proceeding manifested themselves shortly after, in an insurrection of the sufferers; but their numbers being inconsiderable (not exceeding fifteen hundred) they were soon defeated, three hundred being killed on the spot, and about one hundred taken prisoners, who were most of them executed.

By this time France had openly espoused the cause of the Dutch, and resolved to assist them with the utmost vigour. Lewis had ordered the duke of Beaufort, his admiral, to set sail from Toulon with the French squadron, of above forty sail, under his command. The ambassadors of France were recalled out of England; and on the nineteenth of January, 1665-6, Lewis published a declaration of war against us. The States likewise found means to gain over the king of Denmark, by an engagement to pay him yearly, during the continuance of the war, one million five hundred thousand florins; for which he on his part engaged to keep a fleet of thirty sail of ships of war for their service. They likewise raised so many enemies against the bishop of Munster, that he quickly found himself under a necessity to disband his forces, and make peace on the best terms he could obtain. The Dutch were wholly indebted for these favourable events to their pensionary de Wit, who discharged his trust with equal care and ability. The utmost assiduity was employed in repairing their late loss by sea; and early in the spring the States had a well-manned fleet of seventy sail ready for sea. De Ruyter, their great admiral, returned from his expedition to Guinea, took the command of this fleet, and had under him, as second in command, the famous Van Tromp.

The plague having ceased its ravages, Charles returned to London in the month of February, and immediately declared war against France. The command of the English fleet, consisting of seventy-four sail, was given to Monk, duke of Albemarle, and prince Rupert, who put to sea towards the end of May, 1666. Albemarle, who from the repeated defeats of the Dutch under the protectorship, had rashly entertained too despicable an opinion of their courage, resolved to detach prince Rupert, in order to intercept the French fleet, under the duke of Beaufort, who, it was said, was now in the Channel, waiting to join the Dutch upon their putting to sea, which they did: for after our fleet sailed, those who were acquainted with the courage and conduct of de Ruyter, remonstrated against this division of our force; but the duke of Albemarle continued obstinate in his resolution. The event shewed how unreasonably he had given his orders.

The fleet of the States, commanded by de Ruyter, was come to an anchor between Newport and Dunkirk. Thither Albemarle, with those ships he had retained with him, immediately sailed, to compel the enemy to an action; who, on their side,

upon his coming in sight, cut their cables, to be in the greater readiness to receive him. The battle which followed is one of the most remarkable that occurs in history, whether we consider the length of its duration, or the obstinacy with which it was fought. It would be equally tedious and uninteresting to relate every particular of this action, which began on the first of June, in the forenoon, and lasted, with very little intermission, for four days, with astonishing valour on both sides. In the course of the action, the Dutch were reinforced by sixteen fresh ships. The English had suffered so severely, that their fighting ships were reduced to twenty-eight, and they found it necessary to retire towards their own coasts; which the Dutch perceiving, exerted all their efforts to cut off their retreat, and would probably have succeeded, had it not been for the fortunate junction of prince Rupert, who, after cruising the Channel in vain in search of the French squadron, who indeed had not yet entered it, now appeared in sight to the southward, advancing in full sail towards the scene of action, and about the evening (of the third day) fell into his station, astern the Dutch division. The next morning Albemarle returned to the fight, which now became more furious than ever. Ship grappled ship, and the men fought hand to hand, as if on firm ground. A thick mist at length put an end to the conflict; under the favour of which Albemarle with his fleet sailed for the mouth of the Thames, leaving the watery field to de Ruyter and the Dutch.

In these four days of battle, the English lost twenty-three capital ships, besides several others of less note; six thousand men killed, and two thousand six hundred made prisoners. Amongst the slain were sir William Berkley, vice-admiral of the white squadron, and sir Christopher Mims: sir George Ayscue, in a ship of an hundred guns, the largest in the fleet, ran aground; and his countrymen not being able to afford him any assistance, he was compelled to yield to the enemy. The loss of the Dutch amounted to six ships, two thousand eight hundred and eighty men, besides the admirals Evertzen Van der Holst, and Strekhoven, with some other officers. Though the English retired first to their harbours, and tho' it was generally believed by our officers and men who survived, that their whole fleet might have been taken, sunk, or burnt, if it had not been for prince Rupert's coming up as he did, yet we claimed the victory. The great pensionary de Wit was on board the Dutch fleet, and is said to have invented chain-shot* on this occasion, which did incredible damage to the rigging of our ships, and contributed not a little to the advantage the Dutch gained over us.

The two fleets were not long before they put to sea again; for Beaufort, the French admiral, being now ready to enter the Channel, and join his allies, de Ruyter, after having refitted his ships, sailed from the Texel, and posted himself at the mouth of the river Thames, with a view to block up our fleet in the harbour. Such an insult was not to be brooked by Englishmen; and therefore Albemarle and prince Rupert hastened out to attack him. The English fleet, now reinforced, consisted

* Cannon bullets linked together with a chain or bar of iron.

of an hundred sail: that of the Hollanders amounted to eighty-eight ships of the line, besides nineteen fire-ships. They met on the twenty-fourth of July, and the fight soon began with incredible fury, and was as obstinately disputed. At length the Dutch were beaten with considerable loss; and it was chiefly by the bravery and conduct of de Ruyter that the Dutch were brought into their ports. De Ruyter, on his return to Holland, made great complaints of Van Tromp's conduct, who was thereupon put under arrest, and dismissed from his post. It seems he had attacked sir Jeremy Smith, who commanded the blue squadron of the English fleet, and put that division to rout; but pursuing the flying enemy too far, had never been able to rejoin his own fleet, and was very near being taken with all his ships.

Albemarle finding himself master of the sea by the retreat of the Dutch fleet, detached admiral Holmes with twenty ships of war, to inspect the coast of Holland; and that commander entering the road of Vlie, destroyed an hundred and forty merchant vessels, and two ships of war; after which he burnt Brarisdon, a large and rich village on the coast. The French admiral, who was by this time in full sail to join the Dutch upon the coast of England, received the news of its defeat, and that the ships were returned into port; whereupon he himself retired to Brest with all expedition, having had the good fortune to escape the vigilance of the English, who waited for him off the Isle of Wight. One French ship alone, the Ruby, was taken by our fleet.

On the second of September this year, about one in the morning, a dreadful fire broke out in the city of London; it began in a baker's house near the bridge, and diffused itself on all sides with such rapidity, that nothing could resist the progress of the flames. This dreadful conflagration lasted for three whole days; nor did it stop till it had laid the greatest part of the capital in ashes, consuming eighty churches, several of the city gates, and four hundred streets, containing thirteen thousand two hundred dwelling-houses. The ruins overspread a space of four hundred and twenty-six acres, from the Tower by Thames side to the Temple church, and from the north-east gate along the city-wall to Holborn-bridge; but though the fire was thus merciless to the estates and fortunes of the citizens, it was very favourable to their lives, few perishing on this occasion, in proportion to the extent of the calamity.

Various were the conjectures on the cause and authors of this fire, no one being inclined to think it casual. Numbers would have it to be brought about by the malice of the Republicans; but most ascribed it to the papists, according to the inscription upon the famous Monument, erected in memory of this dreadful conflagration. Each of these suspicions, however, seem to have had their rise in the violent animosities that possessed the minds of the different parties that swarmed at this

period. Their posterity, who behold this and other events of their time through the cooler medium of reason, see no cause to ascribe this accident to treachery or malice. The streets of London were then extremely narrow; the houses were almost all built of timber, or of lath and plaister; the season was remarkably dry; and a violent east wind happened at that time to blow. To these causes, and to these only, the surprizing progress of the fire ought naturally to be ascribed*.

But not all the miseries his subjects had experienced from this dreadful accident and the preceding one of the plague, could make any impression on the mind of Charles, or divert him from the prosecution of the ruinous war he had engaged in. Accordingly the parliament having reassembled, after some prorogations, on the first of September, the king, in a speech to both houses, magnified the happy success of his arms, as if he had been always victorious; and concluded with assuring the commons, that the money granted for carrying on the war had proved deficient, and solicited a further supply. The commons still retaining their liberal disposition, freely voted him a supply of one million eight hundred thousand pounds; which, together with what they had already given him, amounted to four millions four hundred and sixty thousand pounds. Nevertheless, the commons mistrusting that the king was not so warmly attached to the protestant religion as they could wish, or he made professions to be, presented an address, praying that the laws against jesuits and popish priests might be put into execution, Charles, willing to shew them some complaisance in return for having filled his coffers, caused a proclamation to be issued for banishing all popish priests and jesuits out of the kingdom: but this proclamation, like those of his father and grandfather on the same subject, was shamefully eluded by the connivance of the king and court. This conduct more than ever convinced the people that the king had some secret attachment to popery, which he was either ashamed or afraid to own. Whether these suspicions had lessened the king's popularity, is uncertain; but it appears that the commons took very little notice about the dispatch of the money-bill, which was not finished till the close of the year, notwithstanding the king sent several messages to the house to quicken the business.

At last, on the eighteenth of January, 1667, a bill passed both houses for raising the above-mentioned sum of one million eight hundred thousand pounds, partly by a poll-tax, and partly by assessments; and about the middle of February, the king gave his assent to this and several other acts, promising at the same time that the money granted him should be wholly applied to the use it was intended for; then he prorogued the parliament to the tenth of October. Among the acts passed in this session, was one for rebuilding that part of the city demolished by fire, which was

* Though several suspected persons were taken up on this account, it was never possible to discover or prove that the baker's house, where this dreadful calamity first broke out, was fired on purpose. Nevertheless, a French Huguenot, a native of Roan, and a lunatic, having owned himself guilty of this horrible action, was condemned and executed: but it appeared afterwards, by the testimony of the master of the ship who brought him out of France, that though he was landed at the

time of the fire, yet he did not arrive in London till two days after it began. It is pretended likewise that a Dutch boy, ten years old, had confessed that his father and himself had thrown fire-balls into the baker's house, through a window that stood open. But besides the objection that may be made to this testimony from the boy's age, there must have been some circumstance in this narrative not agreeable to the fact, since it was never thought proper to make further enquiry. Rapin.

finished with more expedition than could be expected. The king, by a stretch of prerogative, regulated the plans of the new streets, so as to render them more spacious and convenient than those which had been burned; and he prohibited the use of lath and timber, as the materials for the construction of houses. In consequence of this improvement, London became more healthy after the fire. The plague, which was wont to break out with great violence twice or thrice every century, and indeed was always lurking in some corner of the city, has entirely disappeared since that calamity.

Charles, notwithstanding the positive promises he had given on his part, no sooner found himself sure of a plentiful supply of money, than he became tired of the war, and bent his thoughts towards bringing about a peace. The Dutch had furnished him with a good pretence for this, by a letter which they had wrote him just before the breaking up of the parliament; to which he had returned no answer, as the money-bill was then depending; but that being now passed, Charles appeared more tractable. In fine, after several consultations, a conference was appointed to be opened at Breda, on the tenth of May 1667, and the several powers concerned sent thither their plenipotentiaries. Those from England were the lord Holles, and Mr. Henry Coventry. From France, the count d'Estades, and Mr. Courtin. From Denmark, Mr. Klengenbergh and Canisens; and from the States-General, Messieurs Beverriench, Hubert, and Yonstall. From the king of Sweden came as mediators, messieurs Fleming and Coyet; but the last dying at Breda soon after his arrival, the count de Dohna, the Swedish ambassador to the States, took his place. The conferences were however prolonged, by some punctilios which Charles insisted on, to save appearances with his people; because, how trifling soever, they were almost the only things particularly alleged as the cause of the war. Holles and Coventry proposed that a cessation of hostilities should be immediately concluded, till the several points in dispute could be happily concluded: but this proposal was rejected by de Wit: that sagacious and enterprising minister had formed a resolution of striking a blow which he thought would have a greater effect in favour of his countrymen, than all the arguments that could be used in the congress.

Being well informed that Charles, depending upon the success of the conference, and thinking that he had nothing to fear from the Dutch, had unmanned his fleet, and laid up all the large ships, in hopes of keeping to himself the greatest part of the money granted him by his parliament; he ordered de Ruyter to sail with a fleet of fifty ships, and surprize the English, lulled in their dangerous security. De Ruyter executed his commission with equal conduct and success. On the eighth of June he entered the mouth of the Thames, and filled the capital with terror and consternation. He then dispatched his vice-admiral, Van Ghent, with some ships into the river Medway, who, by the favour of a fresh easterly wind, broke the chain which defended the entrance of that harbour, and burnt three large ships, called the *Matthias*, the *Unity*, and the *Charles the Fifth*, all of them taken from the States this war. He also seized the hull of the

Royal *Charles*, and then proceeding as far as Upnor castle, burned the *Royal Oak*, the *Loyal London*, and the *Great James*, all capital ships. After which falling down the Medway again, he joined Ruyter, who lay still at the Nore. Nothing less was now expected in London than that the enemy, improving their success, would sail up the river Thames, and destroy all the merchant ships lying there, if not insult the city itself: wherefore thirteen ships were immediately sunk at Woolwich, and four at Blackwall; platforms of cannon were raised on the banks of the river, and every precaution taken to resist the threatened assault. But de Ruyter not chusing to run too great hazards, weighed anchor from the Nore; and sailing southward, made an attempt to destroy the shipping at Portsmouth and Plymouth; from both which places he was repulsed with some loss: then taking advantage of the wind, which seemed to veer about just as he wanted it, he came up the Channel again, and entered the Thames, advancing as far as Tilbury-fort: but he soon found the enemy too well prepared for his reception to hope for any success. He made the best of his way to sea again; but he kept the coast of England in continual alarms for near two months, that is, till he received the news of the conclusion of a peace, which was finally ratified about the latter end of July.

By this ratification Acadia was yielded to the French king, who agreed to restore St. Christophers, and some other islands which he had taken in the West Indies; and the two principal contracting parties retained the acquisitions they had made. The colony of New-York was the only advantage which the English derived from the war, that had cost the nation such an immense sum, and in which the folly, negligence, and avarice of their sovereign had been in a singular manner displayed to all Europe.

The late glaring insult, and the present inadequate peace, filled every English breast with grief and indignation, every mouth with complaints and reproaches. But Charles, as if born only for himself, being now freed from the troubles of the war, gave into every kind of licentiousness, regardless of the sufferings or cries of his people. His courtiers, following his example, seemed to vie with each other in libertinism and debauchery: irreligious wit and obscene raillery triumphed in broad day, while decency, virtue, and morality, were obliged to hide their head. There was but one person about the court, who by his noble and virtuous qualities, and his great authority, seemed to be a check upon the growing evil, and him they took care to remove out of the way. This was the great earl of Clarendon; the most discerning and upright magistrate; the most capable and faithful minister England had for a long time seen. The wide difference between his principles and practice, and those of the sovereign and his followers, quickly brought him into disgrace: but they did not dare openly to attack him, till they had first poisoned the minds of the people with base insinuations against him. The sale of Dunkirk, the bad payment of the seamen, nay, the disgrace at Chatham, and the shameful conclusion of the war, were by their emissaries imputed to the chancellor. The people, ever giddy and unthinking, and open to every prepossession, swallowed the bait provided for them. The earl of

Clarendon

Clarendon was now become the most obnoxious of ministers in their eyes; and the parliament meeting on the tenth of October, the commons sent up an impeachment against him to the house of lords, in which almost the only article that could admit of any proof, was that of the sale of Dunkirk; but even this, the most exceptionable of all his counsels, was rather owing to a mistake in judgment, than to any malignity of intention. The peers, when the charge was presented to them, demurred for some time on the truth of the allegations preferred against the earl, and refused to order him into custody. This highly affronted the commons, and begot several conferences between the two houses. Clarendon in the mean time, seeing how he was pursued by the malice of his enemies, and knowing himself entirely given up by his sovereign, whom he had so long and so faithfully served, withdrew to Rouen in Normandy, where he lived under the protection of Lewis XIV. The French, more judicious and more humane than his own countrymen, knew the worth of the man, and received him with open arms and every mark of respect. This illustrious exile, who spent the rest of his days in an easy retirement, employed his leisure hours in composing that excellent history of the rebellion in England, which bears his name. He died at Rouen in 1674, leaving behind him the character of a nobleman of unblemished virtue, an incorruptible judge, and an able minister, equally valuable for his attachment and integrity.

Upon Clarendon's withdrawing out of the kingdom, the seals were given to sir Orlando Bridgeman, by the title of lord-keeper; and a bill passed both houses for banishing him, to which the king gave his assent on the eighteenth of December. A little before the disgrace of lord Clarendon, the king lost another, and his only other, faithful counsellor, an intimate friend of the chancellor's, namely, the earl of Southampton, lord-treasurer. After which the treasury was put into the hands of commissioners, one of whom was sir Richard Clifford, a declared papist; and sir Henry Bennet, created earl of Arlington, a disguised one, was made secretary of state. Southampton dead, and Clarendon removed out of the way, the court abandoned itself to debauchery, without restraint.

The duke of Buckingham, a nobleman of spirit and humour, but of a most vicious and abandoned life, and Wilmot earl of Rochester, a shining wit, the most lewd and licentious poet of his age, were the king's chief favourites, and the ministers of his pleasures. With these and his mistresses he spent almost his whole time. In short, none but papists and men of no religion had any credit at the court of Charles II. *

While our English monarch was thus giving a loose to pleasures that disgraced the exalted station he bore, Lewis XIV. was diligently pursuing the extensive designs he had formed. Philip IV. of Spain was lately dead. Lewis had, upon his marriage with the infanta of Spain, daughter to the deceased Philip, renounced all title of succession to any part of the Spanish monarchy; but no sooner was his father-in-law dead, than he retracted his renunciation, and now prepared to recover, by force of arms, what he called his natural rights to the Spanish Netherlands and the Franche Comté †. The States of the United Provinces, alarmed at the rapid progress of the French, and fearing it was only a prelude to an attack upon themselves, who lay so near to the danger; set themselves to concert with the courts of England and Sweden. That confederacy, which was afterwards so famous under the name of the Triple Alliance, in order to check the ambitious projects of the king of France. Charles, in listening to these overtures, and afterwards adopting the proposed union, took a step which is certainly worthy of praise, and is perhaps the only one during his whole reign that was any way conducive to the interest of England and of Europe; but he did not long continue in these prudent measures: and indeed we have but too many unquestionable authorities from the public and private history of his reign, to conclude, that his only design in adopting them, was only to amuse the public, and that there was a secret understanding between him and Lewis at the same time.

No sooner however was the peace concluded, than he ordered sir William Temple (one of the most able negotiators of his time) his minister at Brussels, to repair secretly to the Hague, and conclude the proposed league. This minister found means to persuade de Wit, the pensionary, to detach himself from the interests of France, and thereby put a stop to the encroachments she was daily making on the liberties of Europe. De Wit, who was equal in candour, generosity, and ability, to the English minister, readily gave his assent. I shall not enter into the particulars of the negotiation, which is to be met with in the writings of sir William Temple. I shall only observe, that by the address and the dexterity of this envoy, the treaty of alliance between the king of England and the States was concluded in five days, and that de Wit had the spirit, for the sake of public utility, to depart from the laws of the republic, and by his authority to persuade the States-General to sign and confirm the league in the beginning of the year 1668, without any communication of it to the particular provinces, which had never been practised before. Moreover, count

* In October this year, 1667, the king laid the first stone of the Royal Exchange, which was built in the room of the old one erected by sir Thomas Gresham. Abraham Cowley the poet, and Dr. Jeremy Taylor, bishop of Down and Connor in Ireland, died this year.

† This province, which borders upon Burgundy, is forty leagues long, and about twenty broad. It was called the Franche-Comté (or the free country) and was actually so; for the kings of Spain were rather its protectors than its masters: and though this country was in the government of Flanders, yet it was very little dependent on it. The administration was divided and disputed between the parliament and the governor of Franche-Comté. The people enjoyed many considerable

privileges, which the court of Madrid were cautious of infringing, being desirous to keep fair with a province that was so jealous of its rights, and so near a neighbour to France. Never did people live under a milder government, or were more attached to their sovereign. They had preserved an affection to the house of Austria for near two generations: this affection proceeded from their love of liberty. In a word, Franche-Comté was happy, though poor; but as it was a kind of republic, there were necessarily some factions among its inhabitants, of which Lewis took his advantage; for notwithstanding what Pellisson says, the French king did not confine himself merely to force on this occasion. Volt. Age of Lewis XIV.

Dohna, the Swedish ambassador, engaged for his master that he should enter into the treaty; and soon after the king of Sweden sent his ratification in form. Shortly after, the same sir William Temple concluded a treaty of commerce with the States-General, and about the same time a treaty of peace between Spain and Portugal was happily effected under the guarantee of the king of England.

Charles, however, made the war against France the least part of his study; he sought only for means to draw an ample supply from his subjects. The new alliance, with which the whole kingdom was delighted, furnished him with the most plausible pretext. For this purpose, in his speech to the parliament, which met on the tenth of February, he boasted of the league he had concluded, as a master-stroke of politics, and an incontestible proof of his firm attachment to his allies. The commons took all he said for granted; and, overjoyed with the prospect of humbling the French monarch, they voted the king three hundred and ten thousand pounds, by an imposition on wine and other liquors.

Philip IV. of Spain had been succeeded by his son Charles the Second, then a minor, under the regency of the queen his mother. The court of Spain by no means approved of the Triple Alliance, as by some of the articles it had been determined to compel that power to make certain concessions to France, which were very disagreeable to the haughty spirit of the Spaniard, who declared himself ready to relinquish entirely the Low Countries, rather than agree to the terms imposed by the contracting powers; but Temple and de Wit were not to be deceived by this bravado: they still insisted on the terms of the Triple Alliance, and threatened Spain with war, in case of a refusal. Spain at last finding it in vain to resist, made choice of the alternative proposed; and as by the triple league the remaining provinces were guaranteed to her, and that she had lately concluded a peace on equal terms with Portugal, she thought herself in a condition to resist the future attempts of her proud and ambitious rival.

Though the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, which was signed on the second of May, 1668; and by which Spain and France were brought to make peace with each other, had considerably augmented the power of France, by giving it possession of the places it had conquered during the war; the States-General believed, nevertheless, that they had done a great thing in stopping the career of the French arms, and preventing their further progress. They ascribed to themselves the whole glory and merit of this success, though indeed the Triple Alliance had never come into their head, had it not been proposed by the king of England. To immortalize their glory, they struck a medal, on one side of which was seen Holland leaning against a trophy; and upon the reverse, words to this effect; "That they had restored and secured the laws; amended and reformed religion; assisted, defended, and reconciled kings; restored freedom to the ocean; procured by their arms a glorious peace; and established the tranquility of all Eu-

rope." On the other hand, Joshua Van Beuningen, who had been employed in negotiating this peace, struck a medal, and compared himself to Joshua stopping the course of the sun. As the king of France had taken the sun for his device, the meaning of this medal could not be mistaken. The French monarch was not a little incensed, that a pitiful state, like that of Holland, should have presumed to think of setting bounds to his conquests, and being the arbiter between crowned heads; and still more so, that it was in a condition to do it. He was sensibly affected with the indignities put upon his greatness by the Dutch, which he was obliged to swallow for the present, but for which he from that instant meditated revenge.

In the month of March this year, Cosmo de Medicis, prince of Tuscany, arrived in England in the course of his travels, and was received with all the honours due to his rank and particular merit. After his departure, the king was visited by prince George of Denmark, who made but a very short stay in England.

In July the University of Oxford opened the magnificent theatre built at the expence of Dr. Sheldon, archbishop of Canterbury, their chancellor, though he afterwards resigned this dignity to the duke of Ormond.

This * summer the king diverted himself with making several progresses into the country, to view the ports and navy. He sent a squadron into the Mediterranean, commanded by sir Thomas Allen, who forced the Algerines to a peace, very advantageous to England. Nothing memorable besides what has been taken notice of, happened during the rest of the year, except some embassies, which the sequel requires should be mentioned. Sir William Godolphin was sent to the court of Spain; Mr. Ralph Montague was first envoy, and soon after ambassador to France; the earl of Carlisle went ambassador to Stockholm, and sir William Temple ambassador extraordinary to the States-General. On the other hand, monsieur Colbert was sent from France to reside at the English court.

Some changes were likewise made at court in the public employs. Sir Thomas Clifford was made treasurer of the household; the duke of Monmouth, the king's natural son, was made captain of his life-guard of horse; sir John Trevor, lately returned from France, where he had been envoy, was sworn one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, on the resignation of sir William Morrice, to whom he had given ten thousand pounds sterling.

The year 1669 produced very few remarkable events in England, if we except a scheme which the king fell upon with regard to religion, which he seems to have adopted with a double view; first, to gain the presbyterians, who were very numerous in the kingdom, over to his interest. Secondly, to attach the papists more strongly to him, by procuring a remission of the severe restrictions they lay under. To effect this, he proposed to incorporate the presbyterians with the church of England, and obtain a toleration for all the

* This year died Algernon Percy, earl of Northumberland, and was succeeded by his son, who died within two years;

and with him was extinct the antient and famous family of the Percys.

other sects of nonconformists. The lord-keeper, sir Orlando Bridgeman, was directed to procure a conference between some of the most eminent of the episcopal and the presbyterian ministers; and to make them proposals for a comprehension of such dissenters as could be brought into communion with the church of England; and for procuring a toleration for the independants and other sects. The episcopal divines, whether out of a spirit of christian charity, or to make their court to the sovereign, shewed themselves very compliable on this occasion, and even made large concessions; and nothing remained to put the final hand to an accommodation, but the point of re-ordination of the presbyterian ministers, which was at last settled by the consent of both parties *. Matters being thus adjusted, the lord chief-justice Hales undertook to draw up a bill of comprehension, and the lord-keeper engaged to support it in parliament with his whole interest.

In the mean time, whether the secret of what passed in the conferences was not well kept, or the non-conformists, by encouragement from the court, assumed too much liberty, the archbishop of Canterbury resolved to use his utmost endeavours to break their measures. For this purpose he writ to all the suffragan bishops a circular letter, enjoining them to make exact enquiry into the conventicles held in their dioceses. After he was provided with the necessary informations, he went to the king, and obtained from him a proclamation to put the laws against conventicles into execution, and particularly the act for restraining non-conformists from inhabiting in corporations. This proclamation was executed much in the same manner with others against papists: for about two months after, the king ordered the non-conformist ministers to be told from him, that he was desirous to make them easy; and if they thought fit to petition him, they would be favourably heard. A petition was accordingly drawn up, and presented to the king at the earl of Arlington's lodgings, who received it graciously, and returned a favourable answer, importing, "That he would do his utmost to get them comprehended with the public establishment."

This project, however necessary to the king's designs, was nevertheless directly contrary to the principles of the parliament, who were averse to all condescension, so that it ended only in smoke: nay, further, when they met in October this year, pursuant to their prorogation, they addressed the king to thank him for his proclamation against conventicles; and, not contented with this step, they appointed a committee to make exact enquiries concerning the conduct of the non-conformists. These having received a great number of informations, reported, "That divers conventicles and seditious assemblies were held in the very neighbourhood of the parliament, so as to insult the government, and endanger the peace of the kingdom." Hereupon the house immediately declared, "That they would adhere to his majesty for the support of the government in church and state,

against all sorts of adversaries." The meaning of the vote was easy to be understood.

During the latter part of the last session, a great dispute had fallen out between the commons and the lords, in relation to the case of one Skinner, and some transactions of the East India company, which was renewed with great acrimony; and their mutual animosity daily increasing, and the king knowing that he had nothing to expect in the way of supply, or other matters, from the commons till this affair was compromised, prorogued the parliament from the eleventh of December to the fourteenth of February following.

This year died in France queen Henrietta Maria, the king's mother; and in England, the famous George Monk, duke of Albemarle, the restorer of the royal family; as also Mr. Prynne, who was so severely handled for writing against the court in the last reign. This man was an indefatigable writer, having been the author of no fewer than two hundred treatises, most of them indeed of little esteem; but let it be remembered of him, that he was a considerable instrument in the Restoration, and upon that account was received into favour upon the change of government, and had the records of the Tower committed to his care, which he put into good order. He died a member of the present parliament.

The parliament of Scotland met about the same time with that of England, being convened by lord Lauderdale, as his majesty's high commissioner. As this nobleman made so great a figure both in England and Scotland in the reign whose history I am now writing, I believe it will not be foreign to the purpose to take some notice of him.

Charles Maitland, earl (soon afterwards created duke) of Lauderdale, was a rigid presbyterian, during the troubles in Scotland a zealous covenant, and a distinguished enemy to the royal authority. He nevertheless threw himself into the king's party in 1647, when duke Hamilton invaded England in support of Charles the First. From this time his country looked on him as a declared enemy; but after the arrival of Charles II. in Scotland, and the composition of the differences in that kingdom, he followed the king into England, was taken prisoner at the battle of Worcester; and by removals from one prison to another, continued in confinement till the king's restoration. During his imprisonment, he had great impressions of religion on his mind; but after the king had received him into his favour and council, he so entirely wore them out, that hardly any trace of them was left. Whether from a knowledge of the secret sentiments of the king and duke of York, with regard to religion, or only from a suspicion of theirs, he was of opinion, that the best way to preserve himself in their favour, was to enter into all the king's supposed views, and to labour to render him absolute in both kingdoms. Upon the king's restoration, it was debated in council, whether episcopacy should be restored in Scotland; the duke of Lauderdale opposed the motion with all his power, and gave this extraordinary reason for it; namely,

* It was settled, that all presbyterian ministers who had been already ordained, should be admitted into the ministry of the church of England, with this form:—"Take thou legal au-

thority to preach the word of God, and administer the holy sacraments, in any congregation of England, where thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereto." Rapin. Echard. Burnet.

That the Scots, if they were governed according to the grain of their own inclinations, would be always at the king's devotion on any occasion of dispute he might afterwards have with the parliament of England. This advice, though it was not complied with, was acceptable to the king, and riveted the duke in his favour. The resolution to restore episcopacy having been executed, no person appeared more ardent against the presbyterians, nor had they a more violent persecutor. I shall have occasion to say more of him afterwards, but this may suffice to give the reader some idea of his character.

It was by the intrigues and authority of this nobleman that the parliament, held this year in Scotland, passed an act which raised the king's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters higher than ever it had been carried before: as also another act concerning the militia, by which it was at the immediate service of the king, should he ever have occasion to overawe his subjects in England; but at the same time, it might be ordered to march without his appearing to countenance its motions, so that he was enabled to disown them with a better grace, should an expedition of that sort miscarry.

The parliament meeting on the fourteenth of February, 1670, the king, in a speech to both houses, demanded a supply in the most pressing terms, and concluded with earnestly recommending to them, to consider of a plan for uniting the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. The commons readily acceded to the first part of his request, and voted funds for the produce of one million seven hundred thousand pounds, a sum which however fell very short of the king's necessities. The dispute between the two houses about the affair of Skinner and the East India company was still undecided. The king, apprehensive of a fresh rupture between them, persuaded the peers to agree to a general rasure of all the proceedings relating to that controversy; the commons gave their assent to this procedure; and thus the matter dropt: but the poor nonconformists were pitched upon as the peace-offering on this occasion: for no sooner was the accommodation effected, than the two houses, on the tenth of April, 1670, joined in passing an act, importing, "That if any person above the age of sixteen should be present at any meeting for religious exercises, in any other manner than according to the Liturgy of the church of England, where there were five persons or more, besides those of the family, he should pay five shillings for the first offence, and ten for the second; the preachers in such meetings to forfeit twenty pounds for the first, and forty pounds for the second offence; and those who suffered such conventicles in their houses, barns, yards, &c. to forfeit twenty pounds." The informers being very busy on these occasions, the dissenters were exceedingly harrassed. But the king put a stop to these severities: and having passed the money-bill, with this and some other acts, ad-

journed the houses to the twenty-fourth of October.

The money which this parliament had granted to Charles, had the same fate of most of the other supplies he had received from them. It was lavished upon his mistresses and his favourites; and so far was he from thinking of making good his engagements with the States of Holland, that he was busy in concerting measures for entering into a more strict union than ever with France. Full of the idea of rendering himself absolute, he saw no surer method to effect that design, than to secure the friendship and assistance of Lewis XIV. To this chimerical project, he sacrificed every sentiment of honour, justice, and humanity. Charles, in his choice of counsellors, had selected such persons as he knew were most subservient to his will, either through interest or a parity of principles. No wonder therefore if they encouraged him in all his favourite measures, how contrary soever to the interest of England, and the general good of all Europe; and willingly partook with him in the guilt of violating the most sacred engagements, and abandoning those who placed the most unlimited faith in his royal word. This council consisted of the five following persons; Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley Cooper, and Lauderdale. It was nicknamed the CABAL, from the initial letters of their names. Their servile flattery, and the licentiousness of their manners, were what chiefly recommended them to the favour and the confidence of their sovereign, while by their pernicious counsels they had well nigh proved the ruin of both prince and people. In a word, it was by their advice that Charles now sought an opportunity to break the treaty he had so lately concluded with the States, and to enter into another of a direct opposite tendency with the king of France.

The war with the States was to be renewed upon the slightest pretences; but it seems to be truly a part of the scheme that the king, or his brother the duke of York for him, had formed for overturning the protestant religion. The States were to be destroyed, to make way for the more easy introduction of arbitrary power and popery in England: but this French alliance was to be kept secret till the king had got what he could of his parliament, by plausible pretences of the necessity of arming, for the security of the nation, against any foreign attempts, as France and Holland were both making great preparations.

The king, however, though extremely fond of the French alliance, seems never to have been fully determined, till the visit which he received from his sister, the duchess of Orleans, who came to England in May this year. Lewis XIV. well acquainted with the art and address of that amiable princess, and the great ascendant she had acquired over her brother, had prevailed on her to exert all her interest, in order to draw off England from the triple league, which he was sensible had raised an invincible barrier to his ambition. This young princess then, who was only twenty-five years of

* If to the above five members of the Cabal are joined, as in reason they ought, the king and the duke of York, it will be found that all the seven were for an absolute and arbitrary government; and that with regard to religion, four of the

seven were papists, namely, the king, the duke, Arlington, and Clifford; and three without any religion, or at least they considered it only as an engine of state; these were, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale. Rapin. Burnet.

age, was the plenipotentiary pitched upon to put the finishing stroke to this business. A visit which the king of France was to make to his new acquired possessions of Dunkirk and Lisle, served as a pretence for the duchess's journey over to England to see her brother, who being prepared for the occasion, went as far as Dover to meet her, where they spent ten days together in great joy and festivity. In their conferences together, she artfully insinuated to him, that nothing was wanting to make him the most glorious monarch in the world, and to recompense him for all the misfortunes he had suffered in the first years of his reign, but to render himself as absolute in England as other crowned heads were in their dominions. This glorious end, she observed, he could never hope to compass, so long as his subjects had any prospect of assistance from their brethren in republican principles, the Dutch; and therefore it behoved him to humble these latter, when he would find no difficulty in keeping his own people within the bounds of obedience; adding, that he might rest assured the king of France would assist him with what assistance of men or money he should think proper to require, in case of any commotions in England. Charles, blinded by the love he bore his sister, and intoxicated with the prospect of governing with unlimited authority, signed every thing that Lewis desired, and laid a foundation for the ruin of his allies, in the midst of feasting and diversions.

Lewis, however, knowing the disposition of Charles, and the natural inconstancy of his temper, resolved to bind him down to his engagements by the bands of pleasure. For this purpose he sent over with the princess Henrietta, mademoiselle de Querouaille, a young lady of extraordinary beauty and accomplishments, which instantly captivated the heart of Charles. She accompanied him to London, was created duchess of Portsmouth, and maintained her empire over him during the whole course of his life. She kept him to the connections with France, and continued to be the reigning favourite, while his former mistress, lady Cleveland, was raised to the dignity of duchess, as a recompence for the influence she had lost.

The joy which Charles derived from his new alliance, was greatly damped by the loss of his sister *, who died in a sudden and shocking manner, immediately after her return to France. This event made no alteration in what had been resolved upon between the two kings. Charles dispatched the duke of Buckingham to Paris (though on another pretence) to conclude and sign the treaty; by which the spoils of the Dutch, devoted to destruction, were shared between the two powers, in the same manner as Flanders had been shared between the Dutch and the French in 1635.

Matters however could not be carried on so secretly, but that the rumour of this alliance, and the end it was designed for, began to spread abroad; but Europe listened to it without being stirred. The emperor taken up with seditions in Hungary, the Swede lulled asleep with negotiations, and the

Spanish monarchy still weak, and ever irresolute and slow in its determinations, left Lewis to follow the career of his ambition uninterrupted.

In September this year, he made an irruption into Lorraine by his general marshal de Crequi. The duke, who was taken unawares, was obliged to fly, and leave his duchy a prey to the marshal, who took possession of it in the name of his master. The duke vainly hoped for the interposition of Charles to the king of France, in return for so much money lent and given him in his exile, and for the offer of his forces for his restoration. His envoy was answered, "That the king was sorry for what had happened, and that the present violence, like the mischiefs of a sudden inundation, must be endured at this time."

The Dutch now began to apprehend some design against their safety; but to compleat their misfortunes, their country was at that time divided into two factions; the one composed of rigid republicans, to whom the least shadow of absolute authority seemed a monster contrary to the laws of human society; the other of republicans of a more moderate disposition, who were desirous of investing the young prince of Orange, afterwards the famous William III. with the posts and dignities of his ancestors. The grand pensionary John de Wit, and his brother Cornelius, were at the head of the rigid sticklers for liberty; but the young prince's party began to gain ground. The republic was more attentive to its domestic dissensions, than to the danger which threatened it from without, and this contributed to its own ruin.

Lewis not only purchased the king of England, but he likewise brought over the elector of Cologne, and the famous Van Galen, bishop of Munster, who was greedy of war and plunder, and was naturally an enemy to the Dutch. Lewis had formerly assisted them against this bishop; he now joined with him for their destruction. The Swedes, who in 1668, had united with the republic to check the projects of a conqueror, who had then no designs against them, abandoned her as soon as they saw her threatened with ruin, and renewed their old connections with France, on condition of receiving the former subsidies.

It is somewhat singular and worthy of remark, that of all the enemies who were about to fall upon this petty state, there was not one that could allege a lawful pretext for entering into the war. This was much such an undertaking as the league between Lewis XII. and the emperor Maximilian, as king of Spain, who entered into a covenant to destroy the republic of Venice, only for being rich and haughty †. I have somewhat preadvanced the order of these events, and therefore must return back.

The parliament of England meeting on October 24, the king addressed them in a short speech, and then the lord-keeper by his orders represented the pressing exigencies of the state, and the absolute necessity of an immediate supply: he told them, "That France and the States-general were powerfully arming by sea and land, were building new

* The duchess of Orleans was, in consequence of drinking a glass of succory-water, suddenly seized with racking pains in her bowels, of which she died within a few hours, on the nineteenth of June. She was supposed to have fallen a sacri-

fice to the jealousy of her husband, who seemed to take umbrage at the intimacy of friendship that subsisted between her and his master Lewis XIV.

† Volt. Age of Lewis XIV.

ships, and filling their magazines with all sorts of warlike stores and provisions: that since the beginning of the last war with Holland, France had increased her maritime force above three times what it was before; and Holland also, since the conclusion of the peace, had been diligent in augmenting her fleets: that in such a juncture, common prudence required that his majesty should make some suitable preparations: that he had therefore given orders for the fitting out fifty sail of the greatest ships against the spring, besides those which were to be for the security of trade, as foreseeing if he should neglect to put his navy on a respectable footing, such neglect might be a temptation to those who seem not now to intend it, to offer an affront, if not do an injury, to this nation." He then expatiated upon the several advantageous leagues his majesty had entered into for the defence of his kingdom, and the benefit of commerce, particularly instancing the Triple Alliance with the Dutch and Swede, and the treaties concluded with Portugal and Denmark. Finally, he assured them that the king would prorogue the parliament at Christmas, and desired they would regulate their measures accordingly.

The commons were the dupes of this shameful prevarication of the king, and ignorant of, or at least not crediting, the report of his engagements with France, voted him two millions and an half sterling. Never had a larger supply been granted by the parliament, and never surely was it less deserved by the measures of the king and his council, such of them, I mean, as were concerned in the management of the late shameful negotiation with France. The ordinary council consisted of twenty-one persons, but these were thought by no means proper to be entrusted with the conduct of this affair; indeed it was thought impossible to engage so many persons of the first rank in such a plot upon their country. To effect therefore this undertaking with the greater caution and safety, the king had established a cabinet council of the five persons we have already named, under the title of the CABAL, which was denominated the committee of council for foreign affairs; and prince Rupert, the duke of Ormond, secretary Trevor, and even the lord-keeper Bridgman, men of incorruptible integrity, were never admitted to any of their deliberations.

The king having brought the commons to his lure, thought proper to adjourn the parliament till about the end of January. In the mean time, sir William Temple, the English resident at Holland, was recalled from thence, but on pretence that the king only wanted to confer with him about some private affairs, after which he should be allowed to return. That minister had acquired so great a reputation for honour and integrity, that the Cabal were persuaded no orders could prevail on him to promote or countenance measures which were destructive to the interest of his country. De Wit, who was an admirer of the great and good qualities of the English resident, could not part

with him without great regret. The flimsy artifice made use of to remove him from the Hague was clearly seen through, and the Dutch now began to be fully convinced of the insincerity of Charles. Accordingly, they ordered their ambassador here to acquaint the king, that they should regard the recall of sir William Temple as an undoubted proof of a change of measures in the English court.*

The parliament resuming its session the latter end of January, the king in February sent a message to hasten the money bills: but the commons, in conjunction with the lords, presented to him a solemn address upon the great growth of popery, representing the causes and the remedies: one of which was, that no papist, or reputed papist, should be capable of holding any office, civil or military. The king, according to custom, set forth a proclamation against them, which was only matter of form, and without any manner of effect, as was all along the case, from the beginning of the reign of James I. to the end of Charles II.

When the first of the money-bills went up to the house of lords, the lord Lucas made a most severe speech against the enormous grants made to the crown, and the shameful manner in which those supplies had been squandered away. He concluded his speech with these words: "While we are continually giving, and the king as continually craving, it is necessary to make some estimate for ourselves. Would his majesty be pleased to have a quarter of our estates, for my part, he should have it. Would he be pleased to have the half; for my part, upon good occasions, he shall have it: but then let us have some assurances of the quiet enjoyment of that residue, and know what we have to trust to." The king had for some time made a practice of going to the house of peers without formality, on pretence of hearing the debates for his amusement, though his real design was to influence their deliberations. This bold speech of lord Lucas's gave his majesty, who was then present, great umbrage; but he was incensed beyond measure when he saw it soon afterwards printed and published, and issued an order to have it burned by the hands of the common executioner.

It had however made so great an impression on the august assembly in which it was delivered, that the lords began to make some alterations in the money-bill which had been transmitted by the commons. These latter highly resented this attempt, which they considered as an infringement on their undoubted right of regulating all money-bills. Conferences were held between the two houses, in order to compromise the quarrel: but instead of coming to an amicable agreement, they carried the dispute to such an height, that the king was obliged to prorogue the parliament; and it was near two years before it sat again. By this means, however, he lost the money that had been voted him†.

Before

* This year died Henry Jenkins, a poor fisherman of Yorkshire, remarkable for his extreme age. He was born in the year 1501, and was at the time of his decease one hundred and sixty-nine years and some months old. He lived in the reigns

of eight kings and queens of England.

† In the beginning of this session was passed the famous Coventry Act, against maiming or disfiguring, making it death. It was occasioned by sir John Coventry's being attacked by four

Before we proceed, we must not forget to mention the death of Anne duchess of York, daughter to Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon. She deceased on the thirty-first of March, 1671. In the time of her indisposition, which was very long, she abjured the protestant religion. She left two daughters, Mary and Anne, both afterwards queens of England. That the duke of York himself was a papist before the king's restoration, is very certain, though we know not the precise time of his changing his religion. The thing was a secret for some time, but of late years it was become the public talk of the court and kingdom. At last, soon after the death of his duchess, he made a formal abjuration of the protestant faith, and from that time openly declared himself a member of the church of Rome.

A very extraordinary accident happened about this time: one Blood, a discarded officer of the late protector's, with two or three accomplices, found means to steal the crown and globe out of the Tower. Blood was a most daring villain: he had some time before made an attempt to assassinate the duke of Ormond, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and had failed in his purpose, but escaped without discovery. He was detected in this second villainy; but by a strange lenity, or rather weakness in Charles, he not only pardoned him, but settled a pension of five hundred pounds a year on him, in land in Ireland. It is said the audacious ruffian had intimidated the king into compliance, by solemnly swearing that he belonged to a chosen band, who would not fail to revenge his death on Charles himself, and all his family, having taken such measures for that purpose, as no human cunning or precaution could prevent.

No wonder that a conduct in the king, so big with error and absurdity, should fill the minds of the people with discontent and ill humour; and this spirit of dissatisfaction was still farther increased by another action of his, which evidently tended to the destruction of public credit. His profusion was so great, that notwithstanding the large sums he had received from parliament, and seven hundred thousand pounds he had touched from the French, viz. on entering into the late treaty with them against Holland, he was still in want of money. Upon this the Cabal advised him to shut up the exchequer, which he actually did; and it continued shut for a year and some months, to the great distress and ruin of many families, who had lent their fortunes on government security. No king of England before Charles had ever dared to risk the commission of such a flagrant act of injustice; and in any other times he himself might have fallen the victim of his own oppression and folly. The whole kingdom resounded with complaints. The most severe libels against the king and his court flew all over the nation; but Charles, regardless of those unavailing marks of discontent, persisted in his own way, and forgot, in the arms of love and pleasure, the reproaches he incurred by his avarice and injustice.

ruffians in the street, and having his nose slit. He was a member of parliament, and a great opposer of the money-bills; and when they were passed proposed laying a tax upon the play-houses, at the same time throwing out some indecent reflections against the king and his favourites. It is said he was assassinated by persons set on by the court for that purpose. In this session the act of Navigation was repealed.

The next measure of the court was no less displeasing to the nation in general, and was indeed an open violation of what the king promised to both houses of parliament when they presented the address against papists. Charles (in virtue of his supreme power in ecclesiastical matters) issued a proclamation, suspending the penal laws which had been made against all nonconformists and recusants whatsoever, and granting to the protestant dissenters, the public exercise of their religion, and to the catholics the exercise of it in their private houses. At first sight this act carries a plausible, and even praise-worthy appearance; but the dispositions of the king and court convinced every thinking man of those times, that this was no other than a scheme for introducing by degrees the full and uninterrupted use of their religion to the catholics; or, in other words, to exalt popery above the established faith of the kingdom. The event proves the truth of this conjecture. It is observable, that the lord-keeper Bridgman refused to put the seals to this edict for suspending the penal laws, and was for that reason, though under different pretexts, deprived of his office. Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper was appointed chancellor in his place, and created earl of Shaftesbury. Soon after sir Thomas Clifford was made lord Clifford and lord high-treasurer, the lord Arlington an earl, and the earl of Lauderdale a duke. Thus did all the members of the infamous Cabal receive the wages of their iniquity. These proceedings took up the greatest part of the year 1671, and the beginning of 1672*: but a blow was now going to be struck which the nation little expected, and which filled every honest mind with amazement, shame, and indignation.

In the preceding year the court of England had taken occasion to pick a quarrel with the Dutch, on account of their fleet under the admiral Van Ghent having neglected to pay the honours due to the English flag, though at that time flying aboard a yacht only that had been sent to bring the lady Temple over from Holland, and that the Dutch fleet was then riding in their own harbour. The Dutch offered to make any concession agreeable with reason and justice; but the Cabal, bent upon the infamous war they had projected against the States, persisted in complaining of this as an unpardonable insult, and declined to enter upon any compromise.

In the spring of this year it became generally known that the great naval preparations making by the court were destined against the States-General: but, previous to publishing the cause of this war, a perfidious attempt was made upon the Dutch Smyrna fleet, amounting to seventy sail, and valued at a million and an half. The design however failed, after an engagement of three days, by the bravery of the Dutch admiral: and Charles, no longer able to keep on the mask, declared war in form against the States-General on the seventeenth of March, 1672. Never surely were reasons more absurd and ridiculous, employed to

† In the course of this year, 1671, died two famous generals, distinguished by their bravery and experience in the civil wars. The first was the lord Fairfax, the generalissimo; and the other Edward Montagu, earl of Manchester. I shall say no more of them, than what I have done in the reign of Charles I. excepting that both of them were very serviceable to the bringing about the restoration of his son.

cover a flagrant violation of treaty. Complaints were made of injuries offered to the East India company, which yet that company disowned. The detention of some English subjects in Surinam was alleged, tho' it was known that they had remained voluntarily in that island: the refusal of a Dutch fleet on their own coasts to pay the honours of the flag to an English yacht is represented as an unpardonable insult: and, to compleat the farce, mention was made of some abusive pictures, reflecting on the English nation *.

To clear up the meaning of this last article, it will be necessary to inform the reader, that after the destroying the English ships in the harbour of Chatham, Cornelius de Wit, brother to the great pensionary, who was then aboard the Dutch fleet, and performed considerable service, had caused his own portrait to be painted; on the back ground of which were represented some ships on fire in an harbour. The truth is, that de Wit had indulged himself in this trifling monument of his fame; but the picture itself was in a manner unknown. The English ministers, who had transmitted their master's pretended grievances in writing to the States-General, made mention of "certain abusive pictures." Now the Dutch, who always translate the memorials of foreign states into French, had rendered the term Abusive, by the French words *fautifs*, *trompeurs*, "False or Lying Pictures." Upon which they returned for answer, that they did not know what was meant by Lying Pictures. In short, they never once conceived that it related to this portrait of their fellow-citizen; nor could they imagine this to be a pretext for the war.

This declaration of war by the English was quickly followed by another on the part of the king of France, who had little else to allege for the reasons of this rupture but the affair of Van Beuninghen's medal, already spoken of.

All that the efforts of ambition and human forefight could devise for the destruction of a nation, was put in practice by Lewis XIV. for exterminating the wretched States of Holland. According to monsieur de Voltaire, no less than fifty millions of livres, worth ninety-seven millions of their present currency †, were expended in the most pompous preparations. Thirty men of war, of fifty guns each, joined the English fleet, which consisted of an hundred sail. The French monarch, accompanied by his brother the duke of Orleans, marched at the head of one hundred and twelve thousand men towards Maistrecht and Charleron, on the frontiers of Spanish Flanders and Holland. The bishop of Munster and the elector of Cologne had about twenty thousand men. The prince of Condé and marshal Turenne were the head generals of the French king's army, and the duke of Luxemburg commanded under them. The famous engineer Vauban was appointed to manage the sieges. Against such a formidable force, so many renowned generals, and immense treasures in money to bribe the fidelity of those who commanded garrisons; what had the republic of Holland to oppose? A young prince of a weak constitution, who had never seen a battle nor a siege, and about twenty-five thousand ill-trained

soldiers, which were all the military force of the country. In a word, the destruction of the republic appeared inevitable.

The States-General, in the utmost consternation, wrote to the king of France, beseeching him in the humblest manner to let them know if the great preparations he was making were really destined against them, how they had offended him, or what satisfaction he required? To these submissions he returned for answer, "That he should employ his troops in such manner as became his dignity, for which he should be accountable to no one."

In May Lewis took the field, and soon made himself master of all Guelderland, and the towns upon the Yssel. The inhabitants of Utrecht sent the keys of their city to the conqueror, and the whole province of that name capitulated. Lewis made his entry into Utrecht on the twentieth of June in triumph. Only the provinces of Holland and Zealand remained free; and Amsterdam itself seemed but to wait the hour of its slavery or destruction. A little more diligence on the part of the king of France would have put this important fortress into his hands. This capital once taken, not only the republic itself must have fallen, but there would no longer have been such a state as Holland. Some of the richest families, and those who were zealous lovers of liberty, were preparing to fly their devoted country, and embark for Batavia. Nor were the Dutch thus distressed by land only; the combined fleets of England and France threatened the destruction of their maritime powers, and the annihilation of their navy. The States, however, had not been negligent in putting their fleet on a respectable footing; and de Ruyter, with a fleet of 90 ships, was sent in quest of the English and French fleets, which were commanded by the duke of York and the marshal d'Estrées, and were riding in Solebay harbour ‡ in a careless manner, as little expecting a vessel from an enemy that seemed to have so much work cut out for them at home. Cornelius de Wit was on board as deputy from the States. The English were very near being surprized; but recovering themselves, they slipped their cables, as did also the French, and stood out to meet the enemy, when there followed a most desperate engagement, in which the commanders and seamen on each side displayed the greatest conduct and courage imaginable. In short, after a most bloody dispute, in which the loss on both sides was very great, they separated with equal success. The ship on board of which the earl of Sandwich hoisted his flag as admiral of the blue squadron, was blown up, with himself and the whole crew, amounting to one thousand men; and on the side of the Dutch, rear-admiral Van Ghent was killed. The historians of the two parties equally pretend to the honour of the chasing of the enemy's fleet; but both the one and the other speak in a manner which discovers no great assurance: for it is not with engagements at sea as with those at land, where commonly he that remains upon the field of battle has a right to assume the honour of the victory: whereas in naval engagements, a fog, a calm, a wind either contrary or tempestuous, may force the fleet which has had the advantage to retreat the first. However,

* Volt. Age of Lewis XIV.

† About two millions of our English money.

‡ A sea-port on the coast of Suffolk.

this be, bonfires were equally made at London and the Hague for the joy of this victory, though with very little reason on either side. The English complained that the French were wanting in their duty, and only fought at a distance, after they had separated from the fleet. This conduct was ascribed to secret orders given to count d'Estrées, not to expose too much his majesty's ships, but to leave the English and Dutch fleets to effect their own destruction.

The Dutch were now in a most melancholy situation; and to add to their distresses, the state was distracted by the divisions which commonly arise among an unfortunate people, who impute to each other the public calamities. The grand pensionary John de Wit thought there was no other way left to save what remained of his wretched country, but by suing to the victors for peace. Full of a republican spirit, and jealous of his personal authority, he dreaded the aggrandisement of the house of Orange still more than the conquests of the French king. The prince of Orange, on his side, who had more ambition than de Wit, and was as much attached to his country, tried all means to obtain the stadtholdership, and opposed a peace with as much vehemence as de Wit promoted it. The States, however, came to a resolution to sue for peace; and deputies were sent to the French camp to implore mercy in the name of a republic, who six months before looked upon itself as the arbiter of kings. Lewis received the deputies with an arrogance that was an insult upon humanity; and when, after passing to and fro, he at length deigned to dictate the terms on which he would permit them to exist as a state; his demands were little better than articles of slavery; and a peace on those conditions appeared insupportable. The haughtiness of the conqueror inspired the vanquished with a desperate courage, and it was unanimously resolved to die fighting.

The province of Holland, to stop the progress of the invader, opened her sluices, and laid the country under water. In this exigency the hearts and hopes of every one were turned to the prince of Orange. The populace grew furious against the grand pensionary, who had sued for peace, and whom they called the betrayer of his country. The prince, by his politics and his party, increased the ferment. Cornelius de Wit, the pensionary's brother, was accused of a design to murder the prince. At length the two brothers were, on the twentieth of August, massacred at the Hague by the mad multitude, after one of them had governed the republic for upwards of nineteen years with the most unspotted integrity; and the other had hazarded his life in fighting its battles. The most shocking cruelties which could enter the imagination of a furious populace, were exercised upon the dead bodies of the noble victims.

The murder of the de Wits extinguished for the time the party dissensions; and all men, from fear or prudence, were unanimous in submitting to the prince of Orange; the States also came to a resolution to recall the edict which the pensionary had caused to be made in the year 1667, and by

which they obliged themselves never to admit the dignity of a stadtholder, and the prince of Orange was accordingly admitted to that office.

The combined princes perceiving they were likely to meet with a vigorous opposition, tried all means to corrupt the prince of Orange, then only twenty-two years old: but all in vain. They offered him the sovereignty of Holland, with the united forces of France and England to support him therein; but he rejected the proposal with scorn: and when the desperate condition of his country was urged as a reason for his compliance, he answered with a spirit that would have done honour to the most distinguished heroes of liberty and patriotism that we read of in history: "I have yet one way left, replied he, not to be spectator of the final ruin of my country, and that is, to die in the last dyke." In fine, the actions of this young prince every way corresponded with the sentiments he professed. Being now invested with the full authority, he bent all his efforts against the common enemy. He overflowed all the passes by which the French could penetrate into the rest of the country. By his prompt and secret negotiations, he roused the emperor, the empire, the Spanish council, and the government of Flanders, from their lethargy; he even disposed the English court to listen to peace. In a word, Lewis had entered Holland in May, and before September all Europe was in confederacy against him. Montecuculli, governor of Flanders, sent a few regiments privately to the assistance of the United Provinces: the emperor Leopold likewise dispatched Montecuculli at the head of twenty thousand men; and the elector of Brandenburg took the field with twenty-five thousand troops, whom he kept in his own pay.

The French king now quitted his army, as there were no more conquests to be made in a country that was overflowed. It was even dangerous to keep the provinces which had been conquered. Lewis, desirous to secure the glory he had acquired, contented himself with having taken such a number of towns in so short a space of time; and leaving Turenne and Luxembourg to finish the war, he returned to St. Germain, about the end of summer, to enjoy his triumphs. But while his subjects were every where erecting monuments of his conquest, the powers of Europe were at work to snatch them out of his hands, considering the reduction of Holland as the prelude to their own slavery; and having no hopes of being able to defend themselves, should the power of France, already exorbitant, be still farther increased by such a mighty accession.

It is now time to direct the reader's attention to the state of affairs in England, of which I shall proceed to give a short detail, confining myself only to the principal transactions.

Whilst the nation was generally uneasy at the late proceedings of the court, the king's excessive prodigality having rendered all the sums he had received insufficient for carrying on the war, the Cabal found it necessary at last to have recourse to a parliament, which broke all their measures. Indeed they were hardly sat down,

* See Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV. to which I acknowledge myself indebted for great part of the narrative of this war.

which they did on the fourth of February, 1673, when it appeared that the Country Party, or rather that of the people, was become more powerful in the house of commons than the court party; and it was not till after a submission the most humiliating that a sovereign could make, that Charles could obtain of them the supplies he demanded.

I have already taken notice that the court, agreeable to the plan it had formed of reducing the nation to a state of absolute dependance on the crown, had issued a declaration for liberty of conscience. The earl of Shaftesbury, lord chancellor, had been the principal promoter of this measure; and there is reason to believe that if the king had seconded what he had begun, with any degree of firmness and resolution, as he had faithfully promised the Cabal he would do, he might have succeeded in this design, which, happily for the nation, was rendered for ever unattainable by his weakness and caprice. To make this more clear to the reader, it will be necessary to observe, that the Roman catholics being, in virtue of this declaration, rendered capable of enjoying posts and offices in the state, and having a seat in parliament, would soon have made a considerable number in the house, through the intrigues of the court at elections; and have carried any point they pleased against the protestant members. Hence a parliament, composed of a majority of papists, would in fact have been little better than a body blindly devoted to the court, if only from motives of gratitude to their patrons and benefactors. The earl of Shaftesbury, before he communicated this plan to the king, had resolved with himself, in case Charles should want resolution in the prosecution of it, to quit the court party, and join the opposition; by that means, to secure himself from the persecution which he foresaw would befall him, as the adviser, or at least promoter, of so pernicious a step, which threatened the subversion of the established system of government both in church and state. The example of the earl of Clarendon was as yet too recent to be forgotten, and he made not the least doubt that his sovereign would as readily sacrifice him to the indignation of the parliament and the people, as he had done that faithful servant.

The event proved the truth of his suspicions. Charles failed in his resolution at the very time it behoved him to have maintained it with the greatest firmness. He was distressed for money: he found he could not hope for a supply, unless he revoked his declaration of liberty of conscience, against which the parliament, and the most respectable bodies of the kingdom, had presented to him formal addresses. He tried indeed to break, or at least weaken the opposition, by proroguing the parliament: but they resumed their remonstrances with their session. The duke of York, and most of the Cabal, advised the king to support his declaration. Charles, after wavering some time, preferred his interest to the engagements he had entered into with his party; and from a greediness of money only, not from any conviction of the badness of his former measures, he at last recalled his declaration. The Cabal and the popish party were exceedingly incensed at this want of resolution in the king; and the earl of Shaftesbury immediately quitting the court, came over to the Country Party, and was now the foremost in the

house of lords against popery, the Dutch war, and the alliance with France.

The commons, not contented with this triumph over the court, soon after passed another bill, with the concurrence of the lords, entitled, "An act to prevent the dangers which may happen from popish recusants," commonly called The Test Act, whereby "all persons enjoying any office, or place of trust or profit, were required to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and also to receive the communion (after the rites of the church of England) in some parish church, &c." They next presented two petitions concerning grievances; and the king having promised to redress them, they passed the money-bill without mentioning any thing of the war, lest they should seem to approve of it: and moreover a proviso was tacked to it, importing, "That no papist should be capable of holding any public employment."

This bill and the Test Act was passed by the king on the twenty-ninth of March, 1673, and the parliament was then adjourned to October. The consequence of the Test Act was, that the popish officers resigned their places; and among the rest the duke of York his post of lord high-admiral, and the lord Clifford his treasurer's staff, who died soon after. Sir Thomas Osborne, created earl of Danby, succeeded him in the office of treasurer; and Shaftesbury, whose revolt from the Cabal was now universally known, was deprived of the office of chancellor, and sir Heneage Finch made keeper of the great seal.

The late mortification which the king met with from his parliament was not the only one by which he may be said to have purchased the subsidy it granted him. His brother the duke of York, then a widower, had determined to contract a new engagement, and had fixed his eyes on Mary, sister to the duke of Modena, a princess educated in the Romish faith. This alliance was warmly opposed by the parliament, who on the occasion presented an address to the king, conceived in the strongest terms, and expressive of their apprehensions from such a match. They were, however, very little regarded; and the duke of York, resolved not to be contradicted in a point he thought so essential to the happiness of his life, publicly espoused that princess (who had arrived in England for that purpose) on the twenty-first of November this year, in spite of the opposition of the commons.

Charles in the mean time continued to prosecute the war against the Dutch by sea with unremitting ardour. He bestowed the chief command of the fleet on his cousin prince Rupert, in room of the duke of York. The prince having joined the French admiral, went in quest of the Dutch, to force them to an engagement; and as these latter were far from declining the offer, they soon came to blows. The first engagement was fought on the eighth of June, and proved very obstinate and bloody; but as neither side could claim the victory, the combat was renewed on the fourteenth, when, after a warm contest, the fortune of the day remained as doubtful as before. A third, which was fought on the eleventh day of August at the Texel, proved more decisive. The combined fleets fell in with the Dutch, commanded by de Ruyter and Van Tromp, a son worthy the gallant father from whom he sprung. When the action began,

began, de Ruyter singled out prince Rupert; Tromp opposed himself to sir Edward Spragg, the vice-admiral; and Brankert, the Dutch rear-admiral, bore up to the marshal d'Estrees. The battle was fought with surprising emulation by the English and Dutch officers; but the French kept aloof, and left the English to sustain all the fury of the fight. In vain did prince Rupert make a signal for d'Estrees to bear down to his assistance: the other regarded it not; and the majority of the English ships had been so roughly handled, that the prince could not pursue an advantage he had gained by means of his fire-ships; and which, if properly assisted, would in all probability have obtained him a complete conquest. He therefore collected his straggled ships, and hauled off to the English shore, leaving the victory undecided, or rather in favour of the Dutch, who gained all they could wish. A rich fleet which they expected from the East-Indies, arrived unmolested in their ports: they rendered abortive a descent that had been meditated on the coast of Zealand; and, which was still a greater advantage to them, they brought the English nation to wish ardently the conclusion of a war that had exhausted it of men and money, without the least prospect of honour or profit.

The English parliament met towards the end of October, and had a warm session of only nine days, when they were again prorogued. They had found time, however, to pass the following votes: That the evil counsellors about the king were a grievance, and that the duke of Lauderdale was a grievance, and not fit to be employed in any office. When they met again on the seventh day of January, 1674, agreeable to their prorogation, they went still more earnestly to work; and being by this time fully aware of the dangerous designs of Charles, they resolved to prevent the execution of those plans of arbitrary power which he had projected, and seriously debated on the grievances of the nation. They seem in the beginning of their session to have copied the example of the parliament of 1640. Both houses addressed for a general fast, to implore the blessing of God's assistance against the dangerous efforts of popery; and the commons came to a resolution to grant no more supplies till the grievances they enumerated were redressed, and the protestant religion, and their liberties and properties, fully secured. Both houses voted by a great majority to address the king for the removal of the duke of Lauderdale from all his employments, and from his majesty's presence and councils for ever. They examined the duke of Buckingham upon several queries which they prepared, in relation to some arbitrary steps of the government*; but not satisfied with his answers, they passed the same vote against him as they had done against Lauderdale. Arlington's turn came next; but he found means to clear up his conduct so much to the satisfaction of the house, that al-

though an impeachment was prepared against him, they thought proper to drop the prosecution.

Charles was extremely shocked at these vigorous proceedings of the commons; and hearing that they had prepared a bill for a general fast, to distinguish papists from protestants, and that they were entering more warmly than ever into the examination of grievances: finding also that it would be impossible to maintain the war, which was so disagreeable to the parliament and nation in general, without money, which the former would not grant him; he began to listen to the terms proposed by the States-General for a separate peace. In vain did the marquis de Rouvigny, ambassador from Lewis XIV. make him the most tempting offers to keep him firm to his engagements; in vain did he threaten him with the stoppage of the yearly stipend of one hundred thousand pounds, which Lewis had been politic enough to give, and Charles mean enough to receive, for assisting that ambitious prince in his projects of universal power. Promises and threats were now equally unavailing. Charles chose rather to reconcile himself to his parliament and his people, by agreeing to a peace they so much desired, than to trust to the support of France. Six commissioners, of whom the earl of Arlington was one, were appointed to confer with the like number sent from the States of Holland, and in fifteen days the treaty was concluded. It was a renewal of the peace of Breda, with these additions: That the Dutch should pay the compliment to the English of striking to their flag, whether in large fleets or in a single vessel; and pay about three hundred thousand pounds to Charles, towards defraying the expence of his armaments.

This peace with Holland, which was proclaimed on the twenty-eighth of February, 1674, was very near bringing on an alliance offensive and defensive between that republic and our court against the king of France. It was warmly solicited by almost all the European powers, who represented it as the only infallible means to put a stop to the alarming progress of the French monarch, and restore a lasting peace to the many countries that had been desolated by the late cruel and inhuman war. The two houses of parliament supported these remonstrances with all their power. Their hatred to the French was so great, that they would gladly have relinquished the enjoyments of the new peace for a time, to see their king armed against the common disturber of the tranquility of Europe; and would have thought no supplies too great to enable him to prosecute a war that tended to the public good. Charles, however, paid no regard to their remonstrances. Prompted equally by his hatred to the Dutch, and the hopes of still receiving a powerful assistance from France, he refused to sacrifice his ally to the resentment of his enemies. In a word, he still remained the

* He was required to give a distinct answer to the following questions which were proposed to him: Whether any person had given him any ill advice against the liberties and privileges of the house of commons, or tending to alter the constitution? who were the persons, and what was their advice? by whose advice was the army raised, and the command bestowed upon count Schomberg? by whose advice was the army brought up to awe the debates and resolutions of the house of commons? who made the triple alliance? who made the first treaty with

France, by which that alliance was broken? by whose advice was the exchequer shut, and a stop put to the usual payments? who advised the declaration of indulgence? who advised the attacking the Smyrna-fleet before the declaration of the war? by whose advice was the war begun during a prorogation of parliament, and that prorogation so long continued? by whose counsel was the parliament prorogued in November last? Burnet. Rapin. Hume.

friend of Lewis, while his subjects more and more espoused the interests of Holland, or rather of its stadtholder; an attachment which seems to have paved the way for that prince's afterwards ascending the English throne. Though the parliament thanked the king for the peace which he had concluded with the Dutch, they still continued to examine grievances; and in the course of their enquiries they attacked the court so briskly, that Charles, apprehensive of their going dangerous lengths, rendered their measures ineffectual, by an immediate prorogation; and having thus freed himself from all foreign and domestic disputes, he resumed his wonted life of indolence and debauchery*.

It was natural to think that Lewis would be highly incensed at the mean manner in which his ally the king of England had abandoned him: on the contrary, he shewed no signs of resentment, but readily accepted the mediation of Charles, which that monarch offered him towards bringing about a peace. The truth is, that the success of the campaign had fallen short of Lewis's hopes. The French were obliged to evacuate the three Dutch provinces with as much precipitation as they had conquered them, but not till they had made them pay dearly for their deliverance. The intendant Robert had raised in the single province of Utrecht only, in one year, no less than sixteen hundred and sixty-eight florins. So great was their hurry to evacuate the country, which they had over-run with such rapidity, that twenty-eight thousand Dutch prisoners were restored at a crown a man. The triumphal arch of St. Lewis's gate, and the other monuments of Lewis's conquests, were hardly finished when those conquests were already abandoned. During the course of this invasion, the Dutch had the honour of disputing the empire of the sea, and the dexterity to remove the theatre of the war out of their own country. Lewis was considered throughout Europe as one who had enjoyed the glory of a transient triumph with too much precipitation and pride. The fruits of the expedition were, that he had a bloody war to support against the united forces of the empire, Spain, and Holland; saw himself abandoned by England, at length by the bishop of Munster, and even the elector of Cologne; and left the countries he had invaded, and was compelled to quit, more hated than admired†.

The allies were not equally successful in other places. Lewis in a few weeks reconquered Franche-comté. In Alsace Turenne was able, with a much inferior force, to baffle all the attempts of the allied army. By a sudden and unexpected march he attacked and defeated at Sintzheim the duke of Lorraine and Caprara, general of the Imperialists. Seventy thousand Germans invaded Alsace, and took up their quarters in that province. Turenne, who had withdrawn into Lorraine, returned suddenly upon them. He attacked and routed a body of the enemy at Mulhausen. He drove from Colmar the elector of Brandenburg, who headed the German troops. He obtained a new victory

at Turkheim: and having cleared the province entirely of the allies, he compelled them to repass the Rhine with great loss and dishonour.

Soon after the conclusion of the peace, sir William Temple was again sent ambassador to Holland, to assure the States-General of his Britannic majesty's friendship, and to offer his mediation for putting an end to the war between the Dutch and the French: but the young prince of Orange had the command of the army; and proposing to himself great advantages in the ensuing campaign, he found means to prevail with the States to waive their acceptance of the proffered mediation, on pretence that until a greater impression could be made upon France, they had nothing to expect from negotiation.

During these transactions, the court of England underwent some alterations. Sir Joseph Williamson, who had been plenipotentiary at the court of Cologne, was appointed secretary of state in the room of the earl of Arlington, who became lord high-chamberlain, though he aspired at the office of treasurer, which the king had bestowed upon the new earl of Danby. This contest produced the most rancorous animosity between those two ministers, who mutually exerted their utmost abilities for the ruin of each other. The duke of Buckingham was disgraced, and lost the dignity of chancellor of the university of Cambridge, in which he was succeeded by the duke of Monmouth, who had signalized his courage in France, and began to be the minion of the people. Lauderdale still kept his ground, by the most assiduous application to the king's passions, and the most devoted subserviency to all his extravagant designs. Nevertheless, he was so much intimidated by the vote which had passed against him in the house of commons, that he affected openly to renounce the measures of the Cabal. He professed uncommon zeal for the protestant religion, appeared constantly at church, was punctual in receiving the communion, and advised the king to put the laws vigorously in execution against the catholics.

All these arts, however, were incapable of appeasing the resentment of the commons; for at their meeting again, the thirteenth of April, 1675, after a recess of fourteen months, the first thing they entered upon was a bill to prevent the growth of popery; wherein they declared, That the saying mass should be a sufficient evidence of a person's being a popish priest; and inflicted penalties upon such as heard mass. After which they drew up an address against the earl of Lauderdale, whose private conversation had been betrayed to them by Dr. Burnet, once a creature of the earl. In this address they charged the duke with advising his majesty to deprive his subjects of their rights and liberties; and particularly with saying in council, That his majesty's edicts were equal to laws; and with procuring acts of parliament in Scotland to establish a militia in that kingdom of twenty-two thousand men, who were obliged to march into this kingdom for any service his majesty should command, and to obey such orders as they should

* This year was remarkable for the death of two great men, namely, Milton, one of the greatest geniuses for epic poetry the world ever saw; and the earl of Clarendon, who died in the

eight year of his exile, at Rouen in Normandy, and in the sixty-seventh of his age.

† Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV.

receive from the privy council there; by which general words they conceived this realm was liable to be invaded on any pretence whatsoever; and therefore desire that his majesty would remove the said duke from his employments, and from his majesty's presence, as a person dangerous to the government. The king, however, did not think proper to grant this request, and gave some reasons for his refusal, which were not satisfactory to the commons, who thereupon resolved to prepare a second attack against the duke*. In the mean while, they set on foot an enquiry into the conduct of the lord-treasurer, Thomas Osborne earl of Danby; but finding themselves deficient in proofs against this minister, they thought proper to let the prosecution drop; however, that the king might not want a sufficient instance of the little confidence they reposed in his royal word, they drew up an address, beseeching his majesty to recal the English forces in the French service, and forbid his majesty's subjects engaging in that service for the future. To which his majesty answered, that he would suffer no more of his subjects to engage for the future, but that he could not recal those already engaged, without prejudice to his honour, and the peace of the kingdom. The commons appeared very little satisfied with this answer. A bill was framed, declaring it treason to levy money without authority of parliament; another vacating the seats of members who accepted of offices; and another securing the liberty of the subjects, and to prevent the transporting them as prisoners to distant islands.

During these attacks of the Country Party, who were now headed and instigated to these warm proceedings by that political apostate Shaftesbury, the courtiers determined not to be idle. A bill for a new test was introduced into the house of peers by the earl of Lindsey (Bertie) for imposing upon all persons in ecclesiastical, civil, and military employments, as well as upon privy-counsellors and members of parliament, an oath renouncing the lawfulness of resisting the king, or those acting under his commission, on any pretence whatsoever, and declaring before God that they would never attempt to alter the government in church and state. This oath had been first introduced in the Corporation Act, then in the Militia Act, and afterwards more fully in the Five Mile Act; but the times were now changed, and the measures of the court appeared such, that it threatened no less than the total extinction of the liberty of the people to invest the ministry with such an extensive power of wreaking its revenge on any who should oppose them. On the other hand, the spirited, or indeed over-zealous opposition of the commons to every step of the king, and some of their late votes in particular, made the court party apprehensive of a revival of the republican principles, which was therefore to be checked in time. This diversity of opinions and views begat a very warm contest. Seventeen days were the debates continued with great zeal and animosity; and all the rhetoric and reason of both parties were displayed on this remarkable occasion. Shaftesbury signalized himself in a particular manner against the bill. He objected, that if arms might not be

taken up against the king in any case, there was no distinction between an absolute and a limited monarchy: "Neither our ancestors, nor any other free people, had ever suffered their prince to have a mercenary standing army, but wisely provided that the sovereign's safety should be in them, as theirs was in him."

After all, this question appears to be little better than a dispute about words, and such as it was absolutely impossible precisely to determine, since the merit or demerit, legality or unlawfulness of resistance, must entirely depend upon the degrees of danger or opposition wherewith the people are threatened. The bill, notwithstanding the great influence of the court, was only carried by two voices in the house of peers. All the popish lords, headed by the earl of Bristol, voted against it. It was sent down to the house of commons, where it was likely to meet with a stronger opposition; but a dispute which happened between the two houses prevented the passing of this, and of every other bill formed during the present session.

One Dr. Shirley being cast in a law-suit in chancery by sir John Fagg, a member of the house of commons, preferred an appeal to the house of peers. The commons ordered Dr. Shirley to be taken into custody of their serjeant at arms: but their warrant for taking the doctor into custody was forcibly taken from the serjeant's deputy by lord Mohun. The commons having notice of it, sent to demand justice of the house of peers against the lord Mohun; and being answered, that that lord had done nothing but his duty; they resolved, That whoever should appear at the bar of the house of lords, to prosecute a suit against any member of theirs, should be deemed an infringer of the privileges of parliament. On the other hand, the house of peers resolved, That it was the undoubted right of the lords in judicature to determine in time of parliament appeals from inferior courts, where the members of either house were concerned, that there might not be a failure of justice. The commons on the contrary voted, That it was an undoubted right of their house, that none of their members be summoned to attend the lords; and afterwards came to the extravagant resolve, That there lay no appeal to the jurisdiction of the lords in parliament from courts of equity. They took into custody serjeant Pemberton, and the rest of the lawyers who were council in the case; and sir John Fagg, their own member, was sent to the Tower for submitting to the lords.

Conferences passed upon this between the two houses, but with so much rancour and animosity, that the king, alarmed for the consequences, came to the house of peers the ninth of June; and after reproaching the two houses for carrying their differences to such an indecent height, told them that he found no possible means of putting an end to them, and preserving the peace of the kingdom, but by a prorogation. He accordingly prorogued them to the thirteenth of October.

In the mean time, the belligerent powers on the continent seeming inclinable to terminate their disputes in an amicable way, Nimeguen† was pitched upon as the place for treating of a general peace. The ministers of the several interested pow-

* Created last year earl of Guildford in England.

† A city of Guelderland in the United Provinces.

ers resorted thither, but little progress was made in these negotiations the present year.

The French, as usual, made themselves masters of several places before the confederates marched out of their winter quarters, particularly the towns of Dinart and Huy, which the Dutch say was occasioned by the prince of Orange's falling ill of the small-pox; but after that prince was recovered, and had assembled his army, we find he was obliged to be a witness of the taking of Limburgh also. The Imperialists had better success upon the Rhine; for the French having lost their celebrated general the marshal Turenne, by a random shot, were obliged to repass that river; and the duke of Lorraine, who commanded upon the Moselle, defeated the marshal Crequi, and took the town of Triers. The English troops in the French service at this time composed part of that army upon the Rhine; and Churchill, afterwards the great duke of Marlborough, learnt the first rudiments of war there, under the marshal Turenne. The English also had some forces in the service of the Dutch; but this was not esteemed any breach of the neutrality they professed.

The thirteenth of October the king opened the fifteenth session of this parliament with a very short speech, in which, after having recommended union to the two houses, and the interests of the church of England, for which he pretended himself a warm advocate; he demanded a supply of them that should be sufficient for building new ships, and clearing off the anticipations of his revenue. The commons absolutely refused to grant any money for paying off the crown debts; but they voted three hundred thousand pounds for the expence of building twenty ships of a certain rate*; and appropriated the tonnage and poundage† to the support of the navy. They next took into consideration the disadvantages the nation lay under with relation to the trade with France; and it appeared that the silk and linen manufactories only imported from France, amounted to eight hundred thousand pounds and upwards; and that the manufactories of wool and silk exported to France did not amount to eighty-five thousand pounds: that all other commodities of the product and manufacture of England exported to France, did not amount to ninety thousand pounds; whereas the wine, brandy, and other commodities of the product and manufacture of France imported hither, amounted to three hundred thousand pounds and upwards, besides an incredible value in toys, new apparel, point lace, &c. so that our imports exceeded our exports thither at least a million sterling annually.

Commerce and navigation thus attended to, the commons thought it necessary, in the next place, to set a distinguishing mark on all such of their members, as, preferring their own private interest to the good of the public, had sold themselves as pensioners to the court, and were ready on any occasion to throw their votes into the scale of ministerial influence. With this view they prepared the following declaration or test for every member to take, by which they "protested before God and that house, that they had not, directly or indirectly, received any sum, gratuity, place, or pension,

or the promise of any from the court, or any foreign minister, since the first of January, 1672, but what they then gave in writing to the house; nor did they know of any suit, gift, grant, or promise, to any member of the house but what they had so inserted in writing, nor had given a vote in parliament for any reward or promise whatsoever.

In the house of peers the duke of Buckingham proposed a bill for the ease of the protestant dissenters; but this bill and all other business was suspended by the revival of the dispute between the two houses, in the case of Shirley and Fagg. The commons were as resolute and determined as ever in maintaining their privileges. The earl of Shaftesbury, who, ever since his defection from the court, had acted the part of an incendiary between the king and the parliament, endeavoured to spirit up the house of peers in a flaming speech, which had such an effect on his auditors, that it was moved to address his majesty to dissolve the parliament, and call another. This however was carried in the negative, though by two votes only; fifty No's against forty-eight Ay's; but the king, not chusing to give his enemies such an handle at this time, contented himself with proroguing the parliament on the twenty-second of November, to the fifteenth of February twelvemonth.

The prince of Newburgh, coming over to pay a visit to the court of England this year, was most magnificently and affectionately received and entertained, none of the foreign princes having shewn Charles more respect and kindness during his exile. About the same time the king thought fit to advance several of his children to the title and dignity of English dukes. Charles duke of Lenox (by Louise Queroualle, duchess of Portsmouth) was created duke of Richmond on the ninth of August; Charles Fitz-Roy (by the duchess of Cleveland) was created duke of Southampton on the tenth of September; and Henry Fitzroy, another natural son by the duchess of Cleveland, was created duke of Grafton on the eleventh of September.

The duchess of Mazarine having a difference with her husband, withdrew into England this year, where it is pretended she would have supplanted the duchess of Portsmouth, had not an intrigue with a certain courtier been too soon discovered to the king. He failed not, however, to assign her an annual pension of four thousand pounds sterling. Her house, to the day of her death, was the rendezvous of all the men of wit and quality; and St. Evremont, a refugee as well as herself, was one of her constant attendants. On the nineteenth of December, Heneage lord Finch, baron of Daventry, who had been only lord-keeper before, was made lord high-chancellor.

Doctor Lightfoot, the famous Rabbinical divine, died this year, as did also Bulstrode Whitlock, Esq; author of Memorials of the English Affairs, a person of great judgment and temper, who filled some of the highest posts under the Commonwealth. He was equally admired and valued for his humanity, candour, and ingenuity; and after having been twenty years upon the stage of public life, he passed the remainder of his days in a peaceful and happy retirement.

* One first-rate of one thousand four hundred tons, eight second-rates of one thousand one hundred tons each, and eleven third-rates of seven hundred tons each.

† Then amounting to four hundred thousand pounds a year. Salmon.

Notwithstanding Turenne was dead, and the prince of Condé withdrawn from the army, the French king continued the war against the emperor, the Spaniards, and the Dutch, with some degree of success. He had a number of officers who had been trained up under these great men; and the troops, by a long series of victories, continued to think themselves irresistible. The beginning of the campaign, 1676, the French invested Condé, and took it in the presence of the prince of Orange, and afterwards Bernheim: they also raised the siege of Maestricht, and obliged the prince to abandon it. Lewis had likewise put his marine upon a respectable footing: and now the French, who, when joined with the English, had not been able to gain any decisive victory over the Dutch fleets, gained a victory alone over the combined fleets of Spain and Holland, on the eighth of July, 1676, off Messina in Sicily. In this engagement de Ruyter, the gallant admiral of the Dutch, was slain, to the irreparable loss of his country. These and some other successes on the part of France, not that the allies were without their share of good fortune, once more inspired an inclination for peace; and the conferences for that purpose were reassumed at Nimeguen, under the mediation of the king of England, who in July this year sent thither lord Berkeley, sir William Temple, and sir Leoline Jenkins, in quality of mediating ambassadors; and there they found the plenipotentiaries of France and the States-General. Sweden was likewise very willing to treat, but the Imperialists, the Spaniards, and the elector of Brandenburg, protracted the time, in hopes of gaining further advantages, that might induce the French monarch to acquiesce in more equitable terms than they could expect from him in their present situation.

Lewis XIV. had now entirely laid aside all ambitious views upon Holland. That republic had been so skilful, or so fortunate, to appear only as an auxiliary in a war which was begun for its destruction; while the empire and Spain, who were at first only auxiliaries, were at last become the principal parties. When the campaign was over, the hopes and expectations of all Europe were turned towards the negotiations at Nimeguen. It soon appeared that the design of France was only to divide the allies, and make a separate peace with the States. The king of England was at this time placed in a situation which enabled him to act as the arbiter of Europe; and no terms which he would have dictated could have been safely refused by either party: but Charles, preferring his fatal prejudice in favour of France to the advancement of his own real interest, and the general benefit of Europe, joined Lewis in his design, and assisted him therein to the utmost of his power. He ordered sir William Temple to endeavour to bring the States and the prince of Orange to a separate peace. The States seemed inclinable to adopt this party; but the prince of Orange would not listen to any such proposal, which he said would be no better than the betraying those allies who had so generously interposed to save his country from ruin. However, to quicken the tardiness of some of the confederacy, the Dutch declared, That if they delayed any longer sending their plenipotentiaries to the congress, they would conclude a separate treaty with France. Upon this, the ambassadors of the emperor and Spain at

last made their appearance, but the negotiations went on very slowly. The truth is, the hopes the allies entertained that the court of England would at last open its eyes, and declare against France, was the greatest obstacle to the peace; but Charles took care to follow such measures as were most likely to overturn all such hopes, in order to bring them to a peace, such as France desired. With this view he issued a proclamation, prohibiting any of his subjects to take commissions from any foreign powers or states in amity with his majesty, or to serve as seamen in any ship or vessel employed against any other prince or state in amity with this crown.

Ever since the late peace with Holland, the French privateers had infested the Channel in such a manner, that without any regard to the neutrality of England, they seized our ships, and, as if in open war, made prizes of them. At last, they carried their outrages and insolence so far, that the commissioners of trade were obliged to represent the matter to the king, and pray him to interpose for the security of his subjects commerce. Hereupon orders were sent to our ambassadors at the court of France to make complaints of this behaviour, and insist upon satisfaction; but it all ended in nothing. The court of France was sufficiently sensible that Charles would not break with them for trifles, so long as their monarch continued to make him the usual remittances, and therefore took no notice of these complaints.

The remaining part of the year 1676, afforded nothing memorable besides a proclamation published by the king against popish priests and jesuits, and to prohibit his majesty's subjects resorting to popish chapels, on pain of prosecution. This was meant as a sweetener to the parliament, which was to meet in the beginning of the following year. But before I close my account of the present, I must take notice of an affair which, though of little consequence in itself, serves strongly to mark the character of the nation, and the spirit of Charles's administration. The freedom of the government, and the number as well as animosity of the parties, had produced a propensity for political disputes: and as the coffee-houses were the chief scenes where the measures of the king and his ministers were examined with the greatest severity, a proclamation was published to suppress these places of rendezvous, for which the nation had long entertained a particular fondness.

Such an act of power, about seventy years before, would have been grounded entirely on the prerogative; and no difficulty would have been made in submitting to that stretch of authority. But Charles, hearing that some exceptions were taken to his proclamation, applied to the judges, who furnished him with a quirk of law, and that too a very ridiculous one, by which he might vindicate his conduct.

The act which established the excise, invested the king with a power to refuse licences for retailing liquors to such as could not give security for payment of the duties. But coffee was not an exciseable liquor; and even this power of refusing licences was very confined, and could not justly be stretched beyond the intention of the act. The king therefore, afraid of inflaming the resentment of the people, complied with a petition of the coffee-men, who engaged for the future to prevent

vent all seditious discourse in their houses; and the proclamation was recalled*.

This year died George Digby, earl of Bristol, aged seventy-five, the same who negotiated the Spanish matters in the last reign, and whom we have so often had occasion to mention in the course of this history.

The people of England, grieved at the evident partiality their sovereign shewed for the interest of France, and incensed by the insolence and piracies of that nation, were eager to revenge the injuries they had received by an open war; and waited with impatience for the assembling of the parliament, from whom they expected a greater attention to the interests and honour of the kingdom than the king appeared disposed to shew.

That august assembly met on the fifteenth of February, 1677, the day they stood prorogued to, and was opened by a speech from the throne, and another from the lord-chancellor Finch; the purport of both which was, to recommend unanimity, to set the king's conduct in the fairest light, and to press a supply, assuring them that his majesty was really necessitous, and concluding with promising, that he was ready to give them all possible satisfaction in regard to the security of their religion, liberties, and properties. The commons were no sooner withdrawn from the house of lords, than the duke of Buckingham, standing up, began a long and florid speech, in which he undertook to prove that the parliament was dissolved by the last prorogation, in consequence of a statute of Edward III. importing, "That a parliament should be held once a year, or oftener if need be." From whence he inferred, that a prorogation for above a year (this had been near fifteen months) was void, and consequently they could not act by virtue of such prorogation, but a new parliament must be elected. This was the constant drift of the Country Party, who could not with any temper perceive the court possessed of so great a majority in both houses. The duke was seconded by the earls of Shaftesbury, Salisbury, and the lord Wharton. Their arguments produced violent debates; but as they tended towards an abolition of all that had been transacted in this parliament, and opened a door to sedition and anarchy, those four noblemen were sent to the Tower, from whence they were released soon after, on making their submissions, and acknowledging their errors, except Shaftesbury, who remained in confinement above twelve months.

The parliament, at its first proceeding to business, acted as if it had laid aside those unhappy heats and animosities which had troubled its debates, and infected its councils, for the two preceding sessions. The commons voted his majesty near six hundred thousand pounds for the use of the navy, and a continuance of the additional excise upon ale and brandy for three years: in fine, every thing seemed to promise a happy union between the king and his parliament; but these halcyon days were not of long duration. The rapid progress which the French king continued to make on the continent, filled the parliament with the most just apprehensions. Lewis had taken the field in the month of January this year, and in-

vested Valenciennes, which he took by assault in a few days. His general Luxemburg had beaten the prince of Orange before St. Omers; which town, with Cambray, yielded to the victors.

It was evident to all Europe that Charles had it in his power to give it peace whenever he pleased, by declaring war against France, unless she would lay down her arms and accept of reasonable terms; and the allies were at once ashamed and incensed at the partiality with which he acted the part of a mediator. His own people were penetrated with the same sentiments, and saw with regret their honour and their interest sacrificed to motives of avarice and ill policy. The representatives of the people, thinking they could not, consistent with their duty, longer keep silence, drew up the following address to the king:

"We your majesty's most loyal subjects do most humbly offer to your majesty's consideration, that the minds of your people are disquieted with the manifest dangers arising to your majesty by the growth and power of the French king; especially by the acquisitions already made, and the farther progress like to be made by him in the Spanish Netherlands; in the preservation and security whereof, we humbly conceive the interest of your majesty, and the safety of your people, are highly concerned: and therefore we humbly beseech your majesty to take the same into your royal care, and to strengthen yourself with such stricter alliance as may secure your majesty's kingdoms, and secure and preserve the said Spanish Netherlands, and thereby to quiet the minds of your majesty's people."

The king answering only in general terms, the commons resolved to be more particular, and addressed his majesty a second time, beseeching him, "That he would not delay to contract such alliances as might be requisite for stopping the progress of the French arms: and in case a war with France should be the consequence of his measures, they engaged to furnish him with such supplies as should be necessary for maintaining the honour and interest of the nation."

Charles plainly perceived their drift, and was resolved to make his own advantage of it. Accordingly, he sent them a message about ten days after, wherein he told them, That the best method for consulting the safety of the kingdom, would be to enable him to put it in a proper posture of defence; and for this purpose demanded a supply of six hundred thousand pounds, without which, he said, it would not be possible for him to speak or act those things which should answer the end of their several addresses. The commons, however, excused themselves from giving any more money at this time; but said, if his majesty would form alliances in the mean time, in pursuance of their former addresses, they would enable him to make them good at their next meeting. Whereupon the king came to the house on the sixteenth of April; and after giving his assent to the money-bill and some others, adjourned the parliament to the twenty-fourth of May. The two houses met on that day, and the commons still refused to give money before some vigorous measures should be set on foot against the French. They hoped, they said,

some alliances would have been formed for that purpose during their recess, and then they would cheerfully have granted supplies; they next took upon them to point out to his majesty what alliances they thought the most proper for him to make, particularly instancing a league offensive and defensive with the States-General; and concluded with observing, that when these steps were taken, they would furnish him from time to time with such sums as might preserve the honour of the crown, and the safety of the people. Charles was (certainly not without reason) highly nettled at such a barefaced encroachment on the royal prerogative of making peace and war, as dictating to him in so peremptory a manner what kind of alliances he should make. He therefore sent for the commons to the Banqueting-house; and after reprimanding them for the affront they had put on him, he ordered them to adjourn themselves to the sixteenth of July. In this dispute between the king and the parliament, both sides seem to have been in fault: the commons, by being wanting in that respect which should ever be shewed to royal characters, the least of whose acknowledged and lawful prerogatives are and ought to be held inviolably sacred. On the other hand, it appears from the whole tenor of Charles's conduct, that he had at this time no other view than that of procuring a sum of money: and as he was all along cajoled by the court of France, with promises of assistance to make himself absolute, and change the established religion; on this supposition, instead of being concerned to stop the progress of France, it could not but be his interest that she should grow more powerful; a scheme in which he too well succeeded, and must for ever, if not render his memory odious, at least silence the tongues of his admirers.

All this time the negotiations were continued between France and Holland, and an eventual treaty was concluded; that is, all their differences were compromised, provided they could afterwards give satisfaction to their allies. But this work, tho' extremely difficult, seemed to be much facilitated by the farther losses of the confederates, and the great impotence of the Dutch, when an event happened which promised a more prosperous issue to the war with France, and an entire change in the English councils.

Charles, finding that the prince of Orange, in order to maintain himself in authority, and acquire opportunities of raising his military fame, strongly opposed every step towards a separate peace, sent for sir William Temple from Nimeguen soon after the rising of the parliament; and having complained to him of the usage he received from the Country Party, who were for pressing him into a war with France, he directed him to acquaint the prince of Orange from him, that he was extremely desirous an end might be put to the war as soon as possible; with assurances that his majesty would concur with the prince in insisting on such terms as might be acceptable to Holland as well as England; and at the same time to invite the prince over to England, to put the finishing hand to the match which he had solicited for himself some time past with the princess Mary, eldest daughter of his royal highness the duke of York; for the completion of which, the king gave his royal word

that he would exert all his influence and authority with his brother.

The prince, lulled by these flattering promises, came over to England in the beginning of October, and prosecuted his addresses with great warmth to the princess, then in the bloom of youth, about fifteen years of age, and a most agreeable young lady. The courtship was not of long duration, the marriage being celebrated on the fourth of November following, and soon after the prince embarked with his consort for Holland.

During his stay here, every tentative was used to bring him into the scheme for a separate peace; but he would not engage in any discourse on that subject, alleging, that as the allies were like to have hard terms, they would be apt to think he had made his match at their cost, and that he would never have it imputed to him that he had sold his honour for a wife. The truth is, there was much more of policy than love in this match: nor is it improbable that the prince of Orange, finding the general bent of the nation against the succession of a Roman catholic, might even at this time have a prospect of mounting the throne of England. This much is certain, that the duke of York shewed great reluctance in giving his consent to this match; not that he would deny the prince of Orange to be worthy of his alliance, as well on account of his descent from one of the most illustrious houses in Europe, as of his own personal great qualities: but James had a certain foreboding of what would happen to him afterwards thro' his son-in-law, and in this he was more clear-sighted than his brother Charles, who could not perceive in the physiognomy of his nephew aught that portended evil to him or his family. Happily he did not live to be convinced of his mistake.

The French ministry, who had foreseen the efforts their enemies would make to bring the English court to their interests, had not been negligent in providing against such an event. They had for some time retained Charles and his courtiers as pensioners; the latter, dazzled by the shining metal, took care to encourage Charles in his partiality to their benefactor; so that Lewis XIV. at the same time that he humbled his enemies by the sword, kept the English court in an abject submission to his will, by charming the eyes of its sovereign with those treasures of which he was so fond, for no other purpose but to bestow them on the ministers of his riotous pleasures. Lewis, however, sensible of the levity and inconstancy of the English monarch, was afraid that sooner or later he might have his eyes opened to his true interest, and, regardless of his honour, shake off the inglorious servitude he now kept him in, and vigorously join with the confederate powers to prescribe limits to the ambition of France. He therefore endeavoured to persuade him to dismiss part of the troops he kept in constant pay; and Mr. Barillon, who resided here as ambassador from the French court, had orders to leave nothing undone to bring Charles to consent to his scheme: and in order to dispose him the more readily thereto, he was to offer a renewal of the former treaty between the two kings, without any other condition than that of Charles engaging to keep no more than eight thousand troops in pay. Charles was not so blinded by his passions but that he felt all the infamy

infamy of this proposal: and when the ambassador delivered the message, he was answered with great anger: "How! is it thus my brother of France means to deal by me? are these the fruits of all his mighty promises to make me absolute in my kingdom? or does he think it is to be done by eight thousand men?"

It is really difficult to comprehend how Charles, who was actually endowed with great penetration, and no small share of understanding; and his council, who passed for some of the ablest heads in Europe, could have been so long the dupes of French finesse. Lewis knew and acknowledged that the pension he paid the king of England was in itself but trifling; but he had prevailed on him to content himself for the present, till he could amply repay him for his forbearance, by rendering him absolute over his subjects. Thus for a long time did Charles continue to depend upon airy promises; nor was he perfectly convinced of the insincerity of them till after the peace of Nimeguen, when his dear friend and ally, having his arms at liberty, soon shewed himself as prompt in forgetting, as he had been warm in forming engagements.

The reader will excuse this digression, which the reflection on Charles's circumstances and conduct insensibly led me into. I return:

Immediately after the conclusion of the prince of Orange's marriage, the king had entered into conferences with him concerning the plan of a general pacification, at which the earl of Danby and sir William Temple assisted. After some dispute, it was agreed that Lewis should restore all he had taken from the emperor and the duke of Lorraine; that there should be a mutual restitution between France and Holland; and that Spain should recover possession of Aeth, Oudenarde, Charleroi, Courtray, Tournay, Condé, Valenciennes, Saint Guillaïn, and Binch. The prince proposed that Franche-comté should likewise be restored; but Charles representing the impossibility of compelling Lewis to resign Franche-comté, the prince thought proper to submit, and even engaged to use his endeavours in persuading the States to agree to these conditions; while Charles, on his part, undertook to procure the consent of the French monarch, declaring at the same time, that he would never recede in the least article from the scheme concerted, but proclaim war against Lewis if he refused it; and with this assurance the prince left England.

The earl of Feversham, a creature of the duke of York, and a Frenchman by birth*, was sent as ambassador to Paris with intimation of this agreement; which, tho' it must have been extremely disagreeable to Lewis, he received with seeming complacency and contentment. He told Feversham, that the king knew he might always command a peace; but some of the towns in Flanders it seemed very hard to demand, especially Tournay, upon the fortifications of which he had expended large sums of money: he hoped his brother would not break with him for one or two towns; and even with regard to these, he would send orders to his ambassador at London to treat with the king himself; thus the blow was artfully eluded†.

Charles, however, piqued at the insincerity of the French court, resolved to let Lewis see that he was not to be insulted with impunity. The meeting of the parliament, which stood prorogued to May, was anticipated to the fifteenth of January, 1678; a very uncommon measure, and such as gave no little alarm to Lewis. In the mean time Laurence Hyde, second son to the late chancellor Clarendon, was sent to Holland to conclude a treaty of alliance with the States, in the nature of the triple league, to compel both France and Spain to agree to the terms concerted.

When the English parliament met, the king told them in a speech from the throne, That as he saw there was little probability of procuring a good peace by conferences and negotiations, he was determined to undertake a war for that purpose, but that it was necessary they granted him a supply adequate to the occasion; assuring them, that they might depend on the money being appropriated to that end. The commons having taken the king's speech into consideration, agreed upon an address to his majesty; wherein they thanked him for his care and encouragement of the protestant religion, by marrying his niece to the prince of Orange, intreating him that he would consent to no peace with France, but upon the Pyrenean treaty; and that neither England nor the confederates should be suffered to trade with France during the war, promising his majesty to assist him in the prosecution of it, when he should impart to them his alliances with the confederates.

The king resented this address as a repetition of the encroachment they had made on the royal prerogative in the former session, and sent them a very sharp answer. The commons, however, instead of replying to it, immediately went upon the supply, and resolved on a poll-tax, appropriating the money to the service of the French war; and added a clause, whereby all trade with France was prohibited for three years.

In the mean time, the French king taking the field early in the spring, reduced Ghent and Ypres, and distributed his troops in quarters of refreshment. This progress alarmed the Dutch in such a manner, that they resolved to conclude a separate peace. Lewis knowing his own advantage, and that he had nothing to fear from the king of England, talked in the strain of a conqueror, and insisted upon terms very different from those which had been planned by Charles and the prince of Orange. In April the chancellor told the two houses in the king's name, That the Dutch certainly intended to conclude a separate peace with France, and his majesty demanded their advice on that subject. The commons exhorted him to declare war against France; then they voted the alliance with Holland not answerable to their address, nor sufficient for the security of the kingdom. Charles expressed his dissatisfaction at this vote; notwithstanding which, they presented another address, desiring to know the resolutions he had taken in consequence of their advice; that he would pay more attention to their addresses; and that he would remove the duke of Lauderdale from his councils. The king replied, That he was surprized at the extravagance of their address,

* His name was Lewis Duras; he came over with Charles at his restoration.

† Temple. Salmon. Hume.

to which at present he would not make the answer it deserved. As they had already passed a poll-tax for the service of the year, he began to make levies, which were carried on with such surprising diligence and success, that in six weeks time an army of thirty thousand men was compleated. The duke of Monmouth was sent over with three thousand to garrison Ostend; a fleet was equipped; and the court breathed nothing but defiance against the French monarch.

The parliament meeting again on the twenty-seventh of May, after an adjournment of twelve days, began to give evident signs of their distrusting the king's sincerity in the levies he had lately made, and came to the following resolution: "That the house taking into consideration the state of the nation, and the expence occasioned by the army, were humbly of opinion, that if his majesty pleased to think fit to enter into the war against the French king, the house was and would be ready to assist him in that war; but if otherwise, they would proceed to the consideration of providing for the speedy disbanding of the army."

The house further ordered, that the members of his majesty's privy-council should acquaint the king with this vote, and to pray his speedy answer. The king answered, "That the French king having offered a cessation till the twenty-seventh of July, there was great likelihood that it would be accepted, and end in a general peace; but that it was his opinion the army should not be disbanded before that time." Upon this answer, the house voted, "That all forces raised since the twenty-ninth of September last (excepting those transported to foreign plantations) be forthwith paid off and disbanded, and that they would consider of a supply for that purpose." Accordingly, the fourth of June, the house voted two hundred thousand pounds for the disbanding of the army by the end of the month; and the next day they voted the same sum towards defraying the expences of the fleet.

Upon these votes, the king sent a message to the house, representing the danger of taking such a step before the conclusion of the peace; and he asked them, whether he could honourably abandon those powers in Flanders which had put themselves under his protection, and which at present depended solely on him for their safety? The commons then agreed to prolong the term with regard to the forces in Flanders to the twenty-seventh day of July.

The fifteenth of June the house resolved, "That after the Tuesday following, no motion should be made for any supply of money, till after the next recess." As hitherto the house had experienced that the king only amused them, and aimed to get the money before he positively declared his intention, they now resolved to put him under a necessity of declaring within three days, for fear of being still amused by him till the opportunity was lost.

On that very Tuesday, June 18, the king came to the house of peers; and sending for the commons, made a speech to both houses; in which he told them, "That the peace between France,

Spain, and Holland, was almost as good as concluded. He said the Spaniards had positively declared they were not able to bear the expence of maintaining garrisons in Flanders, which must be left exposed, unless England would undertake to support the fortifications. He therefore observed, it would be necessary to keep a good fleet at sea, and in particular to provide for the safety of Ostend, where otherwise the French might maintain a fleet of forty ships of war exactly opposite to the mouth of the Thames. If they desired he should live in strict union with his parliament, they would make an addition of three hundred thousand pounds to his revenue: in which case, they might bring in a bill for appropriating fifty thousand yearly to the support of the fleets and artillery; and then he would be always ready to pass whatever acts should be proposed for the benefit of the nation. Finally, he desired they would remember that he had engaged to pay forty thousand pounds for the portion of the princess Mary; that the first moiety was already due, and demanded by the prince of Orange."

By this speech of Charles, one would be led to imagine that he had performed every thing for the nation that could be asked of a sovereign, anxious for the welfare of his people, and jealous of the honour and majesty of his crown; but his parliament was too well accustomed to such kind of speeches to suffer this to make any impression upon them. They were convinced that it was in the king's power to procure all that he should think proper to demand of France; and they were as well convinced that he was linked in a fatal connection with that court, which would not suffer him to fulfil the wishes of the nation, and perhaps the dictates of his own reason. The commons indeed voted his majesty their thanks for the gracious expressions in his speech; but they would not grant him any additional revenue, or even make him satisfaction for the losses he had sustained in the customs, by the prohibition of the French trade: and when the lords made an amendment to the bill for disbanding the army, by enlarging the time a month longer, the commons would not consent to it. Whereupon his majesty came to the house on the fifteenth of July, and prorogued them to the first of August.* Let us now return to the negotiations for peace abroad.

Van Beverning was the Dutch plenipotentiary at Nimeguen, a man of great ability and address. The States General, convinced that there were little hopes of receiving any assistance from England, considering the disposition of the king, and the jealousies of the parliament, ordered their minister to repair to the French king at Ghent, and settle a separate peace with him, on condition he agreed to restore the six following towns to the Spaniards, viz. Ghent, Aeth, Charleroi, Oudenard, Courtray, and Limburgh; but the French king positively refused to evacuate them till he saw an entire restitution made to his allies the Swedes, of all they had lost in the war.

The states immediately acquainted Charles with this refusal of the French king; and he was so incensed at this conduct of Lewis, that he sent

* Among other acts passed this session was that for burying the dead in woollen, for the benefit of that manufacture. See stat. 30. Car. II.

Temple forthwith to Holland, in order to concert an effectual plan for opposing the ambition of France. In six days Temple concluded a treaty with the States to carry on the war jointly with them against France, if the aforesaid towns were not evacuated within sixteen days after the date of the treaty, which was signed on the twenty-sixth of July; and the prince of Orange being joined by the English auxiliaries under the duke of Monmouth, marched to the relief of Mons, which was then blocked up by marshal Luxemburg. This appearance of unusual vigor on the part of the English court had such an influence on the French ministers, that on the morning of the critical day which was to determine peace or war for Europe, they waited on Van Beverning, and told him they were willing to agree to the restitution of the towns, and to conclude and sign the peace. The articles were accordingly drawn and signed, just as the clock struck twelve at night, by the ministers of France and Holland. By this treaty, concluded the tenth of August, 1678, it was agreed, That each party should retain what they were respectively possessed of, only the French were to restore Maestricht, with its dependencies, to the Dutch, which was all the French retained of their conquests in the United Provinces: and by a separate article, all the territories belonging to the prince of Orange in France, Franche-comté, Charleroi, Flanders, &c. were restored to him.

The Spaniards, on their part, thought fit to accept of the conditions of peace the English and Dutch had procured for them, and their plenipotentiaries signed the treaty the latter end of September, as did the Germans the third of February following*. Thus all the confederates in a few months enjoyed the benefit of a pacification, except the duke of Lorraine, who was not restored to his dominions.

The prince of Orange, who was greatly dissatisfied with this peace, took a very extraordinary step, with a view to embroil matters again, if possible, or perhaps to express his resentment against Lewis, to whom he bore a particular hatred. Marshal Luxemburg, who was then besieging Mons, had lately received an account of the conclusion of the peace; upon which he lay lulled in full security in the village of St. Denis. The prince of Orange, with his whole army that had marched to the relief of Mons, attacking the marshal's quarters and forces therein, a long and bloody engagement ensued, and the prince gained a considerable advantage over the marshal, who could with great difficulty resist the fury of this attack. The prince of Orange remained master of the field of battle; indeed he had the greatest reason to expect the most complete victory: for he not only gave the attack, which is a great advantage, but he attacked an army which, depending on the faith of treaties, had grown remiss in their military strictness.

On this transaction a celebrated French writer †

has the following judicious and elegant remark: "Did ambitious men pay any regard to their fellow-creatures, the prince of Orange would not have fought this battle. He certainly knew that the peace was already signed, or on the point of being so; he knew that this peace would prove advantageous to his country, and yet he hazarded his own life, and that of thousands of men besides, as the first-fruits of a general peace, which was then so far advanced, that had he even beat the French army, it would have made no alteration in the congress. This act, inhuman as it was glorious, and which at that time was more esteemed than blamed, did not produce one single additional article in the treaty; and the lives of two thousand French, and as many of the enemy, were thrown away to no end."

This peace furnishes us with a memorable instance how much projects are contradicted by events. Holland, against whom alone the war was undertaken, and whose destruction seemed inevitable, lost nothing at all; on the contrary, she gained a barrier, while every other power that had interposed to snatch her from destruction, saw themselves considerable losers, and were obliged to accept the terms presented to them by France and Holland. It may, as Mr. Rapin very justly observes, be affirmed with great truth, that it was the king of England's fault alone that Europe had not a more advantageous peace, since the parliament was ready to grant plentifully all the necessary supplies, would Charles have acted agreeable either to the interests of Europe in general, or of England in particular. This conduct can only be ascribed to his passion for executing his darling scheme of rendering himself absolute master of his people. As for the other design with which he is charged by that writer and many others, of introducing the popish religion into England, I am far from being convinced in my own mind that he really entertained such a thought. All religions were alike to Charles, and the concessions which he made in favour of the catholics, seem rather to have been the effect of his love for his brother, and ready compliance with any counsels which he adopted, than his own attachment to that particular mode of faith. As I have observed elsewhere, it was all one to him whether popery or protestantism were the religion of England, so that he could but enjoy his beloved ease and pleasure.

This year, 1678, was distinguished by the discovery of the famous conspiracy in England, known by the name of the Popish Plot, which for a considerable time engrossed the whole attention of the legislature, and has given occasion to many politicians to exercise their talents in supporting the truth, or exposing the falsity of it, as they were attached to one or the other party. The whole of this affair is indeed so replete with contradictions, that I should puzzle my reader, as well as myself, was I to attempt the unravelling them. I shall

* By the treaty between France and Spain, dated the seventeenth of September, 1678, the French agreed to restore to the Spaniards, Charleroi, Aeth, Oudenard, and Courtray, the city and duchy of Limburgh, Ghent, the country of Waes, Lewe, St. Guillaing, and Puicerda, and all the places they had taken in Sicily. On the other hand, it was agreed that the French should retain the county of Burgundy, or Franche-comté, the towns of Valenciennes, Bouchain, Condé, Cambray, Tour-

nay, Aire, St. Omers, Ypres, Warwick, Warneton, Poperinguen, Baillieul, Cassel, Bava, and Maubeuse, which they had conquered this war.

By the treaty concluded between the emperor and France on the third of February, 1679, France renounced all pretensions to Philippsburg, but were to keep Friburg till an equivalent should be given them.

† Volt. Age of Lewis XIV.

therefore content myself with a plain narrative of facts, as handed down to us by the best authorities, and leave every one to draw such conclusions as he may think most agreeable to reason and sound sense.

It is said then, that the design of this conspiracy was to kill the king, to subvert the government, to extirpate the protestant religion, and establish popery. The authors and promoters of it were said to be the pope and cardinals, the Romish, French, Spanish, and English jesuits, the seminary priests in England, who at this time came over in great numbers, and several popish lords *, and others of that party. The duke of York himself was deeply suspected of being concerned in it, all but that part relating to killing the king; and, that point excepted, the king himself was supposed to have favoured it, out of revenge to the French king, who had so infamously deceived him; and as he found he could not any other way hurt Lewis, he thought to give him a sensible mortification, by encouraging a persecution against those of his faith, to which he knew he was a great bigot. The article of taking off the king seems to be only the project of a part of the conspirators, to make way for the duke of York to ascend the throne, who was more forward, active, and less fearful than the king, and consequently more likely to bring the grand design of the conspiracy, the changing the government and religion, to a speedier conclusion.

The chief discoverer of this conspiracy was Titus Oates †, who having been a clergyman of the church of England, reconciled himself to the church of Rome, or pretended at least so to do, and entered into the number of the English seminarists at St. Omer's. He also went into Spain, and was admitted to the councils of the jesuits. By these means he is said to have got acquainted with all the secret designs that were carrying on, in order to establish popery in this nation; and then returning to England, he digested the several matters he had heard into a narrative, and by the means of Dr. Tonge ‡, a city divine, got a copy

of it delivered to the king §, who referred him to the lord-treasurer Danby.

It is probable that the two informers thought to make their fortunes by their discoveries; but finding that the king did not take much notice of it, they resolved to communicate it to the parliament; but first Oates went and made oath of the truth of the narrative before sir Edmundsbury Godfrey, a justice of the peace, and left one copy of it with him, reserving another for himself. And now the affair taking wind, it was resolved to bring it before the council, who sat twice a day for above a week together, to examine into it; and Tonge and Oates had lodgings assigned them in Whitehall, with a handsome provision to each for their maintenance, and a guard for the security of their persons. Upon their informations, which they threw out by wholesale, several persons were apprehended, as, Wakeman, the queen's physician; Coleman, the duke of York's secretary; and eight priests or jesuits. In Coleman's house were found several letters which seemed to concur with Oates's testimony, and gave great weight to what he advanced. This, with the murder of sir Edmundsbury Godfrey soon after, who had sworn Oates to his narrative, confirmed the people in their belief of the plot.

Godfrey had been remarkably active in his office against the papists, to whom his murder was immediately ascribed; and the truth was confirmed beyond a possibility of doubt, in the opinion of the multitude, by the evidence of Bedloe § and Prance; the latter of whom deposed that he, with Green, Berry, Hill, and some others, dogged the justice for some time, till they got him into Somerset-House, where they strangled him with an handkerchief; that they afterwards carried the body, and laid it in a ditch near Primrose-hill, after having thrust his own sword thro' it, in which condition they left him: and indeed when the body was found, it appeared plainly that he had been strangled ¶. Green, Berry, and Hill, were afterwards condemned and executed for the murder, but denied the fact to the last.

* The lord viscount Stafford, the lords Arundel, Bellasis, and others.

† Echard gives us the following account of this man: "This Oates was the son of a ribband-weaver, who afterwards turning anabaptist-preacher, and being chaplain to a regiment of Cromwell's forces in Scotland, was there clapt up in prison upon Overton's plot against that usurper; but having the good fortune to escape upon the king's restoration, he conformed to the church, and got the living of Hastings in Sussex, where he continued till he thought fit to return to his former anabaptistical station. This son of his had his first education in Merchant-Taylors school in London, and next in the university at Cambridge, where he was student in two colleges, Caius's and St. John's, and where he left no reputation behind him for his parts or learning, though he seemed distinguished for a tenacious memory, a plodding industry, and an unparalleled assurance, besides a particular canting way that appeared in his academical exercises. Removing thence, he stepped into orders, and for a while officiated as curate for his father; after which he enjoyed a small vicarage in Kent, from whence he removed to another in Sussex; and after that for some time got into the duke of Norfolk's family, when he particularly sided with the Socinians at London; so that he became very uncertain as to his principles and religion, and infamous as to his morals."

‡ The same author tells, "That Tonge was a man of letters, and a prolific head, filled with all the Romish plots and conspiracies since the Reformation. This man was remarkable for his parts and great reading, but of a restless and humorous temper, full of variety of projects, and scarce ever without a

pen in his hand, and a plot in his head."

§ On the twelfth of August (the day after signing the treaty of Nimeguen) Dr. Tonge applied himself to one Kirby, a chemist, that was for some time in the king's laboratory, and who had some interest at court, to desire the king might be acquainted that he had an information to lay before him, of a plot carrying on against his person. Kirby took the opportunity of the king's walking in St. James's Park the very next day, to discharge his commission, and was ordered to bring Tonge before him at eight that evening. Tonge was at Whitehall at the appointed hour, and put into the king's hand a writing or narrative, which in forty-three articles contained the particulars of a plot. The king, after a negligent perusal of it, told Tonge that he was going to Windsor the next day, but would put the paper into the hands of the lord-treasurer Danby, on whom he ordered him to wait the next morning: Rapin.

§ Bedloe was at first a menial servant to the lord Bellasis; afterwards going abroad and serving in the wars, he assumed the title of captain; his character in general was bad. Prance was a goldsmith of London: he recanted his evidence two or three times.

¶ The bishops Lloyd and Burnet went to view the body; and besides the circumstances above mentioned, observed that his shoes were clean, a mark round his neck an inch broad, his breast all over bruised, and his neck broken. There were many drops of white wax-light upon his breeches, which he never used himself: and since only persons of quality and priests use those lights, this made all people conclude in whose hands he must have been. Burnet.

The plot was first discovered in August, sir Edmundsbury Godfrey was murdered in the beginning of October, and the parliament met on the twenty-first. It appears from the joint testimony of contemporary writers, that the king shewed great unwillingness to have the parliament take cognizance of the plot. He was obliged to take some notice of an affair which was the topic of every conversation, and had filled the minds of all ranks of people with fear and apprehension; but in his speech to the two houses at their meeting, he said "he would forbear giving any opinion of the matter, lest he should say too much or too little, and that he would leave the discussion of it entirely to the law."

But Danby, either afraid of being called to an account, should he conceal an affair of so much importance that had passed through his hands, or desirous to ingratiate himself with the parliament, in which he had so many enemies, disconcerted all the king's measures by opening the matter to the house of lords. The king afterwards reprimanded the treasurer with great severity for this hasty step, which is a clear proof that it was contrary to his designs: possibly he thought he had already gone far enough in his revenge upon the French king, and was desirous of stopping the prosecution against the catholics before it grew too violent.

The lords communicated the intelligence to the commons; and both houses entered so warmly into the matter, that for several days they sat from morning till night examining Oates and other witnesses. At length, on the thirty-first of October, they resolved nem. con. "That the lords and commons are of opinion, that there hath been, and still is, a damnable and hellish plot, contrived and carried on by popish recusants, for assassinating and murdering the king, for subverting the government, and for rooting out and destroying the protestant religion."

It was about this time that Bedloe made his appearance as an evidence for the plot, and was examined by the lords. In the mean time, the commons ordered several persons, whom Oates had sworn against, to be apprehended; and among others the following noblemen, who were declared papists, the earl of Powis, the lord viscount Stafford, and the lords Arundel of Wardour, Petre, and Bellasis, who were sent to the Tower.

The depositions of Oates and Bedloe being published, excited such a ferment in the nation, that the king was obliged to issue a proclamation, commanding all popish recusants, under the severest penalties, to repair to their own houses, and not

to venture from thence, without a particular licence, to a greater distance than five miles. At the same time another proclamation was published, offering a reward to any one who should discover or apprehend a Romish priest or jesuit; and a bill, which had lately passed the two houses, disabling all papists from sitting in parliament, received the royal assent. Not contented with this, the commons finding that sir Joseph Williamson, secretary of Scotland, had countersigned several commissions to popish recusants, for this offence, as a member of the lower house, committed him to the Tower. The king was greatly incensed at this commitment of his servant, without application first made to him, and he instantly ordered him to be released: however, he revoked the commissions that had given offence, and there the affair dropt.

The late vigorous measures taken by the commons against the papists, were only preparatory to the execution of a project which they had already formed, of excluding the duke of York from the succession, as appears by their permitting a debate to arise in the house for an address to remove the said duke from his majesty's presence and councils, which was put off to another day; and in the mean time the king came to the house, and in a speech told them, that he would consent to any bills for their security in the reign of his successor, so that they tended not to impede the right of succession, nor the descent of the crown in the true line; and Charles stuck to this on all the attempts that were afterwards made for a bill of exclusion.

The next object that engrossed the attention of the public was the trial and condemnation of the conspirators. Coleman, the duke's secretary, was the first that was tried. On the twenty-seventh of November he was brought to the bar of the King's Bench, before the lord chief-justice Scroggs, where, upon the evidence of Oates and Bedloe, and his own letters, he was found guilty of high-treason, and executed on the third of December. It must be confessed that Coleman's letters sufficiently prove how much the king and duke were under a French and popish influence*. Other persons executed for the plot the beginning of the following year and the year after, were, William Ireland and Thomas Pickering, both priests; John Grove, a lay-brother; Thomas Whitebread, provincial of the jesuits in England (who, according to the story of Oates and his party, was to have been created archbishop of Canterbury) and Harcourt, Fenwick, Gavan, and Turner, all jesuits likewise, and Langhorne, a popish lawyer. Besides Bedloe and Prance, one Dugdale was a witness

* Burnet says that Coleman had found leisure to convey all his papers out of the way, only he forgot a drawer under the table, in which the papers relating to the years 1674, 1675, and part of 1676, were left; these, being seized, contained many extraordinary passages. In particular, he wrote to father la Chaise (the French king's confessor) "We have here a mighty work upon our hands, no less than the conversion of three kingdoms, and by that perhaps the utter subduing the pestilent heresy which has long domineered over a great part of this northern world. There were never such hopes of success, since the days of queen Mary, as in our days. God has given us a prince," meaning the duke, "who is become (may I say a miracle) zealous of being the author and instrument of so glorious a work; but the opposition we are sure to meet with is also like to be great: so that it imports us to get all the assistance we can."

In another letter he said, "I can scarce believe myself

awake, or the thing real, when I think of a prince in such an age as we live in, converted to such a degree of zeal and piety, as not to regard any thing in comparison of God Almighty's glory, the salvation of his own soul, and the conversion of our poor kingdom." In other passages, he represents the interests of England, those of the French king, and those of the catholic religion, as intimately connected. The duke is also said to be unalterably attached to the interests of Lewis. The king himself, he asserts, is always disposed to favour the catholics, when he may do it with safety. "Money," says he in another letter, "is able to persuade the king to any thing. There is nothing it cannot make him do, were it ever so much to his prejudice. It hath such an absolute power over him, that he cannot resist it. Logic in our court built upon money, has more powerful charms than any other sort of argument." Burnet. Rapin. Hume.

against them; by whose evidence it appeared, that when they had killed the king, they were to lay it on the presbyterians.

The same day that Coleman was tried, the king, at the request of the lords, issued a proclamation, offering to any one who, before the twenty-fifth of December next, should make any farther discovery of the late horrid design against his majesty's person and government, a reward of two hundred pounds; and if the informer was even principal in the design, his majesty's most gracious pardon. Whether from a desire of gaining this reward, or from a conviction that they had good authority for what they advanced, Bedloe and one Grove had the boldness, before the king and council, to accuse the queen herself of being concerned in a design to poison him, by means of sir George Wakeman, his physician; but their depositions appearing vague and inconclusive, and the king interposing his absolute command to stop the prosecution of this affair, nothing farther came of it.

Thus much I have thought necessary to lay before my readers concerning this famous plot. Such of them as have leisure or inclination for examining the minuter circumstances of the several trials, with the weight of the evidences for and against the conspirators, will find the whole matter at large in the histories of Rapin, Burnet, and Echard, and the State Trials, from whence we have collected the above account. We are now to proceed to other matters.

Notwithstanding the appearance of attachment to the protestant religion assumed by Charles at this time, the generality of the nation, and the parliament in particular, were greatly disgusted with his conduct, both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs; and, wearied out with the continual breach of his promises, they resolved to leave nothing undone to cramp his power of doing harm. They were confirmed in this resolution by a transaction which transpired about this time, to the no small mortification of the king, and increase of the distrust the parliament had entertained of his principles.

It seems that Mr. Montagu, our ambassador in France, had aspired to the office of secretary of state, and was greatly incensed at the lord-treasurer Danby for having procured it for another. Montagu was sensible he had in his possession papers that might ruin Danby, and he resolved to make that use of them. With this view he wrote over to his friends here to get him elected for the county of Northampton, then vacant; and they having succeeded, he returned suddenly to England, without the knowledge or consent of the king, and took his seat in the house of commons. Charles suspecting his intention, gave orders for seizing his papers, under pretext of his having corresponded with the pope's nuncio while abroad; but Montagu had made sure of one paper which

he knew was alone sufficient to answer his purpose: this he immediately produced in the house of commons. It was a letter from the treasurer Danby to Montagu, concerning the base negotiations in which Charles had engaged for selling his neutrality to the French king, during the war between that monarch and the allies*.

The commons were so exasperated, that they immediately impeached the earl of Danby of high treason, designing thereby to oblige him to plead the king's orders, who was more struck at in this proceeding than the treasurer. It is a justice done to the character of Danby to observe, that he was so unwilling to have any concern in this scandalous treaty, by which the interest of his country was sacrificed to the views of its most dangerous rival and enemy; that, in order to secure him from all danger, the king had with his own hand written the following words at the bottom of the duplicate of the letter: "This letter is written by my order. C. R." When this transaction came to be discovered, and the treasurer found the house had impeached him, he was in the utmost perplexity how to act. He did not chuse to accuse the king; and unless he pleaded his express order for the writing that letter, he knew his head must pay the forfeit of his compliance with the royal command. Charles was in as great a dilemma as himself: he dreaded to have the secret divulged, and therefore assured the earl of a pardon if he would stand between him and the attacks of the parliament. Danby consented to conceal his majesty's orders, and to defend himself in the best manner he could. In short, Danby exculpated himself so fully of having given any encouragement to the intrigues of the French ministry, as well as of other matters urged against him in the impeachment of the commons, that the lords refused to commit him to the Tower. The commons insisted upon his being taken into custody: a contest ensued between the two houses; and the king, dreading some fatal consequence from the violence of the commons, came to the house on the thirtieth of December, and prorogued the parliament. On the twenty-fourth of January following he dissolved it by proclamation, after it had sat near eighteen years, and, from the great extent of court influence among its members, had acquired the name of the Pensionary Parliament†. Soon after, writs were issued out for the electing a new parliament on the sixth of March.

Charles, to his great mortification, found that the ensuing parliament was likely to prove as little complaisant as the last; for the elections seemed to run against the crown, such persons only being returned as had distinguished themselves by their opposition to popery, and the extent of the regal prerogative. In order therefore to ingratiate himself as much as possible with the new assembly, he prevailed

* It was conceived in the following terms: "In case the conditions of peace shall be accepted, the king expects six millions of livres for three years, from the time that this agreement shall be signed between his majesty and the king of France; because it will probably be two or three years before the parliament will be in a humour to give him any supplies after the making of any peace with France; and the ambassador here has always agreed to that sum, but not for so long a time. If you find the peace will not be accepted, you are not to mention the money at all; and all possible care must be

taken to keep this whole negotiation as private as possible, for fear of giving offence at home, where for the most part we hear in ten days after of any thing that is communicated to the French ministry." Burnet, Rapin.

† A modern historian has the following remark on this parliament; "Such was the conclusion of a parliament, which, one year excepted, had sat during the whole course of the present reign. The spirit which it had lately discovered was very different from that which it breathed in the beginning. Being elected during the joy and festivity of the Restoration, it was

vailed on his brother the duke of York to submit to an order for his leaving England *. He took the treasurer's staff from Danby, and gave it to the earl of Lauderdale; but that the former might not, through resentment or fear, be tempted to discover secrets which he wished to have concealed, he granted him a free pardon under the great seal.

These concessions on the part of the king, instead of soothing the new parliament, which met on the sixth of March, 1679, rather encouraged them to fresh exertions of their power. The commons began by chusing Edward Seymour, Esq; for their speaker; a person whom they knew to be a professed enemy to the earl of Danby. The king knew it likewise, and refused his approbation to their choice, which occasioned a dispute between him and the commons, and a prorogation of a few days; when meeting again on the fifteenth, they chose Mr. Gregory, serjeant at law, for their speaker, who was approved of by the king. They presently resumed the affair of the earl of Danby, who chose to abide by his pardon, and withdrew himself. Whereupon they passed a vote to require him "to surrender himself to justice, on or before the twenty-third day of April next ensuing, on pain of being subjected to an act of attainder." Rather than be condemned unheard, Danby surrendered himself before the day to the usher of the black rod, and was committed to the Tower. A few days after he produced his pardon, and was remanded thither again. The commons declared this pardon to be illegal and void, and so he remained in the Tower till the year 1683.

The king, alarmed at the violence of the parliament, began to pursue such measures as he thought most likely to charm down the spirit of opposition which so strongly displayed itself. He offered sir William Temple, who had been recalled from his foreign employments, the office of one of the secretaries of state; but Temple, worn out with business, refused it; however, by his advice the king formed a new privy-council, into which were chosen several men of abilities, unconnected with the court, or such who were possessed of the chief influence in both houses †.

Charles assuredly thought that this alteration would have brought the commons into a more compliant humour; but he found himself grievously mistaken. The earl of Shaftesbury, though made president of the council, finding that he had actually lost the king's confidence, still adhered to the opposition, and employed all his art and intrigue to keep up the flame of animosity against the king and his brother. The house of one Bird

being set on fire by his maid-servant, Elizabeth Oakley, she confessed she had been instigated to commit that crime by one Stubbs, a catholic; and he being questioned, owned that father Gifford, his confessor, had assured him there was no sin in burning the houses of heretics. He and Oakley declared, that the catholics in England intended to rise in arms, and expected to be joined by an army of sixty thousand men from France. The commons immediately addressed the king for the execution of Pickering and the other condemned jesuits. They even assembled on Sunday to concert measures for the preservation of the king's person, and the protestant religion, against the attempts of the papists. They brought in a bill for banishing all Roman catholics from London; and on the twenty-seventh of April, 1679, they resolved, "That the duke of York being a papist, and the hopes of his succeeding to the crown, has been the greatest encouragement to the present conspiracies, and designs of the papists, against the king and the protestant religion. This vote was sent to the lords by the lord Russel, eldest son of the earl of Bedford.

Hereupon the king, by the advice of his council, went to the house of peers, and proposed such limitations, in regard to the succession of a popish prince, as he thought would remove all objections; but these limitations, though very considerable, were not sufficient to satisfy the commons; and they resolved to rid themselves effectually of all their fears, by such a step as they thought could alone secure the liberties and religion of the nation. Accordingly, on the fifteenth of May, a bill was brought into the lower house, and there read for the first time, "To disable the duke of York from inheriting the imperial crown of England." This bill was commonly called The Bill of Exclusion; and as it was of so important a nature, I believe the reader will not be displeased to see the substance of it here.

The preamble set forth, "That the pope's emissaries had seduced James duke of York, the presumptive heir of the crown: that they had converted him to the catholic religion, and engaged him in several negotiations with the pope, his cardinals and nuncios, for the interest of that communion: that by his means they had increased the greatness of the French king, to the manifest danger of England: and that, by the accession of a popish prince to the throne, supported by foreign alliances, they would in time be enabled to accomplish their wicked purpose of destroying the liberty and religion of the kingdom."

composed almost entirely of royalists, who were disposed to support the crown with all the liberality which the habits of the age would permit.

"But many causes had since concurred to alienate their affections from his majesty. His open alliance with France, which was so inconsistent with the interest of the nation; his secret connections with that crown, which were equally pernicious and dishonourable; his two several Dutch wars, undertaken with the sole view of destroying that republic, the chief support of civil liberty; his dangerous designs, and even attempts, against the rights and privileges of his own subjects; his attachment to the catholic religion; his aversion to the protestants: these and many other circumstances tended to withdraw their confidence from the king, and to make them oppose him in all his measures." Hume's Hist. of Great Britain. Charles II.

* The duke however required, that his brother should satisfy him, as well as the nation, by a public declaration of the illegitimacy of the duke of Monmouth, a natural son of his

majesty by Lucy Walters, and born about ten years before the Restoration. Being gratified in this request, he withdrew with his family to Brussels, where he took up his residence. Rapin. Hume.

† The names of the counsellors were, prince Rupert, the archbishop of Canterbury, lord Finch chancellor, the earl of Shaftesbury president, the earl of Anglesea privy-seal, the dukes of Albemarle, Monmouth, Newcastle, Lauderdale, Ormond, the marquisses of Winchester and Worcester, the earls of Arlington, Salisbury, Bridgewater, Sunderland, Essex, Bath, the viscounts of Falconbridge and Hallifax, the bishop of London, the lords Robarts, Hollis, Russel, and Cavendish, secretary Coventry, sir Francis North chief-justice, sir Henry Capel, sir John Erneley, sir Thomas Chicheley, Edward Seymour, and Henry Powle. Temple accepted of a place therein, in order to assist his prince in the present emergency. Rapin. Hume.

The bill then ordained, "That James, duke of York, Albany, and Ulster, should be incapable of inheriting the crowns of England, Scotland, and Ireland: that, upon the death or resignation of the king, the sovereignty of these kingdoms should devolve to the person next in succession after the duke: that all acts of royalty which that prince should afterwards perform, should not only be void, but held treasonable: that if he entered any of these dominions, he should be deemed guilty of the same offence: and that all who supported his title should be punished as rebels and traitors."

This bill was read a second time on the twenty-first; and the question being put, Whether the bill should be committed? it passed in the affirmative by a very great majority (Yea's two hundred and seven, No's one hundred and twenty-eight.)

Charles perceiving by these, and some subsequent proceedings of the commons, that they only sought to drive things to extremity; and hearing, moreover, that they had a design to present to him a remonstrance, not much unlike that presented to the king his father in 1641, in order to inflame the nation against him, resolved to cut short their session. Accordingly he went to the house of peers on the twenty-seventh of May, and, sending for the commons, passed five bills; particularly one for the securing the liberty of the subject, called the *HABEAS CORPUS* act*, and then prorogued the parliament to the fourteenth of August. By this means the Exclusion Bill was dropped for a time.

The opposition to the court was not confined to England alone. Here indeed the king had been pretty warmly attacked by parliamentary addresses: but the Scots, who were filled with the like spirit of discontent, had recourse to terms of a more efficacious kind. The earl of Lauderdale had governed them as high-commissioner for upwards of twelve years, during which time he had exercised a perfect tyranny over the people. He had been accused before the council of England by the duke of Hamilton, and several other noblemen, who brought unanswerable proofs of his maladministration; but the king, with whom he was in great favour, had stopped any rigorous proceedings against him, knowing that his age, and the infirmities consequent thereupon, must very soon render it necessary for him to resign; and his majesty had already destined his natural son the duke of Monmouth for his successor. The presbyterians or covenanters, however, whom he had in a particular manner oppressed, lost all patience; and, taking advantage of the distractions in England, resolved to right themselves by force of arms, and openly unfurled the ensigns of rebellion. Sharp, archbishop of St. Andrew's, was marked out a sacrifice to their first fury. If Burnet may be believed, he had been the foremost in the rank of their persecutors, and what rendered him particularly culpable in their eyes, was his having been formerly one of their party, and even sent as deputy by them to the English court at the Restoration,

to take care of their interests there. He thought proper, however, whether from a motive of interest or conviction, to side with the court. On the removal of the episcopal order in Scotland, the archbishopric of St. Andrew's was bestowed upon him, and he ever after proved a heavy scourge to the presbyterians. They now thought the time was come to take full revenge on "this apostate, this betrayer of the godly, and persecutor of Christ's church;" epithets they had for a considerable time constantly designated this prelate. Accordingly, a body of them way-layed him as he was returning from the council at Edinburgh; and on the third of May, between eleven and twelve o'clock in the forenoon, attacked his coach near a little country village called Magus, two miles distant from St. Andrew's, dragged him out of the carriage, and, regardless of the prayers and intercessions of his daughter, who happened to be with him, murdered him, with every imaginable circumstance of shocking brutality.

This assassination was celebrated by the covenanters as an exploit worthy the true servants of God, and served as a signal for their party to fly to arms; and on the twenty-ninth of the same month they began to assemble their forces, proclaimed the covenant at Rutherglen, surprized the city of Glasgow, issued out a proclamation, commanding the magistrates to turn out all archbishops, bishops, and curates, with their children and servants, within forty-eight hours; and inviting their brethren to join them, who readily espoused the good cause, they fell to plundering the adjacent country. Fortunately the ministry in Scotland found means to provide for the safety of Edinburgh; and the king no sooner heard of this insurrection, than he sent the duke of Monmouth, with a body of forces, into Scotland to suppress it. The duke being joined by the troops that had been raised in that kingdom to make head against the rebels, who were by this time seventeen thousand strong, marched incontinently to give them battle. He came up with them at Bothwell-bridge on the twenty-second of June; and falling on them with incredible fury, soon gained a complete victory. Near a thousand of the insurgents were left dead on the field, and about twelve hundred were taken prisoners. Among the latter were several of those concerned in the murder of the primate Sharpe, who were instantly hanged; a few more afterwards were tried and executed, and the rest transported. Those who escaped dispersed of themselves, and the public tranquility was perfectly restored.

Towards the latter end of August this year, the king was seized with so violent a fever, that in a very few days his life was by his physicians thought to be in danger. Hereupon it was resolved by the council, notwithstanding the strong opposition of Shaftesbury, their president, and others of the country party at that board, to send for the duke of York from Brussels, who, making a dispatch proportioned to the importance of the circumstance, arrived at Whitehall on the second of September;

* This act ordained, that no person should be sent prisoner beyond sea; that no judge, under the severest penalties, shall refuse to any prisoner a writ of Habeas corpus, by which the goaler is to produce in court the body of the prisoner (whence the writ has its name) and to certify the cause of his commitment and detainer: that, if the jail lie within twenty miles

of the judge, the writs be obeyed in three days; and so proportionably for greater distances: that every prisoner be indicted the first term after his commitment, and brought to trial in the subsequent term; and that no man, after being discharged by order of court, be committed anew for the same offence. See stat. 31 Car. II.

ber; but by that time the king was pretty well recovered.

The duke of York, during his stay at court, employed all his influence over the king his brother to set him against the duke of Monmouth. That young prince, who was possessed of many amiable qualities, was become extremely popular, and Shaftesbury and the Country Party had already singled him out as a proper person to fill the place of York in the succession to the crown, in case they could carry their favourite Exclusion Bill. Monmouth, elated with this flattering prospect, had been rather too free in his censures on the court measures. He had not spared at several different times to intimate to his friends, that he was the true and lawful son of Charles, who, according to him, had been solemnly married to his mother, Mrs. Lucy Walters, daughter of a country gentleman of that name. In short, his strict connection with the party in the opposition, and the indiscretion of his conduct and conversation, afforded but too plausible a supposition that he aspired to the crown. He was tenderly beloved by Charles; and it was not improbable that it was as much with a view to remove him out of the way of temptation, as from any compliance with the applications of his uncle, that the king, after taking from him his commission, and depriving him of several other employments he held under the crown, ordered him to withdraw to the continent; whereupon he embarked for Holland. The duke of York soon after went over to Brussels; and Shaftesbury, whose projects were now universally known, was dismissed from his place of president of the council. The duke of York did not remain long abroad; for thinking himself at too great a distance from the scene of his interests, he wrote a very submissive letter to the king, wherein he represented to his majesty, "That he conceived it, for many reasons, more proper for him to be in his majesty's dominions, rather than in those of another prince; and therefore made it his humble request to his majesty, that he would grant him his royal permission to go into Scotland." The king complied with his request; and James leaving Brussels, came to London about the beginning of November; and, after having paid his devoirs to his royal brother, he set out with his family for Edinburgh, and arrived there on the fourth of December. During his stay in Scotland, he made himself many more enemies than friends.

The elections for the new parliament running all against the court, the king, fearful that they would renew their attack against his brother, and traverse every measure he himself should chuse to adopt, determined to put off the session for a whole year, and accordingly signified this his intention to the council. The members, surprised at this resolution, and still more so at the peremptory manner in which it was made known to them, resolved to retire from court, nor longer fill the empty posts of counsellors that might not counsel. Essex resigned the office of treasurer, which was bestowed upon Lawrence Hyde, who, with Sunderland and Godolphin, became the king's chief counsellors. Lord Russell, one of the most popular and virtuous men in the nation, quitted the board, sir William Temple retired into the country, and Robert, earl of Radnor, was named president of the council.

Towards the latter end of October, about a fortnight after the parliament had been prorogued, a sham-plot was discovered, contrived by the papists, to be revenged on their persecutors, and to translate the odium from themselves to the presbyterians. One Dangerfield, a fellow who had suffered almost every punishment that the law can inflict on the most abandoned miscreant, and stood foremost in the chronicles of infamy, was tutored for the purpose. The catholic party released him out of Newgate, where he was imprisoned for debt, and set him to work. He pretended to have been privy to a design for destroying the king and the royal family, and converting the government into a commonwealth. The king and his brother countenanced the tale, and rewarded him for his discovery with a sum of money; but certain papers which he produced in evidence of his assertions, appearing upon examination to be forged by himself, he was put under arrest. All his haunts were ordered to be searched; and in the house of one Mrs. Cellier, a midwife, a Roman catholic, and an intimate of his, was found the model of the pretended plot, wrote very fair, and neatly made up into a book, tied with a ribband, and concealed in a meal-tub; whence it acquired the name of the MEAL-TUB plot. Finding himself thus detected, the incendiary made a full confession of the imposture, which he said had been contrived by the earl of Castlemain, the countess of Powis, and the five popish lords in the Tower, in order to invalidate the testimonies of Oates, Bedloe, and the rest, against the papists; and that he was to have accused the dukes of Monmouth and Buckingham, the earls of Essex, Halifax, and others, with being concerned in a conspiracy against the king and the duke of York. Upon this lord Castlemain and lady Powis were committed to the Tower; and the people did not spare to censure the king himself, as a promoter of this design against the lives and honours of those persons, who were well known to be obnoxious to him, but with what truth cannot now be determined by us.

Thus much, however, is certain, that the detection of this infamous juggle raised anew the storm against the catholics. The most irritating libels were dispersed thro' the kingdom: in London the mob, instigated, doubtless, by their superiors, carried about in procession the image of the murdered sir Edmundsbury Godfrey, crying out, that such would be the fate of every protestant, should a papist be suffered to succeed to the crown. Shaftesbury was at the bottom of all this, and had concerted matters so with the duke of Monmouth, that the latter came over to England without the king's leave, and arrived in the city just as these tumultuous doings were at the highest. The frantic demonstrations of joy that burst from the populace on the first notice of his return, the seditious pamphlets that immediately flew about, and in which the duke was represented as the only man that could deliver the nation from popery and slavery, sufficiently indicated a design to exclude the duke of York from the throne, and to set up Monmouth in his stead.

Such was the state of domestic affairs in England at the close of the year 1679. Many true lovers of their country beheld, with unspeakable grief, that animosity between the court and country parties, which seemed to threaten a renewal of

the fatal year 1641: nor is it at all improbable that such might have been the case, if the king's necessities had, like those of his father, been so pressing, as to oblige him to assemble the parliament, as that unfortunate prince had done; had the Scots not been so effectually enslaved by a standing army which the court kept among them, that they had not power to stir; and had not the bishops and clergy, forgetting every other consideration in the pursuit of their interest, attached themselves so strongly to the court, as to give it a superiority over the opposition.

The nation by this time grew impatient at the long prorogation of the parliament. The country party took advantage of this, and by their emissaries procured a number of addresses to be sent from different parts of the kingdom, petitioning his majesty for the speedy assembling of the great council of the kingdom. The city of London distinguished itself on this occasion: sir Gilbert Gerard the lord-mayor, with several considerable citizens, went in a body to court, and presented a petition to the king, praying that he would give orders for the immediate meeting of the parliament, and that the popish lords might be brought to their trials. His majesty returned for answer, "That he looked upon himself to be the head of the government, and the only judge what was fit to be done in those causes."

This reply, however it may have been represented by some historians, too much biased by their own prejudices, was certainly well becoming the dignity and majesty of a sovereign: nor can we condemn Charles's conduct in this affair, when we reflect that numbers of the old rebel brood appeared at the head of the petitioners of the several counties.

The court party, however, thought it behoved them to use every precaution against this growing spirit of disaffection and opposition. They found means to have a number of counter-addresses sent up from the towns and boroughs in their interest, expressing the greatest abhorrence of such petitions, as an infringement upon the prerogative, which in their expressions they took care to advance as high as possible. Thus the nation came to be divided into *Petitioners* and *Abhorrrers*, soon known by the names of *Whigs* and *Tories*, which both parties, by way of reproach, gave each other, and which have so long served to characterise the different parties of this island*.

The king, however, thought fit to suffer the parliament to meet on the twenty-sixth day of January, 1680, the day they stood prorogued to; when he told them, That the distractions and jealousies of the kingdom were such, and so heightened by the malice and industry of ill-designing men, "that he was of opinion, a longer interval of parliament would be absolutely necessary for composing and quieting men's minds;" and therefore ordered them to be prorogued, at the same time giving them to understand, that it would be farther prorogued, unless the condition of his allies abroad required their immediate assistance.

And now the king determined to have the duke of York again near his person. Accordingly, he sent for him out of Scotland, and he arrived at court on the twenty-fourth of February. The city, by a strange inconsistent conduct, expressed the greatest joy at his return; invited the king his brother and him to a grand entertainment; and every street blazed with bonfires, every house shone with illuminations.

The Whigs were not a little mortified at the duke's return; and the earl of Shaftesbury, who was at the head of that party, and who had for some time been making a progress thro' the kingdom with Monmouth, in order to acquire him a powerful party among the populace, now took a step that bid fair to effectually ruin the duke of York, and establish the interests of his patron and pupil Monmouth. He industriously circulated a report of that nobleman's legitimacy, pretending that the king had been actually married to Mrs. Lucy Walters, or Barlow, the duke's mother; and that the contract of marriage was in a black box entrusted to the care of sir Gilbert Gerard. Such a report was of a nature not to be passed by on the part of the court and the duke of York. Sir Gilbert was examined before the council, and declared upon oath, that he never had such a contract in his possession, nor had ever heard that any such writing existed. Whereupon the king issued a declaration, importing, that he never was contracted to Mrs. Lucy Walters, or Barlow, mother to the duke of Monmouth, nor to any other woman but his royal consort queen Catherine. This declaration, attested by all the privy-counsellors, was registered in the Court of Chancery.

In Easter term this year, 1680, the countess of Powis being indicted of treason upon the evidence of Dangerfield, the jury brought in the bill, *Ignoramus*: whereupon the lord Stafford, one of the five popish lords confined in the Tower, thinking the credit of the plot and its witnesses began to decline, moved to be enlarged upon bail; but his suit was denied. In the summer, the earl of Castlemain and Cellier the midwife were tried on account of the Meal-Tub plot, and acquitted. The famous informer Bedloe died in August at Bristol, having on his death-bed signed a deposition before the lord chief-justice North, of the duke of York's being as much concerned in the popish plot as any one, excepting what related to the murder of the king.

Though the court party had of late gained ground, those in the opposition made strong efforts to retain their influence in the nation, in which they were not a little assisted by the favour of the city of London; which, notwithstanding the outward marks it had given of regard to the court, was in general averse to the administration. An opportunity offered about this time of giving a convincing proof of its real sentiments: sir Robert Clayton the mayor had, as usual, drank to a person, by way of nominating him sheriff, who happened not to be agreeable to the popular leaders. The common-council rejected the nomination, and

* The court party reproached their antagonists with their resemblance to the conventiclers in Scotland, who were commonly called Whigs; a name derived from a kind of butter-milk, upon which the covenanters were supposed to live: the country party discovered a similitude between the courtiers and

the popish banditti in Ireland, who were usually distinguished by the appellation of Tories; and such was the origin of these foolish and ridiculous terms, which have ever since prevailed in England; and even at present seem not nearer their end than when they were first adopted. Hume.

chose the aldermen Bethel and Cornish, two presbyterians, for their sheriffs. There was a great contest on the occasion; but the country party carried their point, to the no small mortification of the court.

All this time the duke of Monmouth, who had been forbid appearing in the king's presence, upon his having returned to England without his majesty's permission, was labouring hard to get a party among the people: but the boldest stroke, and what alarmed the king and the whole court the most, was, his going publicly to the King's Bench bar at Westminster, with his friends Shaftesbury, Russel, Cavendish, and ten or a dozen more noblemen and persons of distinction, to present the duke of York (his uncle) as a popish recusant. The truth of this allegation was but too notorious: the whole kingdom was sensible of it; but till this time no person had the boldness to take such a step, which was regarded as a settled design to break all measures with the duke.

On the twenty-first of October the new parliament assembled; and it soon appeared that the majority of the house was strongly prepossessed against the measures of the court. The king opened the session with an eloquent and specious harangue. As he knew that both houses had greatly at heart the protection of the protestant religion, he enlarged a great deal upon that head, and used all his endeavours to persuade them, that he was zealously affected to the religion of the church of England, the preservation of which he would ever make one of his principal cares. He recommended to them, in the warmest terms, to lay aside those party animosities and dissensions, which had hitherto troubled their councils: he declared himself ready to join with them in the most perfect harmony and union for restoring domestic peace, by which alone the honour and interest of the nation could be effectually supported; with much more of the like tendency. But the house knew Charles too well to lay any greater stress upon those professions than they merited; nor could all his rhetoric mollify the disgust they had conceived at his conduct, and that of the persons most in favour about him. Instead of appearing charmed with, and thankful for, these gracious declarations of the sovereign, they openly censured the court for the notorious misapplication of the generous supplies that had been granted to it by the parliament: they exposed that profusion, that prodigality of disposition, which rendered the king for ever a beggar, while his people were continually giving with unbounded liberality: they went upon the popish plot: they expelled one of their members for having declared in public conversation, that he believed it all a forgery: they voted sir George Jefferys, one of the king's serjeants, and sir Francis Withens, high-steward of Westminster, betrayers of their country, for being Abhorrers, that is, for having joined in counter-addresses against the petitions for the sitting of the parliament. They next recommended Dr. Tonge, one of the discoverers of the popish plot, to the king, for the next ecclesiastical preferment that should become vacant; and in all probability Charles would have been obliged to gratify them in this point, had not Tonge died soon after. They also gave great encouragement to Dangerfield, and indeed to every other person that had been in any

manner instrumental in discovering the popish conspiracy.

The master-blow, however, remained yet unstruck; but on the twenty-sixth of October, within less than a week after the meeting of the parliament, the lord Russel, in direct terms, moved for excluding the duke of York from the succession. He was seconded by sir Henry Capel, brother to the earl of Essex, and several others joined in the said motion. Whereupon the house of commons came to the following resolution on the twenty-second of November, viz. "That the duke of York's being a papist, and the hopes of his coming to the crown had given the greatest countenance and encouragement to the present designs and conspiracies against the king and the protestant religion; and that, in defence of the king's person, government, and the protestant religion, they would stand by his majesty with their lives and fortunes; and that, if his majesty should come to any violent death, they would revenge it to the utmost on the papists." In consequence of which vote, a bill was brought in on the fourth of November, "to disable James, duke of York and Albany, from inheriting the imperial crown of this realm;" which occasioned several warm debates. The most concise abstract of these would fill up many pages; and as they are to be found at large in the printed Debates of the House of Commons, and in almost all other historians, I shall omit them, and content myself with observing, that the bill having made its way thro' the lower house, was, on the fifteenth of November, sent up to the lords, where, though it was carried for a second reading by two voices, it was then thrown out by a majority of sixty-three against thirty, all the bishops present voting against it, and the king being also there during the whole time of the debate. The noblemen who chiefly distinguished themselves in opposing the Exclusion Bill in the house of peers, were the earls of Essex, Sunderland, and Halifax, who went by the name of the Triumvirate. It was not long, however, before they gave manifest proofs of a change of sentiments.

The country party could not conceal their rage at the loss of their favourite bill: the commons addressed the king to remove lord Halifax, and the other lords who had voted against it, from his majesty's presence and councils for ever: they issued writs for apprehending several gentlemen of rank and fortune, who had been principally concerned, as foremen of grand juries, in the *abhorring addresses*: they impeached the lord chief-justice North of high crimes and misdemeanors, for having assisted in the same; and the other lord chief-justice, Scroggs, of high-treason, for having browbeaten the evidences of the popish plot. On the thirtieth of November, the lord viscount Stafford, one of the five popish lords in the Tower, was brought to his trial for being concerned in the said plot; and being found guilty by his peers, he was condemned, and on the twenty-ninth of December beheaded on Tower-Hill, continuing to assert his innocence to his last moment. In a word, it is hard to say which is most deserving the censure of candid posterity, the unwarrantable arbitrary proceedings of the king in many former instances, or the present mad and undiscerning resentment of the parliament. Not content with shewing these marks of their

extreme

extreme displeasure against the court, they passed the following votes: "That it is the opinion of this house, that there is no security or safety for the protestant religion, the king's life, and government of this nation, without passing a bill for disabling James duke of York to inherit the imperial crown of this realm, &c. and to rely upon any other means and remedies, is not only insufficient, but dangerous."

The king looking upon these proceedings as direct attacks upon his dignity and prerogative, and being apprehensive that if he winked at them, they would soon be attended with more serious consequences, resolved to put a speedy end to their session. This coming to the knowledge of the commons, they met early in the morning of the tenth of January, 1681, the day on which the king was expected at the house to prorogue it; and came to a resolution, "That whoever advised his majesty to prorogue the parliament to any other purpose than in order to passing a bill for the exclusion of the duke of York, is a betrayer of the king, the protestant religion, and the kingdom; a promoter of the French interest, and a pensioner of France." They had some time before refused to grant the king any supply; and now, lest he should be able by other means to support the government, and render himself independent, they passed another vote, importing, That whoever should advance any money upon those branches of the king's revenue arising from customs, excise, or hearth-money, should be deemed an enemy to parliaments, and be answerable for the same in that assembly.

These votes were scarce passed, when the usher of the black rod came to require their attendance in the house of peers; when the king, after having given his consent to several laws of real importance and utility to the nation, prorogued the parliament to the twentieth of January, and soon afterwards dissolved it; at the same time he issued writs for calling another on the twenty-first of March, which was to meet at Oxford.

The king, in making choice of this city for holding his parliament, had in view to deprive the country party of the advantage their close connection with the city of London had given them, and at the same time to punish that capital for the countenance and support it had all along given to the violent councils of the parliament: but here Charles found himself deceived, and that he had taken his measures wrong. The members of the new parliament in the country interest were, almost to a man, the same as had been returned in the preceding parliament; and they brought with them the same resentment, the same avowed spirit of opposition to all the king's measures, and seemed determined to be revenged for the indignity they thought had been put upon them, by his majesty's having so suddenly, and with so high an hand, dissolved their former session.

The assembling of this parliament had indeed rather the appearance of those in the distracted times of the second, third, and sixth Henry, at Clarendon, Oxford, and Coventry, than the peaceful and amicable meeting of a sovereign and his people: each side came armed, and attended by their friends and adherents, as if confident of an immediate rupture. The city members (of London) in particular appeared in the midst of a nu-

merous body of horsemen, distinguished by knots of ribbands, inscribed, NO POPERY, NO SLAVERY. In short, both parties endeavoured to make a display of their strength.

On this occasion Charles shewed a vigor and firmness truly becoming a great prince, and such as appeared the more surprising in him, who had hitherto been remarkable for his facility and irresolution. On opening the session he made a noble, and not inelegant speech; in which, after complaining of the disrespectful proceedings of the last parliament, which were such, he said, as few princes besides himself would have borne with equal patience; he gave them to understand, that as it was not his desire or intention to exercise arbitrary power on them, so he would not allow it to be exercised over himself: and again inculcated to them the necessity of moderation in their debates, as that alone could answer the ends of the nation, who had deputed them as representatives. He was willing, he said, to give them every possible satisfaction in his power, in relation to their fears from a popish successor, by joining with them to establish any practicable scheme for putting the government entirely into protestant hands, during the reign of such an one. In fine, that as on his part he had and would perform every thing that could reasonably be expected from him, so he looked that they should lay aside their animosities, and concur with him in that salutary end, nor, by a revival of their past irregularities, inspire him with a disgust to parliaments.

The commons seemed equally indifferent to the menaces or soothing of the king: they elected the same speaker who filled the chair in the last parliament, and they instantly adopted the same measures; the impeachment of Danby, the enquiry into the popish plot, and the Bill of exclusion. So bent were they upon carrying this last point, that they rejected every expedient offered by the court. In a word, the leaders of the opposition were resolved to be dissatisfied with every thing they could propose, in hopes of humbling them into a perfect compliance with their will. What other motive, for instance, can with any shadow of reason be ascribed, for their rejecting the following expedient, offered by Ernely, one of the king's ministers, to remove all their fears of a popish successor, and which was read in the house on the twenty-sixth of March.

He proposed, "That the duke of York should be banished five hundred miles from the British dominions: that the government should be wholly vested in a regent: that this regent should be the princess of Orange; and in case of her death, without issue or with issue (being a minor) her sister the princess Anne: that if the duke should have a son educated in the protestant religion, then the said princesses respectively to succeed in the regency, during the minority of such son, and no longer: that notwithstanding these kingdoms, out of respect to the royal family, and for the sake of preserving the right of succession, might be governed by the name of James II. yet no man should take arms from him, or by virtue of his commission, on pain of being capitally punished: that all officers, civil or military, shall take an oath to observe this settlement of the government: that acts of the like nature should pass in the parliament of Scotland and Ireland: that the duke of York should

should come into any of the three kingdoms, he shall be ipso facto excluded, and the sovereignty devolve to the regent: that all papists of any consideration should be banished by name, and their children be educated in the protestant religion."

These expedients, however rigorous, as indeed they came very little short of an exclusion, if Mr. Echard, from whom this account is taken, has given us a true one, did not appear to the commons (or they would not think them) a sufficient barrier against popery, though the duke of York and his party were so sensible of the force of them, that they declared themselves more against the limitations than against the exclusion itself; and therefore they resumed their favourite bill, and were proceeding to several violent resolutions, when an event happened which created a quarrel between the two houses, and ended in the breaking up of the session.

One Fitz-Harris, an Irish papist, had been employed by the dutchess of Portsmouth, the king's favourite mistress, and another Pompadour, in respect to intermeddling with state affairs, in procuring intelligence of any libel wrote by the country party, or of any designs formed against her, or against the court. This man contracted an acquaintance with one Everard, a spy of the Exclusionists, to whom he proposed to write a libel against the king and the duke of York, apparently with a view to have by this means such a testimony in his hands, as might effectually ruin the Whigs in the opinion of the people. Everard was himself upon the catch, and came into Fitz-Harris's proposals, only with an intent to reveal the whole affair to his patrons. They met by appointment; Everard had planted sir William Waller, a justice of peace, where he might discover the whole of what passed. The heads of a seditious pamphlet were drawn up between the two spies. Fitz-Harris took the paper away in his pocket, was presently pursued by the proper officer attending for that purpose, and was taken with the writing about him. The commons impeached him in the house of lords; but the latter rejected the impeachment, and ordered him to be prosecuted at common law, which occasioned a difference between the two houses: and the commons, with their usual spirit, declared, that whatever inferior court should presume to try Fitz-Harris, or any one that lay under an impeachment, should be deemed guilty of an high breach of privilege. In fine, the dispute grew warmer and warmer. Charles beheld the quarrel between the two houses as the most favourable pretext he could have wished, for cutting short a parliament which was determined to thwart him in all his measures; and by this stroke to spare his beloved brother from the mortification of farther insults, and perhaps keep his right of succession from being violated. Having fixed his resolution, he carefully concealed it, even from his greatest intimates; and going with the utmost privacy to the house on the twenty-eighth of March, 1681, the day the Exclusion Bill was to have a second reading, he dissolved the parliament before they had the least intimation of his design: after which he took coach, and drove directly for London, where he published a declaration, containing his reasons for dissolving the two last parliaments; in which he taxed the commons with a design to wrest the regal au-

thority out of his hands, and subvert the constitution.

This unprecedented act of vigor and resolution in the king was a thunder-stroke to the country party: they were confounded and abashed at being thus circumvented; and knowing not what measure to have recourse to, they retired quietly every man to his habitation. Thus far Charles acted with a becoming spirit; thus far he shewed himself worthy of swaying the sceptre of so great a kingdom: we wish that the subsequent part of his conduct was equally free from reprehension.

But Charles was a man, and, as such, subject to the frailties of human nature: he did not enjoy his triumph with moderation, nor did he duly distinguish between the irregular attempts of a discontented faction to ingross all power to itself, and the noble efforts of a patriotic spirit to withstand the encroachments of the crown on the undoubted liberties of the subject. His parliament had contradicted him; they had wounded him in the tenderest part; and therefore he determined for the future to govern without them; and the rest of his reign was spent in continual attempts to render himself absolute, in which he succeeded but too far, when he grew as cruel and despotic as he before appeared mild and merciful.

What contributed chiefly to the establishment of his arbitrary power, was the fierce animosity which then prevailed between the two parties of Whigs and Tories, which the court carefully fomented. Charles applied himself particularly to the latter: he had frequent conferences with their leaders; to whom he was constantly representing, that the late disputes, and the dissolution of two successive parliaments, in consequence thereof, had been entirely owing to the intrigues of the Whigs, who, under the appearance of an extraordinary zeal for the church and the protestant religion, concealed the most inveterate hatred to monarchy; and that their real design was to bring about its subversion, and establish a republican form of government upon its ruins; by the means of which, they hoped to get the first posts in the kingdom into their own hands, and enrich themselves with the spoils of a civil war, which might be the unavoidable result of their carrying their point: that episcopacy, and the liturgy of the church of England, were alike disagreeable to them: in fine, that they were most of them in their hearts either rigid presbyterians, or rebellious independents.

This artifice had the desired effect; the episcopal party, and all the high-churchmen, took the alarm, and joined themselves to the court, in order to oppose the designs of the Whigs: the clergy every where preached up passive obedience and non-resistance, in the most slavish and absolute sense; and multitudes of flattering addresses flowed in from all parts of the kingdom, advancing the prerogative of the crown to the most extravagant height. The cry was now changed; the church indeed was still represented to be in danger, but it was not from the papists now, but from the Whigs and the presbyterians. In fine, the catholics uniting with the Tories and the common interest, they carried all they desired, and the country party was obliged to bow beneath the power of their adversaries. The duke of York was soon after recalled from Scotland, and resumed his place at the council-board. Charles, who had an affec-

tion for, and confidence in him, that exceeded the bounds of reason and sound policy, followed implicitly all the measures he proposed, and in a manner committed the reins of government into his hands, that he himself might enjoy his pleasures uncontrouled.

The effects of this preposterous conduct were soon felt by all who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the court. Fitz Harris was, a little time after the dissolution of the parliament, tried at the King's Bench bar, condemned, and executed; as was also one Oliver Plunket, the popish titular primate of Ireland, for a conspiracy with the French court, in order to stir up an insurrection in that island. The most remarkable sacrifice to the resentment of the court, was Stephen College, a joiner, of London, a man of some abilities, who had shewn himself particularly zealous against popery, and from thence had acquired the name of the Protestant Joiner. He attended the city members to Oxford, where, it is said, he took some indecent liberties, both in speaking and writing verses, reflecting on the king and court. For this, a bill of indictment of high treason was preferred against him to the grand jury, but was by them thrown out: the court, however, was not to be thus baffled of its revenge; he was hurried down to Oxford, and methods taken which were not the most justifiable, to have the bill found there, upon which he was tried, condemned, and executed. On the same day that College suffered (August 31) Titus Oates was, by an order of council, turned out of his lodgings at Whitehall, with a prohibition to appear within the precincts of the court. Titus had done the business he was set upon; and indeed it should seem he was thought to have overdone it: the popish plot was now made a matter of ridicule by the king and his courtiers; the presbyterians were now become the only traitors.

The ruin of Shaftesbury yet remained to complete the triumph of the court party. The duke, to whom he had in a particular manner rendered himself obnoxious, was fully bent to be revenged on him. He was sent to the Tower for high treason, and his trial was to come on at the Old Bailey in November; but he luckily escaped, by the grand jury's not finding the bill of indictment against him: on which occasion there were bonfires and illuminations throughout the city, and even a medal was struck to commemorate the event. Various are the opinions of writers concerning the truth of the crimes alleged against the earl, which were nothing less than a design to seize the king at Oxford, to have brought him to London, and compelled him to have yielded to the demands of the parliament. It was sworn that troops were actually raised in London and other places, besides those who went down with the members, and only waited for the earl of Shaftesbury's orders to march; but I refer to the State Trials for a further account of these proceedings.

The duke of York, who all this time governed Scotland as high-commissioner, carried every thing there according to the desire of the court. He is accused of having acted in a most arbitrary, and even cruel manner, during his residence in that kingdom. The Scottish parliament was entirely at his devotion. They passed an act, acknowledging "That the crown of Scotland had, by an inherent right, by the nature of the monarchy, and the

fundamental laws of the kingdom, always descended to the heir of blood, and that no law or consideration could alter the succession." They enacted another statute for imposing upon persons in office a test oath, acknowledging the king's supremacy, renouncing the covenant, and espousing the doctrine of passive obedience." A clause however was admitted in favour of the protestant religion, ratifying an old confession of faith, in which the maxim of resistance was inculcated: A strange inconsistency! and which sufficiently proved the whole to be the work of people of different parties, agreeing only in a servile submission to the will of their ruler. The earl of Argyle, a nobleman of unimpeached integrity, of the presbyterian persuasion, who had adhered to the king in all his adversity, refused to take this motley oath without an explanation; for which he was condemned to lose his head, which he prevented, for the time, by escaping out of the castle of Edinburgh, and retiring into Holland. If we may believe Mr. Hume, and some other writers, who appear to be rather overheated with zeal, the duke of York, during his residence in Scotland, gave proofs of a savage cruelty that out-does any thing we read of to have been practised by the Spaniards upon the defenceless inhabitants of the new world. For the honour of humanity, we hope these reports are exaggerated: certain it is, that the Scottish fanatics omitted no opportunity of incensing the government, by the most indecent and bitter invectives: they were actuated by two furious preachers, called Cameron and Cargill; the first of whom was slain in the act of open rebellion: the other fell by the hands of the executioner, though, after a summary trial, about fifteen other persons suffered death, rather than say, God bless the King, the hardest concession imposed upon them. At length, the duke finding that their infatuation was such, as to bid defiance to all severity, and that they gloried in their sufferings, stopped the hand of the executioner, and the delinquents were only condemned to hard labour for a time proportioned to the nature and degree of their offence. About the close of the year the duke returned to the English court, where he continued his presence and influence to the end of this reign. In the mean time, the king ordered the protestant dissenters to be prosecuted with all the rigor of the law, on the statute enacted against non-conformists in the reign of queen Elizabeth.

Before I close the transactions of this year, I think it necessary to inform the reader of a circumstance which I omitted in its proper place; namely, that the commons in the last parliament assembled at Oxford, ordered their votes to be printed every day, that the public might be acquainted with the subject of their deliberations; which practice has been continued ever since.

The mutual animosity of the two parties in the kingdom was now inflamed into rage and rancour; and Charles, who ought as a king to have conducted himself as the common parent of all his people, openly headed a faction. The city of London had hitherto preserved its independence; and the Whig interest predominated there: but the court found means in the following year 1682, to get the lord-mayor and sheriffs chosen from among the king's party: this was a great point gained by the Tories; and Shaftesbury was so sen-
sible

fible of it, and how little favour he had to expect from a London jury under such influence, that he thought fit to quit the kingdom, and take refuge in Holland, in that very country of whose ruin he had been the original promoter, and which he had urged in parliament with all that eloquence which he knew so well how to adapt to his own interest and the circumstances of the times.

The duke of York, finding the city thus gained over, thought it a favourable opportunity to wreak his vengeance on some of its members who had, perhaps, too indecently reflected upon his character; the principal of these were, Pilkington, an alderman, whom he sued in a writ of scandalum magnatum, and was cast in damages to the amount of one hundred thousand pounds, in direct violation of that excellent clause in Magna Charta, which says, "No one shall be amerced to his utter ruin." Sir Patience Ward, who had served the office of lord-mayor, and gave evidence in behalf of the alderman, was sued for perjury, and condemned to the pillory; which ignominious sentence he underwent in that very city, and in the view of these very people over whom he had so lately ruled as supreme magistrate.

The year 1682 furnishes us with few memorable events, except the triumph of the court and the Tories, the ruin of the Whig party, and the persecution of the presbyterians. Some things remain which perhaps the reader may not be displeased to find noticed. In the beginning of the year Thomas Thynne, Esq; was assassinated in his coach in the open street, at the instigation of count Coningsmark, on a quarrel about a lady; for which three persons, one of them the count's footman, was executed.

Two extraordinary embassies arrived in England this year, one from the emperor of Fez and Morocco, and the other from the king of Bantam, in the East-Indies.

On the twenty-ninth of November, this year, died prince Rupert, in the sixty-third year of his age. He was duke of Cumberland, and earl of Holderness, in England; so created by his uncle king Charles I. in 1643. This prince was the third son of Elizabeth, queen of Bohemia, daughter of king James I. and brother to the princess Sophia; on whose issue the crown of Great-Britain was settled by act of parliament, the last year of king William III. He made a distinguished figure both by sea and land, in this and the former reign; and died covered with military glory.

About the same time died John Maitland, duke of Lauderdale, earl of Guildford, in England, who had the administration of the affairs of Scotland in his hands great part of this reign; in which office he created himself innumerable enemies: his death was little regretted in either kingdom. Heneage Finch, lord chancellor, an eloquent speaker, and an upright counsellor, who had been created earl of Nottingham, also left the world this year: nor must we forget to mention that the earl of Shaftesbury died in Holland, within three months of his arrival there, in the sixty-second year of his age.

There were several removals at court, and creations of nobility, the latter end of this year; the privy-seal was taken from the earl of Anglesea, and given to George Saville, earl of Halifax, who was thereupon created marquis of Halifax; the earl of Sunderland was again called to the council-board,

and on the resignation of lord Conway made secretary of state again: among other creations we must not pass unnoticed that of colonel John Churchill (afterwards the famous duke of Marlborough), who was made baron Churchill of Aymouth; the duke of Grafton, one of the king's natural sons, was made vice-admiral of England, vacant by the death of prince Rupert.

The fore-part of the year 1683 was distinguished by a memorable exertion of despotic power, on the part of the crown; I mean the divesting the city of London of its charter. The last year there had been a very great riot raised by the Whig party, in which they had carried matters to such an unwarrantable length, as to arrest Sir William Pritchard, the lord-mayor, sheriff North, and several other aldermen of the court party, in an action at the suit of Papillon and Dubois, under pretence of the damages these latter had received by not being returned sheriffs. The lord-mayor and his brethren were kept in custody till midnight, and then released: the common-council, however, apprehensive that the court would resent this outrage on the supreme magistrate of the capital, and the rest of their friends, publicly disclaimed the action, by an order of common-council, declaring therein their disavowal and disapprobation of the same; and turned out one Broom, who had been particularly active in the riot, from his place of coroner, declaring him incapacitated to enjoy any place or preferment in the city for the future.

Soon after the election of sheriffs coming on, the Whigs again raised a furious riot, in which they assaulted the lord-mayor, forced him upon his knees, threw off his hat, beat down the sword that was carried before him, and continued the hall, in spite of his adjournment. For this and the former proceedings, it was determined to bring a Quo warranto against the city, to shew they had forfeited their charter by these tumultuous doings: in the mean time, on the eighth of May this year, the attorney-general, by order, laid an information against fourteen persons concerned in the latter riot; these were the then sheriffs Pilkington and Shute, now lord Grey of Werk, Sir Tho. Player, Cornish Bethel, and others of inferior note, who were tried, convicted, and condemned in heavy fines. The city, in order to reconcile themselves to the court, did about this time set up the statue of king Charles I. in one of the niches of the Royal Exchange, and made several submissions, but all in vain; for the court, glad of this opportunity to humble the capital, was resolved not to let it slip.

Accordingly, on the twelfth of June, a writ of Quo warranto was brought by the king against the city, in the King's Bench of Westminster, that is, an enquiry how it became a corporation, and "by what warrant" it enjoyed its privileges. On such occasions, the corporation against which the Quo warranto is issued, produces the charter of its privileges; and the question is, Whether it has exactly obeyed the conditions and articles of its charter?

On this occasion, exclusive of the late treasonable insurrections, as the court party affected to call the late riots, it was pretended that the city had forfeited all its privileges, and ought no longer to enjoy the rights of a corporation, by reason of two offences, which the court of aldermen and common-council had committed.

After the great fire in 1666, all the markets had been rebuilt, and had been furnished with many conveniences; and in order to defray the expences of these reparations, the magistrates had imposed a small toll on all those who brought any goods to market. This was supposed to be an usurpation of powers to which they had no title, and an encroachment on the prerogative of the king, and the privileges of the parliament, who alone had a right to impose taxes.

In the year 1679, the city had addressed the king against the prorogation of parliament, and had made use of the following expression: "Your petitioners are greatly surprized at the late prorogation, whereby the prosecution of the public justice of the kingdom, and the making of necessary provisions for the preservation of your majesty, and your Protestant subjects, have received interruption." These words were construed into a scandalous reflection on the king and his measures*.

The attorney and solicitor generals conducted the suit in behalf of the crown; the defence of the city was managed by Treby and Pollexfen, then esteemed the two most eminent men in their profession; the pleadings were drawn out to a very great length; for which I must again refer the reader to the State Trials: the result of the matter was, that the court gave judgment against the city, whose liberties and franchises were declared to be forfeited, and sentence given that they should be seized into the king's hands. Severe reflections were then, and still are, made on this judgment, greatly to the dishonour of the king and the court. However that may be, the citizens were struck with the greatest consternation; and the common-council assembled to consult what was to be done in this exigency. It was proposed, by an entire submission to the will of the court, to deprecate its wrath; and thus prevent the recording the Quo warranto, and the total extinction of the liberties of the city: this proposal was warmly combated by the Whig party; they represented the late action of the court as a most notorious violation of their rights and charters; to which, added they, we shall in some measure be accessory, if by a dastardly submission we acknowledge their assumed authority. Fear, conjoined with interest, however, prevailed over that firmness and resolution which might have been expected from the capital of the English nation. An humble deputation was sent to his majesty, requesting the restoration of their charter: the king granted their petition, but not till they had made such concessions as, in effect, annihilated even the shadow of liberty amongst them†.

The city of London thus humbled, all the other corporations in the kingdom thought it would be in vain to struggle with the court; and most of them tamely resigned their charters into the hands of the king; nor could they obtain the restoration

of them till they had paid considerable sums; and even then all the places of power and profit were, like those of the capital, left entirely at the disposal of the crown. This was truly the triumph of despotism. The English were no longer that bold and resolute people who had made their monarchs tremble on the throne, in defence of their ancient privileges; they were dwindled into dastardly slaves, who courted the yoke of oppression, and servilely licked the feet that trampled on their freedom.

We are now come to the discovery of the Protestant Plot, as it was called, though it is difficult to conceive the propriety of that term in a protestant country. It is commonly known by the name of the Rye-house Plot, from a house so called, in the road to New-market, possessed by Richard Rumbald, one of the conspirators, where it is pretended a design was formed to assassinate the king and his brother. It is almost impossible for an historian who relates the events of these times, not to displease some part of his readers, and incur the censure of partiality, if he goes about to determine the truth or futility of the facts advanced by either party. I shall therefore confine myself to the simple narrative of those circumstances that were acknowledged by both parties.

The first person who discovered this conspiracy was Josias Keeling, salter and citizen of London, who made and subscribed his confession on the twelfth day of June this year, before the earl of Dartmouth and Mr. secretary Jenkins; but reflecting that the deposition of a single witness would not be sufficient, he prevailed upon Goodenough, under-sheriff of London, and one of the conspirators, to admit his brother John Keeling to the next meeting of those concerned in the plot. This was done; and then Josias Keeling taking his brother John with him to the secretary, they both gave their joint testimony upon oath, on the fourteenth of June. Upon the depositions of these two men, a proclamation was issued for apprehending colonel Rumsey, Rumbald master of the Rye-house, Nelthorpe, Wade, Goodenough, Walcot, Thompson, Burton, and Home. Rumsey surrendered himself; and upon his confession, which was confirmed by West and Sheppard, two others of the conspiracy, there was another proclamation issued for apprehending the duke of Monmouth, the lord Grey, sir Thomas Armstrong, and Robert Ferguson. Shortly after, the lord Howard of Effrick came in; and upon his information warrants for high-treason were issued out against the earl of Essex, the lord Ruffel, and others, who were accordingly apprehended.

The plot is said to have consisted in the following particulars: To attack the king's guards, and seize the persons of the king and his brother; and if that attempt should miscarry, to assassinate the king and the duke in a hollow way near the Rye-

* Rapin. Smollett. Hume.

† They were as follow: "That no mayor, or other officer of the commonalty, should exercise his office, until his election should be confirmed under the king's sign manual: that in case his majesty should disapprove of their choice of a mayor and sheriffs, they should proceed to a new election; and provided the second election should be disagreeable to the king, they should appoint persons of his own nomination: that the

mayor and court of aldermen should be impowered to divest any alderman of his office by the king's permission: that should any alderman, after his election, be deemed incapable by the court of aldermen, the ward should be obliged to chuse another; and should he prove unacceptable to the court, a third should be elected by the court itself; and that the justices of the peace in London should act only by the king's commission."

house, in their return from Newmarket. This done, the conspirators were to have repaired in all haste to London, to join their brethren in the city, assemble their forces, and break out into open rebellion*. The prisoners were not kept long in confinement: Walcot was first brought to his trial on the twelfth of July. The evidences against him were Rumsey, West, and one Bourne a brewer, who all concurred in deposing that the prisoner had been at several meetings held the preceding year, on the business of the plot: that he was to have been an active person therein, being pitched upon to head those who were to attack the king's guard. Walcot in his defence alleged, and offered to prove by undoubted testimony, that he was ill of the gout all the time the king was at Newmarket. The evidence against him was, however, greatly confirmed, by a letter wrote by the prisoner himself, while under confinement, to secretary Jenkins; wherein he promised to reveal all that he knew in either of the three kingdoms, relating to a plot against his majesty, if he might be secured of the royal pardon. In conclusion, he was found guilty of high-treason by the jury. Home and Route were likewise tried and condemned, and in a few days all three were executed at Tyburn.

The next person who was brought to his trial was the lord Russel, son to the earl of Bedford. The witnesses produced against him were Rumsey, Sheppard, and the lord Howard of Escrick, a man who had been his intimate friend. Tho' the evidence against this nobleman was, by every impartial person, held as slight and imperfect, yet he too was brought in guilty. His case was by most people thought very hard; for he was condemned only for words spoken by others in his presence. Lord Howard was the chief evidence, and he was obliged to save his own life. By his conduct in this affair, he rendered himself so odious to every one, that not a man of character or reputation of either party would be afterwards seen in his company. The lord Russel was a nobleman universally beloved, and many eminent persons appeared for him, as, the duke of Somerset, the earl of Anglesea, the lords Cavendish and Clifford, Dr. Tillotson, and Dr. Burnet; but all to no purpose.

But what was supposed chiefly to have prejudiced the jury against lord Russel was, an accident that happened during the trial: the earl of Essex that very morning was found dead in the Tower, with his throat cut in a shocking manner. The news of this was immediately carried to the Old Bailey, and served to impress the minds of the judges, the council, and the jury, with a belief of the reality of the plot, since the earl of Essex, rather than stand his trial, had chosen to lay violent hands on himself. The king's council and the lord chief-justice made a suitable use of this incident in their charge to the jury; though it was afterwards industriously given out that the earl was murdered by other hands than his own, and even by order of the king and the duke, who had been in the Tower that very morning, where they had not been for many years before. This, however,

to use the words of a modern historian †, "is a circumstance which might naturally be interpreted in their favour; for had they really been concerned in such an atrocious crime, they would have hardly appeared upon the scene; a step which could not fail to raise the suspicion of the public:" besides, not to mention the attestation of Dr. Burnet, who had it from the earl's family, that he was not only subject to great fits of the spleen, but was a professed advocate for suicide, it is our duty to take notice, that the countess of Essex, who had caused all imaginable enquiries to be made after the cause of this fatal end of her lord, did publicly declare herself satisfied that he had met with no foul play; and concurred in the verdict of the coroner, who declared the deceased *felo de se*. But to return:

After the condemnation of the lord Russel, a petition was presented to the king by his lady, daughter of the good earl of Southampton, for a pardon, which it seems probable would have been granted, had not the prisoner insisted to the last, that resistance was lawful; a doctrine which the court, or rather the duke of York, who conducted all its determinations, held incompatible with the duty and loyalty of a subject. Moreover, the duke could never forgive Russel for the zeal he had shewed in behalf of the Exclusion Bill: in fine, all intreaties to save him were ineffectual, and on the twenty-first of July, 1683, he was beheaded in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, whither he was attended by Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Burnet. He died with the greatest composure and resignation, denying with his last breath his having been privy to any design against the king's person, or to alter the government: he professed his entire belief in the popish plot, and his firm attachment to the protestant religion.

For a conclusion to this tragedy, I must mention the trial, condemnation, and execution of colonel Algernon Sydney, brother to the earl of Leicester, who was accused of being concerned in this plot to kill the king. This gentleman had been deeply engaged in support of the republican schemes and form of government during the late troubles: he had even been nominated one of the late king's judges, but declined taking his seat on that infamous occasion. He was, however, a sworn foe to monarchy, on the restoration of which he withdrew into Holland; but desirous of revisiting his native country, he took the benefit of the act of indemnity, and in 1677 returned to England. He soon engaged in the country party, became a warm stickler for the Exclusion Bill; and, in a word, opposed with all his interest and eloquence, every design and measure of the court. Such a conduct could not fail to render him highly obnoxious to those in power, and it was resolved to stretch the law to the utmost in order to effect his ruin. In the month of November he was brought to his trial: the only witness who deposed against him was lord Howard. In the course of his trial, he proved by the testimonies of the earls of Anglesea and Clare, Mr. Philip and Mr. Edward Howard, Dr. Burnet, and others, that the lord Howard had

* This conspiracy, it seems, was first formed a little after Midsummer the preceding session 1682, and every thing was in readiness for the intended assassination, in the beginning of the spring of the year, when the king and duke were, as usual, to go to the races at Newmarket; but a fire happening in that

town on the twenty-second of March, which burnt down the palace, his majesty was obliged to return to London a week sooner than was expected, and thus the design was frustrated. Rapin, Salmon.

† Smollett.

confessed, "That he could not get his pardon till he had done some other jobbs, and had gone thro' all the drudgery of swearing:" but no notice was taken of this; nay, although the law expressly requires two witnesses, the king's council had recourse to a strange expedient to supply this defect, and which, to the disgrace of a court of judicature, was admitted as competent by Jefferies, lately made lord chief-justice of the King's Bench, who afterwards rendered himself so infamous in the succeeding reign. His house having been searched, among his papers was found a manuscript on the Original and Forms of Government, which appeared to be an answer to a book written by sir Robert Filmer, to prove that, by the laws of God and nature, kings, and particularly those of England, were invested with absolute and unlimited power. Sidney in his manuscript Answer had asserted a doctrine the reverse of this, and in terms that were equally extravagant; but this Answer had never been published, nor even printed, and intended only for his private use or amusement: nevertheless, the council insisted that this book was equivalent to a second witness, inasmuch as it was a proof of his principles and intentions. Finch declared it an overt act, observing, *scribere est agere*, that writing is acting. Jefferies delivered it as law, and said all the judges were of the same mind*. In short, the jury brought him in guilty, and he suffered on the scaffold the seventh of December, the king having changed his sentence of hanging to decapitation.

I shall not trouble my reader with the trials of the other accomplices in this plot, real or pretended, as they furnish nothing worthy his notice, after what has been already delivered. I shall only observe, that some of them were most heavily fined, and others committed into the hands of the executioner. Sir Thomas Armstrong, who was thought to have been the principal instrument in seducing the duke of Monmouth from his duty, was executed without trial, and his limbs dispersed thro' the principal towns of the kingdom. Titus Oates was about this time accused of speaking some disrespectful words of the duke, and condemned in a fine of one hundred thousand pounds, and committed to prison till he could pay it. A like fine was imposed upon one Dutton Colt, for a like offence; and sir Samuel Barnardiston, who had incurred the displeasure of the court, by having been foreman of that jury which rejected the bill against the earl of Shaftesbury, was amerced in ten thousand pounds, because in some private letters which had been intercepted, he had taken the liberty of censuring the public measures. I mention these trials, though they have no connection with the Rye-house Plot, in order to shew the temper of both judges and juries at this period, and the little security men had for the enjoyment of their lives or fortunes.

The duke of Monmouth, who had absconded on the first discovery of the plot, now wrote two

letters to the king, full of the most humble and submissive expressions. Monmouth was the beloved son of Charles, who felt all his tenderness revive, accepted of the guilty youth's submissions, and allowed him to come to court; nay, the king indulged him so far, as to promise he should not be obliged to give public evidence against any one: he was, however, required to sign a letter owning the plot in general, and tacitly justifying the evidence against those who had suffered. This letter, which was actually signed by the duke, the reader will find in the note †. Monmouth in a few days repented of the step he had taken, and with great earnestness entreated the king to return him the paper. Charles was so highly incensed at this behaviour, that he banished Monmouth the court, who went over to Holland, where the king, notwithstanding all that had passed, corresponded with him by letters, unknown to the duke of York, and privately made him remittances of money.

Whilst the trials for the Rye-house Plot were depending, the university of Oxford presented their famous Decree to his majesty; a servile piece of court flattery, more suitable to an absolute monarchy than a limited one, such as is that of England; and the Oxonians, in the overflowings of their loyalty, seemed to have held for nought the natural rights and liberties of mankind.

The discovery of the late plot had wrought greatly upon the people in favour of Charles; they still had an affection for his person, and could not without horror reflect on any attempts levied at his life. The severities lately practised were universally attributed to the duke of York, and that prince became daily more disagreeable to the nation: his enemies omitted no opportunity to blacken his character, and we shall find that the hatred he had brought upon himself by his unpopular conduct, was the principal cause of his being ignominiously driven from the throne of his ancestors, to which he had otherwise an indisputable right. His brother Charles, desirous to increase his own popularity by every possible expedient, and knowing the fear of popery to be the predominant passion in the minds of his people, thought proper to bestow his niece Anne, daughter to the duke of York, on prince George, brother to the king of Denmark, a protestant. The nuptials were celebrated on the twenty-eighth of July this year, about the height of the assassination plot: but though he gratified his subjects in this instance, no consideration could induce him to summon a parliament, or trust the nation with the election of new representatives, who might, in their collective capacity, become formidable to his newly-assumed despotic power. In this resolution he was strongly upheld by his brother York, who at the same time put him upon such measures, and rendered it indeed unsafe to convene such an assembly.

Tangier, on the coast of Barbary, part of queen Catherine's portion, was by the king's order de-

* Burnet, p. 572.

† "I have heard of some reports of me, as if I should have lessened the credit of the late plot, and endeavoured to weaken the evidence given against those who have died by the hands of justice. Your majesty and the duke know, how ingenuously I have owned the late conspiracy; and though I was not conscious of any design against your majesty's life, I yet lament my having had so great a share in the other parts of that conspira-

cy. I have therefore, sir, taken the liberty to put this into writing for my own vindication: I beseech you to look forward, and endeavour to forget the faults you have forgiven me. I will take care, on my part, never to commit any more against you, or incur the danger of being misled from my duty; but make it the study of my life to deserve the pardon which your majesty hath granted to your dutiful

MONMOUTH."

molished

molished this year, as in his present disposition not to call a parliament, he could not support the expence of keeping it.

As the city of London had not formally acknowledged their acquiescence in the decree issued against them, the king ordered the judgment on the Quo warranto to be recorded; then he seized the government of the city into his own hands, and sent a commission to sir William Pritchard, continuing him in the office of lord-mayor during his pleasure. He likewise confirmed the two sheriffs under the same restriction, but dismissed the recorder, and put another in his place.

Little happened abroad this year worthy our attention, unless the memorable siege of Vienna, the capital of the empire; before which Cara Mustapha, the Turkish grand vizier, at the head of one hundred and thirty thousand men, sat down about the middle of July; and having reduced the place to the last extremity, was, on the twelfth of September, obliged to abandon his enterprize, by John Sobieski king of Poland, and the duke of Lorraine, general of the Imperialists. On this occasion the Turks received the greatest defeat from the Christians that is mentioned in history, it being computed that no less than seventy thousand of the Infidels were killed at the siege and in the battle. Several English volunteers signalized themselves in the defence of Vienna, and among them the lord Lansdown, son to the earl of Bath; in consideration of whose merit the emperor created him a count of the Roman empire.

In the beginning of the year 1684, the earl of Danby, who had remained several years a prisoner in the Tower, and had often, but in vain, moved to be admitted to bail, was brought to the King's Bench bar, and indulged with that privilege, on entering into a recognizance himself in ten thousand pounds, and two of his friends five thousand pounds each, for his appearance in the house of lords the next session of parliament. The four popish lords remaining in the Tower were also admitted to bail on the same day (February 12): the lord Petre had died in that place about a month before. On his death-bed he had sent a letter to the king, wherein he declared, by his hopes of salvation, that he was innocent of the plot with which he was charged.

The greatest part of this year was taken up with prosecutions against disaffected persons, as they were called; that is, every one who offered to speak or write against the worse than Turkish despotism now exercised by the court. Among others was Mr. Samuel Johnson, who had been the lord Russell's chaplain, and was now fined in five hundred marks for writing a book, entitled, Julian the Apostate; in which he exposed and confuted the prevailing notions of passive obedience and non-resistance. A great many other persons were tried for speaking ill of the king, the duke, and the government, who were fined in large sums, and some of them pilloried. Sir George Jefferies, chief-justice of the King's Bench, signalized himself in a particular manner on these occasions: equally devoid of honour, humanity, and conscience, he raised himself to that high post by the most servile complaisance to the will of the duke of York and his party. During his holding assizes in the north,

he so terrified the people by his arbitrary and unjust sentences, that all the towns corporate, by way of conciliating the favour of the court, delivered up their charters, and threw themselves entirely upon the mercy of the government. The king having thus obtained possession of these invaluable pledges of the people's liberties, thought proper to publish a declaration, thanking his subjects in the most affectionate terms for having reposed such confidence in him their sovereign, assuring them he would use it with moderation, and convince the most extravagant republicans, that as the crown was the origin of the people's rights, so it was the surest support of their liberties*.

In order however to engage the affections of a prince invested with such power, the Hamburg company thought proper to erect a marble statue to him this year, in the midst of the Royal Exchange, where it still remains, with an inscription on the pedestal flattering him as if he had been the greatest and best of all kings; but alas! how vain! how empty are those titles which servile adulation bestows contrary to the general sentiments of a nation, and how little capable of imposing upon impartial posterity!

In the midst of all these triumphs of ill-acquired power, Charles secretly languished beneath the conscious guilt of being the oppressor of a free and generous people: he had been put upon measures, he had yielded to counsels that his own heart told him were not consistent with his own honour, or the welfare of his people: by nature formed of a gentle disposition, he had suffered arbitrary, and even cruel proceedings to receive the stamp of his royal authority: he saw, but he saw too late, that while he compelled his subjects to submit to his desires through fear, he had lost the firmest hold a monarch can have over the millions subjected to his dominion, the mastery over their hearts; and, if we may believe those most conversant about the court at that time, he began to form a design of altering his conduct, of throwing himself upon his people, and renewing the true constitutional intercourse between a British king and a British parliament.

In the mean time, however, his mistaken maxims of domestic government had likewise influenced his conduct in regard to foreign affairs; and while he was intent on rendering himself absolute at home, he had suffered the French monarch almost to enslave the rest of Europe. Lewis, notwithstanding the peace of Nimeguen, continued to give laws to half the princes on the continent: he seized into his hands the antient and free town of Strasburg: on the pretence of a slight affront, he bombarded Genoa: the empire he insulted in its head and principal members. These arbitrary proceedings at length roused the court of Spain, and she declared war against this general oppressor, weak as she was, relying on the powers of Europe, who, according to the dictates of common reason and good policy, should have flown to her assistance. The prince of Orange indeed, to his honour be it spoken, exerted his utmost endeavours to defeat the designs of Lewis; but Charles discovered not the least jealousy of the growing power of France; he rather seemed inclined to aid her ambitious monarch in his schemes of universal

empire. Europe saw and trembled at this supineness in a prince, who by his situation had in his hands the balance of her liberties; tho' at length the repeated representations of the several ambassadors of the respective courts concerned, opened the eyes of the long-deluded Charles: he beheld with amazement the destructive path he had so long been led in; he resolved to retrace his steps, and by one bold act shake off the inglorious dependence in which he had hitherto been held: the headstrong, imperious temper of the duke, who was continually engaging him in dangerous attempts, now began to fill Charles with fear and apprehension. He was one day overheard to say, "Brother, I am too old to go again to my travels; you may if you please."

In short, he began to grow melancholy and reserved; he opened himself not with the usual freedom to his brother; and he is said to have formed a design, by the instigation of the duchess of Portsmouth, who saw that the present mode of government could not long subsist, to regain the good will and affection of his subjects, by convoking a free parliament, discarding all his unpopular ministers, recalling Monmouth, and sending the duke of York into Scotland: but the execution of these laudable designs, if really formed, were anticipated by the death of Charles, who was suddenly seized with an apoplectic fit, on Monday the second of February, 1684, and his recovery looked upon as desperate: and though upon bleeding he recovered his senses again, yet it was only for a short time; for four days after, February sixth, he expired in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his reign, if we reckon from the death of his father king Charles I. but in the twenty-fifth only computing from his own restoration. His death was attended with such circumstances as gave strong suspicion of his having been poisoned, and the papists bore the odium of having perpetrated so execrable a deed, in order to prevent the reformation the king proposed making in the government, which must end in their ruin; whereas they had every thing to hope for under the reign of his successor, a blind bigot to their faith. There is, however, no certain proof of this, and the duke is acknowledged by all parties to have had no hand in it.

Dr. Burnet, in the History of his own Times, gives us the following account of the manner in which the king passed his last moments: "He was constantly attended by bishop Ken, who was more in his favour than any other prelate. This good man took all opportunities to fit and prepare the king for his approaching dissolution; and when the duchess of Portsmouth, the favourite mistress, came into the room, prevailed on his majesty to command her absence, and to send for the queen and ask her pardon for the violation of her bed, which was readily complied with; and the bishop apprehending his majesty to be sincerely penitent, proposed his receiving the blessed sacrament. The duke of York being apprised of this, and finding the king not likely to live many hours, was desirous that the Roman catholics might have the honour of his dying in their communion: he therefore sent for and introduced to his majesty, then hardly sensible, Father Huddleston, a Benedictine monk, who had a great hand in saving the king's life after the fight of Worcester: then all

who were in the bed-chamber were ordered to withdraw, except the earls of Bath and Feverham, and the door was double locked; then Huddleston caused the king to go through some acts of contrition; and after such a confession as he could then make, he administered to him the three popish sacraments of Penance, Extreme Unction, and the Eucharist, the duke all the while assisting with great fervency of devotion. The company was then re-admitted, and bishop Ken pressed the king six or seven times to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England; but his majesty declared he was very weak. Soon after he died."

What we have said of this prince in the beginning of his reign, and the relation of his conduct during the time he held the sceptre, so strongly mark his character, that there is hardly any necessity to retouch the portrait. Former historians have indeed exhausted themselves on this subject; and as they have been influenced by their connections with, or attachment to, different factions, have described Charles as the most odious, or the most amiable of princes. Some scruple not to compare him to the Roman emperor Tiberius for cruelty and deceit: others, while they allow him the common frailties incident to humanity, paint his good qualities in the most lively and agreeable colours. Mr. Hume, in his history of the Stuarts, seems to have summed up Charles's character in a more impartial and concise manner than any writer who has gone before him: I shall therefore give it the reader nearly in that author's own words:

"In the duties of private life, his conduct, though not altogether free from faults, was, in the main, commendable. A generous lover, an obliging husband, a friendly brother, an indulgent father, a good-natured master: had he been born in an inferior station, he would probably have passed through the world with the affection of some, and without incurring the hatred of any: but, placed as he was in a high sphere, for which he was altogether unqualified, he drew upon himself, by his indolent temper, the contempt not only of the neighbouring potentates, but even of his own subjects. Negligent of the interests of the nation, regardless of its glory, averse to its religion, jealous of its liberty, lavish of its treasures, sparing only of its blood, he exposed it, by his rash and pernicious measures, to the danger of a furious civil war, and even to the disgrace of a foreign conquest."

Charles II. was in his person tall and swarthy, and his countenance marked with strong harsh lineaments: his penetration was keen, his judgment clear, his understanding extensive, his conversation lively and entertaining; "his wit, to use the expression of the marquis of Halifax, could not be said so much to be very refined or elevated, qualities apt to beget jealousy and envy in company, as to be a plain, gaining, well bred, recommending kind of wit; and tho' perhaps he talked more than the strict rules of politeness might permit, men were so pleased with the easy and affable deportment of the monarch, that they always went away contented, both with him and with themselves."

It would be doing injustice to this king, did we omit to mention, that few princes ever passed more acts of parliament for the benefit of the subject. Trade and manufacture flourished more in this reign

reign than at any other æra of the English monarchy. The arts and sciences were cultivated with good success, though not greatly encouraged by the sovereign, who, tho' he had himself made some proficiency in mechanics and chemistry, and was no bad judge of genius; yet was so beset by mistresses and craving courtiers, that he had neither money nor attention for literary merit. In the first year of this reign, a few philosophers, who had established conferences for the mutual communication of their discoveries in physics and geometry, procured a patent; and having enlarged their number, were denominated the Royal Society. This institution began to soften the manners by improving the understandings of men: the principal members who first composed this society, were lord Brouncker, sir Robert Murray, Dr. Wilkins bishop of Chester, Mr. Robert Boyle, who had made a great progress in natural philosophy, and Dr. Ward, afterwards bishop of Exeter, a professed mathematician.

To this period the learned world was indebted for the illustrious Newton, who investigated the first principles of the general system of the universe, which till then had remained hidden. All that the enquiries of past ages had effected in natural philosophy, was nothing in comparison with the single discovery of the nature of light. In a word, the works of this great man will reflect eternal honour on the nation that gave him birth. Stillingfleet, Tillotson, Tennison, Patrick, and Lloyd, were shining lights in divinity: the practice of medicine was greatly improved by the judicious Sydenham: the belles-lettres were making daily advances towards perfection: Dryden held the chief rank in poetry, though his writings are justly censurable, as well for their incorrectness, as for the vein of licentiousness which runs through the greatest part of them; the depravity of the public taste, and the pressing necessities of the writer, may however be pleaded in excuse for these faults. His Ode on St. Cecilia's day stands unrivalled in the English language. Wycherley, as a comic writer, and Otway in his tragedies, had both great merit: the latter, however, received so little encouragement, that he died almost destitute of the common necessities of life. The love of literature in this age inspired the breasts even of the highest personages: the court itself became emulous of the bays. The duke of Buckingham's Rehearsal still shines distinguished in the rank of comic satire: the earl of Rochester, vicious as his sentiments were, possessed such a strange power of pleasing, that while we condemn his morals, we cannot but be enchanted with the music of his numbers. The earls of Dorset, Roscommon, and Mulgrave, wrote with ease and spirit, and with that pleasing negligence which is so peculiar to the gentleman writer. The marquis of Halifax is deservedly distinguished for his refined genius; and had he not been a principal personage in the state, he would have claimed the first rank in literature: but business spoiled the writer. Of all the authors of this age, sir William Temple is the most entertaining and instructive *. In fine, to close the character of this reign, we may say, that the ge-

nius of the nation acquired immortal reputation under Charles II. though the administration did not.

The nuptial bed of this prince was not blessed with any issue; but he left a numerous progeny the fruits of his illicit love.

By Mrs. Lucy Walters, daughter of Richard Walters, esq. James duke of Monmouth; born in 1646, married to Anne Scot, daughter and heiress of Francis earl of Buccleugh in Scotland, and executed on Tower-hill, 1685.

By Mrs. Elizabeth Killegrew, viscountess Shannon, daughter of sir William Killegrew, Charlotte-Jemima-Henrietta-Maria Fitzroy, married first to James Howard, and afterwards to the earl of Yarmouth.

By Mrs. Catherine Peg, daughter of Thomas Peg, esq. Charles Fitz-Charles, earl of Plymouth, commonly called Don Carlos, born in 1658, married to lady Bridget Osborne, daughter of the duke of Leeds, and killed at Tangiers in 1680.

By Mrs. Barbara Villiers, heiress of William viscount Grandison in Ireland, and wife of Roger earl of Castlemain, created lady Nonsuch, countess of Southampton, and duchess of Cleveland, three sons, and as many daughters, viz. Charles Fitzroy, created duke of Southampton, and after his mother's death, duke of Cleveland; Henry Fitzroy, duke of Grafton; and George Fitzroy, duke of Northumberland; Anne Fitzroy, married to the earl of Suffex; Charlotte Fitzroy, married to the earl of Litchfield; and Barbara, who became a nun at Pontoise in France.

By Louise de Querouaille, duchess of Portsmouth, Charles Lennox, duke of Richmond.

By Mrs. Eleanor Gwynn (commonly called Nell Gwynn) an actress, Charles Beauclerk, duke of St. Albans: And,

By Mrs. Mary Davis, a lady of the same profession, Mary Tudor, married to the earl of Derwentwater.

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES.

The most remarkable things which happened in this reign, besides the terrible fire of London in 1666, already mentioned, were,

The plague in the year 1665, of which seventy thousand died in London, besides thirty thousand that died of other distempers. This is the last plague that ever we had in England.

Several comets appeared in this reign; the most remarkable whereof was seen at Falmouth on the twenty-second of November, and for seven days successively, two hours every morning before sunrise, and about as long after sun-set, having a fiery tail, extended to a very great length, and was seen the next month in several other parts of England and Ireland.

In the year 1683 was one of the longest and hardest frosts that till then had happened in England. It began about the middle of December, and continued till the fifth of February: a fair was kept on the Thames, and oxen roasted on the ice: the coaches drove from the Temple to Westminster-hall on the river as frequently as in the streets.

* We must not pass over unnoticed the witty doggrelist Butler, who by his poem of *Hudibras* contributed more than any other person to expose the fanaticism and false pretences of the old republicans. The advantage which the royal cause received

from this work was prodigious; yet the king allowed the author, who was a man of probity and virtue, to live in obscurity; and die in want.

JAMES II. the fourth King of ENGLAND of the Name of STUART.
A. D. 1685.

NOTWITHSTANDING the vigorous attempts made by the two last parliaments of the preceding reign to exclude this prince from the succession, on account of his religion, his brother Charles had no sooner paid the debt of nature than he was proclaimed king, without the least appearance of opposition on the part of his subjects; not but that they had apprehensions, and those of the most alarming kind: but James, who could not but judge this to be the case, took a very prudent step at his first accession, to quiet the minds, and gain the confidence and affection of his people; and indeed, had he made good his professions, the nation would have had no cause of uneasiness. Immediately upon the decease of his brother, he assembled the privy-council, when, after lamenting the loss himself and the public had sustained by this melancholy event, he declared to them in a speech, that he was determined to do his utmost to preserve the government both in church and state, as it was then established by law; and that however he had been represented as a man of arbitrary principles, it was his firm resolution to support his subjects in the uninterrupted enjoyment of all their religious and civil privileges; and that as he would never invade any man's property, so he would never depart from the just rights and prerogatives of his crown. He likewise intimated an intention of preserving the balance of power in Europe, and freeing the nation from that state of dependence, or rather vassalage, in which it had hitherto been held by its ambitious neighbours. James had distinguished himself, while in France, in a military capacity; and the commendation given his valour by the prince of Condé and marshal Turenne, those two great masters of the art of war, had established his character as a soldier: the English had seen repeated proofs of his abilities and courage as a sea commander, and few persons in Europe were thought to excel him in the knowledge of maritime affairs: the people therefore entertained the most pleasing hopes from this declaration of their new sovereign; and his friends the Tories were not wanting in setting forth the extreme probity and good faith of James, who, they said, never was known to falsify his word as a private man, and much less could be suspected so to do now that he was invested with the sacred dignity of king. The populace easily believed all they heard, because it was all they wished. His speech was printed, and read with great applause. Addresses were poured in from all quarters, filled with the warmest expressions of loyalty and affection. James himself was the dupe of his own artifice: he thought the voice of a part of his subjects the sentiments of the whole kingdom.

But the thinking part of the nation, and those who were the best acquainted with the character of the king, were not to be imposed on by his specious assurances: indeed it was a kind of infatuation to suppose that he really entertained the sentiments he professed. They had known him, while duke of York, to be a bigot to popery, and a zealous opposer of the protestant religion: they had been witnesses to the frequent instances he gave of a merciless and cruel disposition, and of a total disregard to the liberties of the people, and the established form of government: they knew him to have been the principal adviser and promoter of all the unpopular and arbitrary measures which his brother pursued in the latter part of his reign, and that he himself was the sworn friend of Lewis XIV. whose ambition all Europe dreaded, and, like that monarch, a professed enemy to all heretics; and was it likely that he should cherish such sentiments less when he came to be king? James was sensible, penetrating, and enterprising; but then he was headstrong, violent, and arbitrary, and his judgment was not clear. How could it be expected that a king with this strange mixture of good and bad qualities, could ever render his people happy?

James did not long keep his subjects in suspense concerning his real sentiments and intentions. The first Sunday after his accession he went publicly to mass: this, however, was looked upon as nothing strange, considering how many years he had openly professed the popish religion: but the people were more alarmed when, some time after, he issued a proclamation for continuing the customs and duties granted to the late king. This was a direct violation of the constitution, by which no imposts can be levied upon the subject but by act of parliament, and a plain indication what regard he had to the liberties of the nation: but whatever body the most wondered at, and which indeed is an action there is no possibility of accounting for, but from his blind zeal for his religion, is his exposing, without any necessity, the insincerity of his brother in his repeated assurances of his attachment to the protestant religion, by ordering Huddleston to publish an account of Charles's dying in the Roman catholic faith, and his producing two papers which had been found in that king's closet, written in his own hand, in defence of popery.

James, however, in disposing of public employments, and settling the officers of his household, did not yet think fit to shew much partiality to those of his own communion. All those who possessed posts under the late king were continued in their respective offices by proclamation*: this was a politic step in the new monarch.

* The duke of Ormond was continued lord-steward of the household; the earl of Arlington, lord-chamberlain; the lord viscount Newport, treasurer; the lord Maynard, comptroller; and Henry Saville, esq. vice-chamberlain of the household. Soon after, Lawrence Hyde, president of the council, and the king's brother-in-law, was constituted lord high-treasurer of England;

the earl of Clarendon, his other brother-in-law, was made lord privy-seal; the marquis of Halifax, lord-president of the privy-council; the duke of Beaufort, lord-president of Wales; the lord Godolphin, chancellor to the queen; and Henry Bulkeley, esq. was made master of the king's household.

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MORTIMER'S
History of England.



J. Wale delin.

C. Grignon sculp.

JAMES II.

The late king having been interred privately, and at a very little expence (a poor return for the tenderness he had shewn to his brother all his lifetime) James and his queen were crowned by archbishop Sancroft on St. George's day (April 23) 1685. The king would not receive the sacrament, but all the rest of the ceremony was performed according to the form of the church of England. His priests, doubtless, dispensed with his compliance in this respect, as well as with the coronation oath.

King James now thought fit to shew his resentment against the witnesses for the popish plot. The famous Titus Oates was, on the eighth and ninth days of May, tried before the lord chief-justice Jefferies on two indictments for perjury: the one for swearing that he himself, and several other jesuits, were at a treasonable consultation in London, on the twenty-fourth of April, 1678; whereas it was clearly proved by a multitude of witnesses, both protestants and papists, that he was at that time at St. Omer's in Flanders. He was therefore found guilty; as he likewise was of the second indictment, for swearing that William Ireland the jesuit, executed in the late reign, was in London on a certain day, when he was, upon the fullest evidence, proved to have been one hundred miles distant from London. Whereupon Oates was sentenced to pay one thousand marks upon each indictment, to be stripped of his canonical habit, to stand twice in the pillory, and five times a year afterwards as long as he lived; to be imprisoned for life, and to be whipped, first from Aldgate to Newgate, and the next day but one from Newgate to Tyburn, which was executed with great severity, so that he swooned away several times; and it was astonishing that he escaped with his life.

Dangerfield, another of the plot discoverers, was tried soon after, for having formerly written a seditious libel, reflecting on the late king and the government; of which being convicted, he was sentenced to stand twice in the pillory, to be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate one day, and from Newgate to Tyburn another, and to pay a fine of five hundred pounds. As he was returning in a coach from his second whipping, he was insulted by one Francis, a barrister of Gray's-Inn; to whom the other making a warm reply, and spitting in his face, Francis in a rage pushed his cane in his face, which unfortunately running into his eye, Dangerfield died in great torment a few hours afterwards. Francis was immediately apprehended; and the court very prudently, as well as justly, rejected all application for his pardon, and he was deservedly hanged.

The same day Dangerfield was tried (May 30) Richard Baxter, the famous presbyterian preacher, who had bore a great share in spiriting up the people against the government in the reign of Charles I. was brought to his trial in the King's-Bench for a work of his, intitled, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament*; in which were several passages grossly reflecting upon episcopal government in general, and on the bishops of the church of England in particular. He was fined five hundred marks, and obliged to find sureties for his good behaviour for seven years.

As to the proceedings on these trials, the credit of the evidence produced, and the validity of the defence made by the prisoners, I would advise my reader to have recourse to the State Trials, and

not to trust to the partial representations on either side. I shall only observe, that it appears somewhat extraordinary that the chief-justice Jefferies should have behaved with so great passion and partiality as he is on all hands allowed to have done on these occasions. In regard to Oates's affair in particular, it is very certain that Jefferies had been one of the most strenuous of the late king's council, in supporting that man's evidence in the popish plot, against the very witnesses on whose deposition he was now condemned. It may naturally be supposed that king James was not displeased with an opportunity of punishing those who had endeavoured to bring such a load of infamy on the religion he professed, and even on his own character: but then, on the other hand, it cannot be denied that Oates was a man of a most infamous character, and had undoubtedly been the instrument of taking away some innocent lives, by unpardonable prevarications, or rather falsifications, in regard to times and places.

The parliament of Scotland met on the day of the coronation, being assembled by the duke of Queensberry, who represented the king's person as lord high-commissioner. His grace made known to them his majesty's gracious declaration in council, and assured them that they were equally included therein with their brethren of England: at the same time he caused a letter to be read from James to the Scottish parliament; in which he inveighed against the fanatics, or rigid presbyterians, whom he called horrid murderers and assassins, and desired the states would take proper measures to secure the kingdom against their intrigues. The parliament on this occasion shewed the most abject submission to the royal will in every act of its session: a fawning and humble address was sent to the king on his accession: they confirmed the act of the preceding reign for maintaining the established religion: they annexed the excise to the crown: they enacted a statute, making it high-treason to give, take, or defend the national, or, as it was called, the solemn league and covenant; and another against house and field conventicles, ordering, that such who should hereafter preach at such conventicles, or be present at field conventicles, should be punished with death: and in a vote which they called an offer of duty, they professed their abhorrence of all principles and positions that any wise tended to derogate "from the king's sacred, supreme, sovereign, absolute authority and power."

In England the parliament, the only one in this reign, met on May 19. The court had employed every art to influence the elections, and had succeeded so far, that the new house of commons consisted almost entirely of Tories: the king therefore had no reason to fear an opposition to any measures he might think proper to pursue, provided he kept within the bounds of common prudence. His speech on meeting them, however, was rather in the stile of a prince who knew how to make himself feared, than one who wished to unite himself to his people by the most secure of all ties, those of mutual affection and confidence. He did indeed renew in the most solemn manner, the promises he had made before the privy-council; but at the same time he told them, that he expected they should settle his revenue, and that during his life, as in the time of his brother; and con-

concluded with these remarkable words: "Some men," said he, "may object, that, by feeding me from time to time with such supplies as they deem sufficient, they will better secure frequent meetings of parliament: but as this is the first time I speak to you from the throne, I must plainly tell you, that such a method would be very improper to employ with me, and the best way to engage me to meet you often, is always to use me well."

The drift of this speech was clearly comprehended, and it occasioned many learned debates on both sides the question; but the court party prevailing, the house granted him all that he desired, which enabled him afterwards to govern without a parliament. As a farther instance of their regard for the king, the house of peers, upon the petition of the lords who had been bailed out of the Tower, thought fit to discharge their bail, and to dismiss them. A bill also passed that house for revoking the attainder of the lord viscount Stafford; but it was dropped in the lower house, after it had received a second reading. We must not omit to mention, that the two houses joined in an address of thanks to the king for his speech, and promised to stand by him with their lives and fortunes. This obliging disposition in the English parliament, and the servile compliance of that of Scotland, gave James the highest satisfaction, who flattered himself with the hopes of a peaceful and happy reign.

The calm, however, did not last long: the earl of Argyle, who had been obliged to fly from Scotland in the late reign, on being accused of having been concerned with the duke of Monmouth in a scheme for raising a rebellion in that kingdom, thought the time was now come when he might successfully stir up his countrymen against James, whom he looked upon as the author of his disgrace and misfortunes. He imparted his design to Monmouth, who was, like himself, an exile in Holland; and this giddy young man gave readily into the project. They hired a few ships of the Dutch, and got together about two or three hundred of the English exiles in Flanders, men of desperate fortunes, and who had no view of retrieving their affairs but by a change of government at home: this was all the resource the duke and earl had to depend upon, except their hopes of being joined by a considerable number of the Whig party, in case they could effect a successful landing in England or Scotland.

Having concerted their measures, the two chiefs of the malcontents separated, in order to follow each his plan of operations. The earl of Argyle, with a small company, but arms for five thousand men, sailed from Holland the beginning of May, and made a descent upon Scotland. He soon found himself deceived in his notion of being joined by a considerable number of his friends; they came not in as he expected: he made a shift indeed to get together about two thousand men, chiefly of his own clan, in the Highlands: but the government having received advice of his intended enterprize, were prepared for his reception. A considerable body of troops were sent against him soon after his landing; upon which he, by the help of his shipping, transported his men from place to place, till two or three of the king's ships of war arrived in those parts, and then he was compelled to quit

the sea-coasts, and march into the country, where he was hotly pursued by the royal army; and after flying for some time before them, his followers abandoned him, and he himself running into a water up to the neck to escape his pursuers, was taken by a countryman, who ran in after him and knocked him down. Being thus seized, he was sent under a strong guard to Edinburgh, where his head was cut off, and set upon the Tolbooth. Rumbold, the old master of the Rye-house, who had fled for that plot, and some others who had now come over again with the earl, were also taken and executed: the earl's father had suffered the like fate on the same occasion. It is surprizing that his tragical end had not proved a warning to his son, not to engage in such perilous enterprizes, where the successful are at best but deemed fortunate traitors.

Monmouth was no less unsuccessful in his attempt: that nobleman sailed out of the Texel on the twenty-fourth of May; and after having been detained nineteen days at sea by contrary winds, landed at Lyme in Dorsetshire, on the eleventh of June, with about eighty followers, but with arms for a much greater number. Some of his officers dispersed themselves about the country, in order to engage the gentry and the common people to take up arms and join them; in which they so far succeeded, that the duke's little party was increased to two thousand men, mostly from the adjacent counties. On his first landing he had published a kind of manifesto or declaration, in which he set forth the cause of his coming over, which he said was for the recovery of his natural right (asserting the validity of the late king's marriage with his mother) and to free the nation from the tyranny of the duke of York, whom he accused as the author of the dreadful conflagration that had reduced the greatest part of the capital to ashes; of the late popish plot for taking away the life of the king, and for the subversion of the protestant religion; of the murder of the earl of Essex in the Tower; and of having poisoned the king his brother. Lastly, he represented that his very religion incapacitated him from swaying the sceptre of this kingdom, which must never hope for ease or safety while a papist and a tyrant sat on the throne.

This declaration, which upon the whole was fuller of invective than sound reasoning, produced very little effect in the duke's favour: few persons of any distinction joined his standard; his army consisted chiefly of a rude undisciplined rabble: in short, the whole affair was as ill conducted as it had been rashly undertaken. About a week after his landing at Lyme, he marched to Taunton, where he took upon him the title of king, and was proclaimed in that town, on the twentieth, by the name of James II. By this time his army, such as it was, amounted to about five thousand men: but the duke, instead of marching directly to Bristol, the taking of which would have given great credit to his cause, and been of effectual service, by furnishing his army with refreshments, wasted his time in the ridiculous pageantry of his proclamation at Taunton; and this gave the king time to assemble an army, which was now in full march against him, under the command of the duke of Albemarle.

Monmouth began now to be sensible of the temerity of his project: he saw that nothing was left for him but to fight and conquer; he therefore resolved to

to prevent the king's forces in their design to surprize him, and set forward to meet them, in hopes of taking them unprepared for an attack; but herein, as in all the rest, he was disappointed. When he came in sight of the royalists, he found them drawn up in excellent order, at Sedgely-moor, near Bridgewater. Early the next morning (July 6) the fight began; Monmouth's horse fled at the first charge, which was thought to be owing to the inexperience, cowardice, or treachery of the lord Grey, who commanded them; and who being taken, readily obtained the king's pardon. The foot was not so easily routed: they maintained their ground with great resolution for some time; but being deserted by the horse, and exposed to a most dreadful fire from the artillery of the king's army, they at length gave way, when a most dreadful slaughter ensued amongst them; three hundred were killed on the spot, one thousand in the pursuit, and as many made prisoners.

The unfortunate duke of Monmouth, after having endeavoured in vain to retrieve the fortune of the day by the most noble efforts of personal courage, and seeing all lost, took to flight. He now saw his assumed sovereignty vanished in air, and all his mighty prospects appeared like a dream that passes away, and is no longer remembered. He fled as far as his horse would carry him, being attended only by a German servant, who had come over with him from Holland, when his beast dropped under him with fatigue. He was obliged to pursue his forlorn way a-foot till he came to a poor cottage, where having changed cloaths with the peasant who occupied it, he continued his flight, till, unable longer to walk, he laid himself down in a ditch thick-covered with fern. Unfortunately, however, a party of the king's forces passing by the cottage the next day, knew the duke's cloaths upon the countryman's back, who being seized, told them which road the duke had taken; and after strict search, he was the next morning found in his hiding-place, with his pocket full of green pease; the only food he could find to keep off the attacks of hunger. He was immediately conducted to London, and lodged in the Tower.

Monmouth, brave as he was in arms, was not proof against this cruel reverse of fortune. On his arrival in London, he wrote to the king in the most abject terms, humbly imploring his pardon, and protesting by the most solemn asseverations, that if his majesty would graciously please to overlook his former errors, he would endeavour by his future conduct to render himself worthy of so great a favour. All these submissions availed him nought; James was inexorable: the duke sued for an interview; James granted it; but it was only with a view to make his own advantages of it. He thought his wretched prisoner might be induced, through fear of death and hope of pardon, to impeach some of his principal accomplices; but no such infamy dwelt in the heart of Monmouth: culpable and mistaken as he was, he refused to purchase life at the expence of honour. He resigned himself to his fate; and

James, forgetful of the blood from whence he sprung, and regardless of his brother's dying recommendation of this unhappy youth to his favour, ordered him for immediate execution. The duke's conduct in his last moments proved that his abject behaviour, on his first being apprehended, was the mere effect of human nature, oppressed by great calamity. He met his death in a manner that became his rank and character. On the fifteenth of July he was brought to his execution, which was attended with a shocking circumstance: the executioner was seized with such a trepidation just as he was about to execute his office, that he struck the unfortunate duke five strokes with the ax before he could sever the head from the body. Thus died James, duke of Monmouth, whose character in many respects was truly amiable: he was brave, gentle, generous, sincere; but too open to flattery, and too warmly addicted to pleasure, the effects of his education in a court which was the emporium of debauchery. He was the darling of the people; the consciousness of which, and the allurements of ambition, had engaged him in enterprizes for which he was of all men the least qualified, and which in the end cost him his life.

This victory, gained in the very beginning of his reign, seemed to establish the king's power and authority on the firmest basis; but by the cruel use he made of it, and the despair into which his subjects were driven, it proved one of the principal causes of his ruin. Jefferies, the lord chief-justice, was, soon after the execution of Monmouth, sent into the West, to try the unhappy persons who had been any ways concerned in the late rash and ill-concerted rebellion. Colonel Kirk, a soldier of fortune, who had long served at Tangiers, and, from his intercourse with the Moors, had contracted an inhumanity totally unknown in European countries, attended him with a body of troops, to keep the people in awe. The bare recital of the barbarities committed by these two inhuman fiends in the shape of men, must fill every reader with horror. They hanged up numbers in the most insulting manner, many without form of trial. Kirk caused thirty to be executed at once in sight of himself and officers at dinner. Observing them to quiver in the agonies of death, he said that he would give them music to their dancing, and immediately ordered the drums to beat, and the trumpets to sound. Ten of these unhappy wretches were turned off with a health to the king, ten with a health to the queen, and the other ten with a health to Jefferies. The lady Lisle, widow of one of the regicides, but herself a loyalist, and now deeply stricken in years, was beheaded for harbouring a presbyterian minister of Monmouth's party, though not one of the persons mentioned in the proclamation. The jury thrice refused to find a verdict against her; they were as often sent back with menaces and reproaches by the brutal Jefferies, and were at last compelled to bring her in guilty. Many other instances are given of the brutish cruelty of this judge and his military assistant *. In short, some hundreds were executed,

and

* One execution was attended with such circumstances of treachery, as well as barbarity, as to merit a more particular relation. A young maid implored the pardon of her father ||, and threw herself at Kirk's feet, armed with all the charms

|| Some say she was a young married woman, and that it was for the life of her husband that she sued,

which beauty and innocence, bathed in tears, could possibly bestow. The tyrant was fired with lust, not softened into love or clemency. He agreed to grant her request, provided that she, on her part, would condescend to gratify him.

and the West became like a shambles, by their quarters being fixed up in the roads and public places. The infernal monster Kirk triumphed in his barbarous ingenuity; he caused the whole country to be ravaged by his soldiers, whom he allowed to live on free quarters; and Kirk's Lambs, as he, by way of pleasantry, affected to have them called, is an appellation remembered with horror to this day in the western counties. Jefferies boasted on this occasion, "That he had hanged more than all the judges since William the Conqueror:" and so acceptable had he made himself to his master by this bloody work, that, at his return, he was created a baron, and rewarded with the office of lord high-chancellor, upon the death of the lord-keeper.

Numberless were the other instances of severity exercised in London, and different parts of the kingdom, upon the protestant party, on pretence either of the Rye-house plot, or of their having favoured Monmouth's design; in which revenge, and the scheme for establishing popery in these kingdoms, appear to have had an equal influence. This had been the favourite plan of James whilst duke of York, but was never openly attempted till now, when, being freed from Monmouth's rebellion, he thought himself in a state of perfect tranquillity. He began in Ireland, where he dissolved the privy-council, and appointed a new one, the majority of them papists: the protestants of that kingdom were every where disarmed, whilst means were found of keeping on foot a standing army of catholics. Colonel Richard Talbot, afterwards earl of Tyrconnel, by cashiering such officers and soldiers as he thought proper, and putting others in their stead, soon modelled it to the purposes it was intended for.

The situation of James was at this time as prosperous as any sovereign could desire. He saw a standing army at his beck; he had a parliament which he knew was ready to prevent him in all his desires: passive obedience and non-resistance were inculcated as articles in the English creed: foreign states seemed to vie with each other in courting the favour of a monarch, who confessedly held the balance of Europe in his hands. These advantages, however, instead of inspiring James with a desire to preserve them by a prudent conduct, which would in no wise have impaired his power, only served to intoxicate him; he thought he had no longer any occasion to disguise his sentiments, or suffer restraint in his actions; and he began to discover his arbitrary principles in a manner not to be mistaken. The parliament meeting on the ninth of November, after a prorogation, he opened the session with a speech; in which, after congratulating them on the happy suppression of the late rebellion, he took notice, that the great head the rebels had got to before they were quelled, had been entirely owing to the want of a regular force being at hand to oppose them at their first insurrection: the house, he said, must be sensible that the militia was very insufficient for the defence of the kingdom on such exigencies; and therefore

plainly told them, that he was determined to support those regular forces which he had raised, and now increased to fifteen thousand men, and demanded a supply for their maintenance: at the same time, he desired that the parliament would not take exceptions that he had admitted some catholic officers into his army, and that he had in their favour dispensed with the law commanding the test to be taken by every one who enjoyed any public office. "They are most of them known to me, added he, and have served me faithfully in the late commotions: and I will deal plainly with you, that, after having the benefit of their service in such a time of need and danger, I will neither expose them to disgrace, nor myself to the want of them."

This parliament had, ever since its existence, shewed the greatest approbation of the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, and given signal proofs of its attachment to the king's person, particularly in the case of the rebellion, when it granted subsidies exceeding even what he could have asked. It had increased his annual revenue, and made it perpetual: was it probable then that a parliament so generous and complying, would have made any difficulty of setting aside such a trifling law as the Test Act? Thus James thought, but he found himself mistaken. This pliant, this submissive parliament still remembered there was such a thing as liberty entailed on the people of this happy land, and that they were sworn conservators of that inestimable treasure, in behalf of the people. They would have gone any decent lengths rather than come to a rupture with the king, or incur his displeasure; but this open declaration on his part to govern without the laws, or rather to act in open defiance of them, opened their eyes; and some who had been the warmest against the Exclusion Bill, began to be alarmed at the king's large strides towards arbitrary power. In the house of lords, the motion for an address of thanks to the king for his speech met with great opposition; and though it passed by a small majority, the house resolved to take the speech into further consideration: but it was otherwise in the house of commons; for when the lord Middleton, secretary of state, made a motion that they should immediately return his majesty thanks for his speech from the throne, several of the members refused it; and a motion being made for an address to the king against employing popish officers in the army, contrary to the known laws of the land, it was carried in the affirmative, and the address was accordingly presented, at which his majesty was highly offended. In the mean time, the commons granted a supply of seven hundred thousand pounds: nevertheless, the king sent them a sharp reprimand for the liberty they had taken with him in their address, and peremptorily told them, that he was fixed in his resolution, both in regard to keeping up a standing army, and employing catholic officers. The commons, who appear to have been terrified into submission by this haughty message,

The struggle was hard and severe, to lose her father, or to part with her honour. At last the force of filial affection overcame all selfish regards. The maid submitted to the conditions: but after she had passed the night with him, the inhuman ruffian, next morning, shewed her from the window her father, the darling object for whom she had sacrificed her

virtue, hanging on a gibbet, which he privately caused to be there erected for his execution. This shocking and unexpected sight struck her with such a sudden surprise, that she was instantly seized with a phrenzy, and never after recovered her senses. Hume.

Remarkable Instance of Col. Kirk's Cruelty, & Villany.



To His Grace
Duke of
This State is most
The Delham Holles,
Newcastle,
humbly Inscribed.

offered to indemnify the officers already employed, and to pass a new act, qualifying a certain number whom the king should name; yet rather than have his dispensing power contested, he, on the twentieth of November, prorogued the parliament, by which he lost the supply the commons had voted, and which happily had not passed into a law, otherwise the constitution had been exposed to the most imminent danger, as James would then have been enabled to carry his design into execution, without demanding any further supplies from his parliament; for they had gone so far as to vote that three hundred thousand pounds of the sum mentioned should be annually levied for nine years and an half to come.

In Ireland and Scotland the king carried on his designs with greater success than he had as yet been able to do in England. The duke of Ormond was, in the beginning of 1686, removed from his post of lord-lieutenant of Ireland, notwithstanding his many services, and inviolable attachment to the royal family: and colonel Talbot being made earl of Tyrconnel, was put in his place, who soon got the Test Act repealed in that kingdom. In Scotland the earl of Moray, who in complaisance to the king had changed his religion, found means to supplant the duke of Queensberry; and being made high-commissioner, convoked the parliament, to whose care and humanity he recommended, in his majesty's name, his poor catholic subjects, for indulgence in the exercise of their religion. A bill was accordingly brought in for permitting papists the private exercise of their religion; but it was warmly opposed, and deferred to further consideration: then the king ordered the commissioner to prorogue the parliament, and by virtue of his own prerogative established liberty of conscience through the whole kingdom. From this time the catholics got into most of the offices of trust or profit, as well civil as military, in both these kingdoms, to the no small satisfaction of James, who hoped, by means of the influence they would necessarily acquire, to complete the scheme he had formed of introducing popery and arbitrary power throughout his dominions.

By this time the earl of Arlington was dead, and his place of chamberlain was bestowed upon the earl of Mulgrave, who had acquired a great share of the king's favour. Sunderland was appointed secretary of state, and became in effect prime minister.

Encouraged by the success he had met with in Ireland and Scotland, James now set himself to work to carry his point in England likewise: the first step he took for this purpose was to get the judges to declare their opinion in favour of the dispensing power. He sent for them one by one, and had private conferences with them in his closet, whence the odious term of Closeting first took its rise; but he met with a resistance from some of that venerable order, which gave him a good deal of uneasiness. Sir Thomas Jones, lord chief-justice of the Common Pleas; Montagu, lord chief-baron of the Exchequer; sir Robert Charlton, one of the justices of the Common Pleas; and baron

Nevil, openly declared against the dispensing power, as subversive of the laws of the land. For this they were turned out of their places, and others put into them, who were known to be creatures of the court. Amongst those, to the indignation of every protestant, one Mr. Milton, a professed catholic, was made a baron of the Exchequer. The king then proceeded with his council as he had done with his courts of law: he warmly solicited the nobles about his person to oblige him, by changing their religion, and embracing the Roman catholic faith. This very modest and constitutional demand was rejected by many with the contempt it deserved*. The earl of Sunderland was so base as to purchase favour at this price: Rochester the treasurer, though the king's brother-in-law, was deprived of his office, for refusing to give this instance of complaisance: the treasury was put in commission; and lord Bellasis, who had been so long imprisoned for the popish plot, was appointed first lord of that board. Clarendon, keeper of the privy-seal, was likewise displaced for his refusal, and his office bestowed upon lord Arundel of Wardour, another of the five popish lords: at the same time the lord Dover and the earl of Tyrconnel, both outrageous catholics, were sworn into the privy-council.

And now the king having new-modelled his council and his bench of judges, it was necessary in the next place to strike some stroke that might impress the minds of the people with a notion of the legality of the dispensing power in the sovereign. For this purpose, one Godwin, a coachman belonging to sir Edward Hales, a gentleman who, to please the court, had changed his religion, was desired to bring an action against his master, for exercising the office of governor of Dover-castle, not having qualified himself by law by taking the test, &c. This cause was heard with great solemnity before the judges. Sir Edward pleaded the king's dispensing power; when, after abundance of learned arguments on both sides, the judges, as had been preconcerted, gave it as their opinion, "That the dispensing power was a prerogative inseparable from the kings of England." Thus all the fences to the constitution were at once thrown down, and all the rest of James's reign was wholly employed in taking measures to render himself absolute, and establish popery. The papists, emboldened by the countenance of the sovereign, and still more by this decision of the judges, began every-where to set up the public exercise of their religion: the jesuits erected colleges and seminaries in all the principal towns; four popish bishops were publicly consecrated in the king's chapel, and sent into several parts of England to exercise episcopal jurisdiction over those of their own communion. Monks and friars were now to be seen in all public places, habited in the vestments of their respective orders. Lieutenancies of counties were bestowed on declared papists, nor was it long before popish justices of the peace, and other popish magistrates, swarmed all over England. All places of honour and profit were shared among catholics, or persons popishly in-

* The king even condescended to exhort Kirk to become a convert. The barbarian told him, that he would have been extremely willing to gratify his majesty in this particular, but

that he was unhappily pre-engaged, having already given his promise to the king of Morocco, that, if ever he changed his religion, he would turn Mussulman. Hume.

clined, to the prejudice of protestants, many of whom were displaced to make room for those new intruders.

James was encouraged in these violent attempts against the constitution by Lewis XIV. his own queen, who was a bigotted Papist, and the Jesuits; which latter never ceased persuading him to persevere in restoring their religion, and with it their credit. Father Peters, his confessor, was admitted into the privy-council: in a word, the king acted with so little discretion, that the cardinals at Rome used to say of him, by way of jest, that he deserved excommunication, as a person who was going about to destroy the small remains of the catholic religion that still existed in England. Pope Innocent XI. conceived such indifferent hopes of James's projects, that he never would grant a cardinal's hat to Peters, though warmly solicited to it by the king. This Peters was a Jesuit, a hot-headed, intriguing man, who, mad with the ambition of becoming a cardinal and primate of England, was the chief person who pushed the misguided king on to the precipice from which he afterwards fell. Taking advantage of his sovereign's blind zeal, he put him upon sending the earl of Castlemain this year on a solemn embassy to the court of Rome, with instructions to make his holiness the most solemn assurances, in the king's name, of his entire devotion to the holy see, and requesting him to send over a legate a latere to reconcile the long schismatic church of England to the apostolic communion; but the pope was a person of too much discernment to be seduced by this dazzling offer: he judged better than James of the little likelihood there was of succeeding suddenly in such a scheme, which demanded the utmost prudence and caution, and could alone be the work of time: he tried all means to evade giving the ambassador an audience, till the earl pressed it in such a manner, that decency would no longer permit the pope to refuse this mark of respect to the representative of so great a prince; but when he at length admitted his excellency to an audience, the good pontiff was seized with such an opportune fit of coughing, as interrupted the earl's speech, and obliged him to retire. The earl made several new attempts to deliver his message; but the pope still happened to labour under the same malady, which so piqued the ambassador, that he threatened to return. The pope, with great coolness, made answer, that, since his excellency was resolved to go, he would advise him, while he travelled, to set out early in the morning, and repose himself during the heat of the day, otherwise the climate of Italy might prove dangerous to his health. Innocent, however, thought proper to return the king's compliment by having a nuncio at London, and he invested with that character Ferdinando Doda, an Italian Jesuit, who had been about the king's person ever since his accession.

The late flagrant breaches of the king's promises to maintain the protestant religion filled the greatest part of the nation with the most melan-

choly apprehensions. On this occasion, to their immortal honour, the clergy of the church of England exerted their talents to the greatest advantage in defence of their religion against the errors of popery, which those of that communion were every day maintaining in pamphlets and other writings with the most unparalleled audacity. Upon this the court issued an order prohibiting the inferior clergy preaching on controverted points of religion: but this order was little regarded; our divines continued their laudable efforts; Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Tennison, Patrick, Sharp, and some others, shone with distinguished lustre on this occasion.

This honest boldness greatly irritated the king and his popish council, and they resolved to make use of some expedient whereby they might effectually restrain the clergy from thus opposing their designs. After much consultation on this subject, it was determined to erect a commission for ecclesiastical affairs. This court, known by the name of the High Commission Court, had, together with the Star-chamber, another instrument of arbitrary power, been abolished in the reign of Charles I. by act of parliament; to which a clause was added, prohibiting the re-establishment of these courts, or any other of the like nature: but James now held all laws at defiance. The commission was issued, and Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury (who would never act in it) with Crow and Sprat, bishops of Durham and Rochester; the earls of Rochester and Sunderland, chancellor Jefferies, and lord chief-justice Herbert, were appointed commissioners: on Sancroft's peremptory refusal to take up his commission, the bishop of Chester was put into his place. These commissioners were vested with the same inquisitorial powers which had been possessed by the former court of High Commission*; and the ecclesiastical state, with all its dependencies, was subject to the arbitrary determinations of these commissioners.

Shortly after the commission was opened, Dr. Sharp, rector of St. Giles, and dean of Norwich, had preached a sermon, wherein he had inveighed against popery, and expressed his apprehension of the danger that then threatened the established church. This sermon had given great offence at court, and the king himself wrote to Dr. Compton, bishop of London, ordering him to suspend Sharp from his clerical function, till he should have given satisfaction, and his farther pleasure was known therein. On receipt of the order, Compton wrote a letter to the earl of Sunderland, principal secretary of state, which he desired might be communicated to the king, representing, that he the bishop could not, according to law, and as a judge, proceed to condemn a man before he had knowledge of the cause, and had cited the party to answer for himself. The furious James was all in a flame at this insolent dallying with his authority, as he termed it; and the bishop was called before the new court on the ninth of August this year, and by a majority both himself and the doctor were suspended.

* Their commission empowered them, or any three of them, of whom the lord-chancellor was to be one, "to exercise all manner of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, to visit, reform, correct, amend, and punish all offences whatever against the ecclesiastical laws, by suspension, deprivation, censures of the church, &c. The commissioners (or any five of them, of whom the lord-

chancellor was to be one) were also authorized to visit the universities, cathedral and collegiate churches, colleges, grammar schools, and other ecclesiastical corporations; to examine their statutes, rules, ordinances, letters-patents, and writings, and the same to alter, correct, and amend, at their pleasure." Burnet. Rapin. Salmon.

Not content with thus impetuously following his popish proceedings, he resolved to shew his people what they must expect if they presumed to dispute his will. Though it was now a time of profound peace, he caused a camp to be formed at Hounslow of fifteen thousand men, the standing army he had, in spite of the parliament, kept on foot, and gave the command to the earl of Feverham: in this camp was a public chapel, where mass was said every day. James fondly imagined that this standing military force, officered by Roman catholics devoted to his service, would enable him, like some of his arbitrary neighbours, to carry every point he pleased in this kingdom: but he did not reflect that this army was composed of Englishmen, who would be the first to abandon him, whenever they should be made sensible that he intended to use them for the destruction of their own and their fellow-subjects liberties.

The keeping on foot this standing army, and the abolition of the Test Act, or what came to the same end, the dispensing with the penalties it had decreed against those who should refuse to take it; together with the obstinate refusal of the king to join in the measures which the other powers of Europe were taking to secure themselves against the ambitious designs of France; these proceedings, I say, filled the people with a thousand melancholy apprehensions. Some thought James had, after the example of his brother, entered into a secret treaty with Lewis XIV. and had adopted that monarch's plan of government. In short, it was not doubted that the king would even send for an auxiliary force over from his good neighbour, in case his present forces were not thought sufficient for establishing his arbitrary projects. At this time the dock-yards were incessantly at work in repairing and fitting out ships of war: this proceeding, at a time when the nation was in profound peace, increased its alarms and suspicions. The opposers of the government gave out, that this fleet was intended to act against the Dutch, with whom the court were about to come to a rupture, in order from thence to find a pretext for excluding the prince of Orange for ever from the succession, as, unless such exclusion could take place, whatever had been, or was to be done for the establishment of the Roman catholic religion, would be rendered fruitless. These suspicions, which were not without the appearance of probability, and which the Whigs circulated with great assiduity, completely ruined the king in the affections of his people.

The murmurs against the government became every day more loud. A minister, whose name was Johnston, published a paper, addressed to the officers and soldiers in the camp at Hounslow, representing the guilt, baseness, and infamy, of serving as instruments to destroy the religion and constitution of their country. For this affair having been solemnly degraded, he was set twice in the pillory, was whipped from Newgate to Tyburn, and fined five hundred marks: but this writing being dispersed in the army, made such an impression as was thought to have contributed not a little to the defection that happened in it afterwards.

About the same time Miles Prance the goldsmith, who had been a witness against the persons tried for the murder of St. Edmundsbury Godfrey, was brought to his trial for perjury; and pleading

guilty, was fined one hundred pounds, and ordered to be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn. Some will have it, that, terrified by the severity he had seen exercised on Titus Oates, he pleaded guilty merely to escape his punishment. We shall not pretend to decide on this point: in such cases, every man is at liberty to form his own conjectures.

Neither the ill success of his late negotiation at the court of Rome, the continual complaints of his own subjects, nor even the remonstrances of some of the most sensible and prudent of his popish counsellors, who were fearful their sovereign was running too great lengths, and intreated him to moderate his zeal, could divert James one moment from the pursuit of his darling purpose, the advancement of the catholic faith in these kingdoms. Deaf to all sober advice, he listened only to the suggestions of his own blind superstition. Knowing himself deserted by the church party, he affected to care for the presbyterians. In the beginning of the year 1687, he sent his declaration into Scotland, suspending, by virtue "of his sovereign authority, prerogative-royal, and absolute power," (the express words of the declaration) all oaths, tests, &c. imposed upon non-conformists, professors of the Christian religion. In this declaration, "first, he allows the moderate presbyterians to meet in their private houses only, but forbids all field-conventicles, under the most rigorous penalties. In like manner, he tolerates quakers to meet and exercise in their form, in any place or places appointed for their worship." Then the declaration proceeds to include the catholics, who, after a long encomium on their loyalty and integrity, are declared relieved from all acts of parliament made or executed against those of their faith. In the same paper, however, the king reiterates his former promises of maintaining the protestant religion, as by law established, and its bishops and regular clergy in the full enjoyment of their rights, liberties, privileges, &c. &c.

On the fourth of April the king published the like declaration for liberty of conscience in England, only not quite in so high a stile. It is not to be wondered at, that the several sects of protestant dissenters should at first look upon this declaration as an instance of great indulgence in the crown to tender consciences. Accordingly, addressees of thanks were crowded in to the throne from all denominations of nonconformists, wherein they flattered the king in the most fulsome manner: the anabaptists led the way; the quakers followed: next came the independants; and lastly the presbyterians. It is remarkable that the greatest part of these addressers, speaking of the royal power, exalted it beyond all measure; in particular, the presbyterians; those very people who had first set the example in the reign of Charles I. to the rest of the nation, to prescribe the strictest limits to the exercise of the royal authority. Human nature is always the same: the dissenters thought themselves unkindly used by that monarch: they thought James treated them like a tender parent. It was not long, however, before they discovered that this act of the king's was at best but a snare laid for the whole protestant interest in the kingdom, and they readily joined with the church of England in combating the destructive doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance.

James did not think this step for the interest of the popish religion sufficient, unless he could procure greater advantages for its professors. Hitherto the papists had not been able to procure any preferments in either of the universities, which they passionately desired. This point therefore was the next to be carried; and as the king had already introduced the catholics into the administration of court affairs, he resolved to procure them a share in the government of the church. An order was sent by the king and council to the university of Cambridge to admit Father Francis, a Benedictine monk, to the degree of master of arts, without administering to him the usual oaths. The university had the spirit to refuse its compliance, and petitioned the king to recal his mandate: upon which they were summoned before the ecclesiastical commissioners, to answer for this act of disobedience. The vice-chancellor was suspended; the senate also were reprimanded, and ordered to send up copies of their statutes: but as the university chose Dr. Balderon, master of Emanuel-college, a man of spirit, to succeed in that office, the king thought proper to desist from his purpose.

Having failed in this attempt, he resolved to try his influence with the university of Oxford, never supposing that they, who had been the foremost to establish by their famous decree the doctrine of passive obedience, would make the least hesitation to put their principles in practice, when solicited thereto by a power they had so highly exalted. It happened that the presidentship of Magdalen-college became vacant, and a day was appointed for the election of another president; but before that day came, the king sent down his mandate to the vice-president and fellows, requiring them to elect one Anthony Farmer, a man of a very indifferent character, who had promised to declare himself a catholic, into that office. The college refused to comply, as being contrary to their statutes, and actually made choice of Dr. Hough; for which they were summoned before the ecclesiastical commissioners at Whitehall, who suspended the vice-president, and deprived the new-elected president: but as the university had proved the character of Farmer to be notoriously bad, the king sent them a second mandate to elect Dr. Parker, bishop of Oxford, a tool of the court, and a reputed papist. The fellows, abiding by their choice, would not obey this mandate any more than the former: they cited the statutes and oaths they were obliged to observe, or else deliberately perjure themselves: they shewed that the bishop of Oxford was no better qualified than Mr. Farmer, having never been fellow either of Magdalen or New-college, and therefore not to be elected.

The king, incensed at their refractory behaviour, and hoping to conquer their obstinacy by his presence, repaired in person to Oxford, under pretence of a summer's jaunt or progress; and having summoned the fellows before him, he reproached them in the most virulent terms for their disloyalty, arrogance, and presumption, as he called it; and commanded them forthwith to elect the bishop of Oxford, or prepare to feel the weight of his displeasure; but all his threats were thrown away: the fellows remained firm; and the king having exposed himself to the contempt of the whole nation, returned with shame and confusion to Lon-

don. The ecclesiastical commissioners, however, were let loose against them, and the president and twenty-five fellows were expelled. Dr. Hough refusing to put the bishop of Oxford in possession of his lodgings, the doors were broke open, Parker was established in the possession of his office, and the deprived fellows had their places supplied by papists.

Of all the violences committed during this reign, this may be said to be the most openly illegal and unjust: accordingly, the nation was now perfectly convinced that the king had nothing less in view than to reduce it to the most abject state of submission. The most bitter reflections, the most pathetic remonstrances, and the loudest complaints against the court, now filled every mouth, or made the subject of almost every publication. James on his side, to show his supreme contempt of all these murmurs of the people, gave a solemn audience to Dada, who had the preceding year been appointed the pope's nuncio in England. He made his public entry as a foreign ambassador at Windsor (where the court then was) on the twenty-third day of July, with all the formality of a popish procession, being preceded by a cross-bearer, carrying his cross erect, and attended by crowds of popish priests and monks in their respective habits. The duke of Somerset, who was at that time in waiting as lord of the bed-chamber, was appointed to introduce the apostolical nuncio to his audience of the king, but refused; alleging as an excuse, that it was high-treason by the laws for any one to assume that character in England. For this refusal the duke was turned out of his post in the bed-chamber, and lost the command of a regiment of dragoons. The nuncio continued to reside at London during the whole of this reign.

It was about this time that father Petre, or Peters, the king's confessor, a shallow bigot, was publicly admitted as a member of the council-board, contrary to the advice of all the leading men among the catholics.

James intended to call a new parliament, and therefore exerted all his influence to get such persons chosen as he thought would prove the most compliant with his measures. He renewed his practice of closeting, in which no arguments, threats, or promises, were omitted to induce them to consent to a formal repeal of the test and other penal laws. The deputy-lieutenants, judges, and justices, in different parts of the kingdom, were set to work to bias the minds of the electors; and those corporations which shewed themselves refractory, were persecuted into compliance by Quo warrantos, new-modelling them, and a thousand other illegal acts of oppression: but after all, such was the disposition of the nation in general, and so great an aversion the people shewed to popery and arbitrary power, that the king, fearing his endeavours would prove ineffectual, would not venture to call another parliament.

It is very observable, that while James was thus labouring to introduce popery, he received into protection, and very charitably relieved, multitudes of French protestants, whom persecution had obliged to fly their native country.

Henry IV. of France had, about a century before, granted an edict, commonly called the Edict of Nantes; securing the protestants in the free exercise

ercise of their religion. This edict, which had often been declared irrevocable, and which, during the experience of so long a period, had been productive of no bad consequences, was now revoked by Lewis XIV. who persecuted these unhappy religionists with such rigour and severity, that above half a million of the most useful and industrious subjects deserted France, and carried with them, besides an immense sum of money, those arts and manufactures which had chiefly tended hitherto to enrich that kingdom.

The king, fully sensible of the great popularity the prince of Orange possessed in England, especially amongst the dissenting party; and that the princess his consort was in general revered as the presumptive heir of the crown, was greatly desirous to know their opinion concerning the penal laws and test, not doubting, if he could procure their concurrence to a repeal, it would have great weight with the nation. This matter was at first managed with great secrecy by one Mr. Stuart, who by the king's private direction wrote to Fagel, the pensionary of Amsterdam, to sound the prince and princess on this subject. The answers proved far from agreeable to the court. However, it was confidently given out that the prince and princess had declared their approbation of the repeal. This report reaching the ear of their royal highnesses, Fagel was directed to draw up a letter to the court of England, that might rectify all mistakes, and declare to the world their true opinions. In this letter, dated November 1687, the pensionary declares, that "although their royal highnesses were for a full liberty of conscience, and wished not that any one should be persecuted or punished for differing from the established religion; yet they could by no means consent to the repeal of the test and the other penal laws, which tended to the security of the protestant religion, especially as those laws could not be said to carry in them any severity against the Roman catholics on account of their consciences, being only provisions for qualifying persons for a seat in parliament, or the enjoyment of public offices." The publication of this letter afforded matter of great satisfaction to the nation; but to the king it gave the severest mortification, as it convinced the world how contrary the sentiments of the prince and princess were to those of their father.

Hitherto the protestants had submitted to the violent attacks made upon their civil and religious liberties, from the hope that the king, who was now in his fifty-fifth year, would ere long pay the tribute to nature; and that the princess of Orange, like another Elizabeth, would resettle things on their antient foundation when she should ascend the throne; but their hopes seemed quite

extinguished, when a proclamation was published in the Gazette of January 2, 1688, declaring the queen to be with child, and ordering a thanksgiving on that account. The extravagant joy of the papists on this occasion, the sanguine expressions of the jesuits, who gave out that this conception was miraculous, and the effect of a pilgrimage made by her majesty's mother (the duchess of Modena) to the chapel of our Lady of Loretto, and that their queen would certainly have a prince, made the generality of the protestants, whose all was now at stake, entertain suspicions of this pregnancy, as a scheme of the papists to establish their religion in England, by imposing an heir on the kingdom. From this time the protestants seem to have banished their forbearing principles, and to have taken up a resolution to oppose the baleful designs of the king and his ministry; nor is it improbable that they now turned their eyes on the prince of Orange, as the only person to whom they could apply to head them in the stand they proposed to make in defence of their liberties and religion.

However this might be, the king was so elevated with this prospect of male issue, that he seemed to set the prince of Orange at defiance, endeavoured by every slight and insult to provoke the Dutch into a war, and at length went so far as to publish a proclamation, recalling all his majesty's subjects that were in the service of the States-General. The prince of Orange, on his side, offered passports to such English or Scottish officers as desired to quit the service, and by this expedient purged the troops of those individuals, of whose attachment and fidelity he was doubtful.

James, still burning with frantic zeal, and a thirst for confirming his despotic power, seemed determined no longer to keep any measures with his subjects. On the twenty-seventh of April, 1688, came out a second declaration for liberty of conscience, almost in the same terms with the former; and an order from the king was subjoined, commanding the clergy, immediately after divine service, to read it in their churches. This was such an insult upon the pastors of the established religion, as could be meant only to drive them to extremities, and then to take advantage of their non-compliance with the royal mandate. Some few of the court-clergy and bishops obeyed, but the far greater number of prelates and ministers unanimously refused obedience. Six bishops, Lloyd of St. Asaph, Ken of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, White of Peterborough, and Trelawny of Bristol, assembled privately at the archbishop of Canterbury's (Sancroft) palace, and drew up a petition to the king, and, with the primate, went to present it to him on their knees*.

James

* The petition was couched in the following terms: "To the king's most excellent majesty; the humble petition of William archbishop of Canterbury, and divers of the suffragan bishops of that province now present with him, in behalf of themselves, and others of their absent brethren, and of the inferior clergy of their respective dioceses, humbly sheweth,

"That the great averiness they find in themselves to the distributing and publishing in all their churches your majesty's declaration for liberty of conscience, proceeds neither from want of duty and obedience to your majesty (our holy mother the church of England being both in her principles and constant practice unquestionably loyal, and having to her great

honour been more than once publicly acknowledged to be so by your gracious majesty) nor yet from any want of tenderness to dissenters; in relation to whom we are willing to come to such a temper as shall be thought fit, when the matter shall be considered and settled in parliament and convocation: but, among many other considerations, from this especially, because that declaration is founded upon such a dispensing power as hath been often declared illegal in parliament, particularly in the years 1662 and 1672, and in the beginning of your majesty's reign; and is a matter of so great moment and consequence to the whole nation, both in church and state, that your petitioners cannot in prudence, honour, or conscience,

James, impatient of controul, and distinguished for obstinacy, which court-sycophants are ever ready to dignify with the name of constancy, resented this opposition to his will in the highest manner: he dismissed the bishops from his presence with a sharp reprimand, telling them, that if they had forgotten he was the supreme head of the church, he knew how to make himself acknowledged as such. Soon after the delivery of the petition, the bishops were summoned before the council: the paper they had delivered was shown to them, and they were required to declare whether or not they were inclinable to own it. This question, which appeared to be intended as a snare, at first startled the bishops: they were silent for a short time; at length the archbishop of Canterbury acknowledged that it had been written by him, and the rest declared they had signed it. The lord-chancellor Jefferies insulted the reverend fathers with his usual brutality: he represented their petition as an attempt to demolish the king's authority, and to disturb the peace of the kingdom; concluding with asking them, if they would give bail to appear in the court of King's-Bench, and answer to the charge which should be brought against them for this libel. The bishops knew too well their own dignity to be thus entrapped: they replied, that their privilege as peers exempted them from the necessity of giving security, on being charged with a misdemeanor; and that they were bound by oath to maintain the rights of the peerage, as well as the rights of the church. Jefferies in a fury told them, that unless they instantly retracted their assertions, and withdrew their petition, he would send them to the Tower. They answered, "That they submitted to his majesty's pleasure, whatever it should be; that their own consciences told them they had acted nothing but what was agreeable to the laws, and the sacred character with which they were invested; and that they depended on the King of kings to be their protector:" whereupon a warrant was issued for their commitment to the Tower, the charge against them being, "For contriving, making, and publishing a seditious libel against his majesty and his government."

No pen can describe the consternation that seized on all ranks of people, when they found these fathers of the church, these noble opposers of tyranny and oppression, were to be dragged away to confinement. The court was aware of the disagreeable consequences such a sight might produce on the part of the populace, and had taken the precaution of ordering the prelates to be conveyed to the Tower from Whitehall by water, in a private manner; but the alarm was gone abroad, and the shore was lined with innumerable spectators, who with one voice deplored their fate, and on their knees intreated their blessing. The good bishops on this occasion increased by their conduct the love their sufferings had begotten; they checked the transports of the multitude; they charged them to continue to fear God, to honour the king, and by no rash act to impeach their loyalty.

In this manner they were conveyed to the place of their confinement, where even the soldiers who were appointed to guard them, moved by the sympathy of example, fell on their knees to ask their benediction, and expressed themselves in the bitterest terms of resentment against their persecutors. The king hearing of this, ordered some other companies to march into the Tower, in whom he had more confidence.

On the tenth of June, two days after the commitment of the bishops, the queen was said to be delivered of a prince, who was baptized by the name of James, and who was very lately alive at Rome, under the name of the Chevalier de St. George, but best known in England by the name of the Pretender. This event, the most joyous that could happen for the catholic party, was notified by public proclamation, and a thanksgiving ordered to be observed throughout the kingdom. However, the people in general were prepossessed with a notion that this was only a trick of the papists to cut off the princess of Orange from the succession; and they were the rather confirmed in this opinion by certain mysterious circumstances, both in respect to the pregnancy and the lying-in; and the management of the court was such as tended rather to increase than remove the suppositions. At the time of the queen's delivery the princess Anne of Denmark was at Bath. She had gone some few weeks before, earnest intreaty, if not command, of her husband, the archbishop of Canterbury was in the country, and the Dutch ambassador, who should have been present as a witness in behalf of the princess of Orange, was not called. In short, the birth of this child, which, according to the common rule of things, ought to have proved the bond of union between the king and his people, had the very contrary effect. Both parties, protestants and catholics, laboured under such violent prejudices at this time, as could not fail to influence their judgments. No wonder, therefore, if we still find the one strenuously asserting the legitimacy of this child, the other asserting the whole affair to be an imposture. Dr. Burnet tells us, that he had it from the mouth of one of the queen's physicians, that she had miscarried in the month of April preceding; and though he does not absolutely assert that this delivery was a trick, yet he talks of it in such a manner, as leaves us very little room to doubt that he thought so, as indeed many others then did, and still continue to do; though this has been carried so far as to pretend, that there were three supposititious children palmed upon the public, one after another, the two former having died in a very few days after each other. The only method to account for this proceeding is, to suppose that several big-bellied women had been brought together, who were each of them alike near their time, in order to have a sufficient supply of children to carry on the imposture. I acknowledge myself wholly at a loss to account for this affair, and therefore shall only observe, that circumstances which at any other time would be

so far make themselves parties to it, as the distribution of it all over the nation, and the solemn publication of it once and again, even in God's house, and in the time of his divine service, must amount to in common and reasonable construction:

your petitioners therefore most humbly beseech your majesty, that you will be pleased not to insist upon this distribution and reading of your majesty's said declaration: And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c." Rapin. Echard.

thought to have little or nothing in them, in case of a general suspicion, are usually applied to confirm that suspicion: but indeed this question is now become a matter of mere curiosity. Besides, allowing the prince of Wales, as he was called, to have been the real and genuine son of the king and queen, yet the solemn exclusion of his father, for his attachment to the catholic religion, and his own education in those principles, have as effectually disqualified him from any claim upon the crown of these kingdoms, as if his illegitimacy had been ever so clearly proved. But to return:

The seven imprisoned bishops, after about a week's confinement, demanded the benefit of the Habeas Corpus act, which the court either could not, or did not chuse to deny them. They were released from the Tower on the seventeenth of June, being bailed in their own recognizances, the archbishop in two hundred pounds, and the other bishops in one hundred pounds each. Their trial came on the twenty-ninth of the same month, when an infinite croud of people of all ranks attended at Westminster-hall: the cause continued ten hours. Two of the judges, Wright and Allebone, gave their opinion that the petition was a libel; and the two others, Holloway and Powel, that it was not. The jury staid so long out, that the court was adjourned, and the foreman brought in the verdict next morning, that the defendants were Not Guilty: at which words the whole hall resounded with shouts of joy: the news flew instantly through all quarters of the city: bells were rung all day; and the night began and ended with bonfires and illuminations, as if the nation had gained some great and signal victory: a glorious one indeed it was for the protestant religion and the church of England, whose bishops now enjoyed a greater triumph than they had known since the Reformation. The nation seemed desirous to make them amends for the cruel insults it had offered them, when, seduced by the artifices of Cromwell and his party, not quite fifty years before, it had driven them from all rank and dignity in the state, and loaded them with the most bitter contumely, for having observed the same conduct as they did on this occasion.

The rejoicings for the delivery of the persecuted prelates were not confined to the metropolis alone; they reached the camp on Hounslow-heath. The soldiers no sooner received the news of the verdict given by the jury, than, without paying any regard to the presence of the king, who was then dining with lord Feversham in his tent, they burst forth into the most extravagant marks of tumultuous joy. When the king was made acquainted with the reason, he could not conceal his displeasure: he had hitherto fixed his chief dependence on the submission of his army to his will. This incident awakened in his mind several uneasy suspicions: he resolved to be fully satisfied, by putting their attachment to an infallible test; but here he received the greatest mortification of all: for beginning with the lord Litchfield's regiment, which he ordered to be drawn up in his presence, he commanded such officers and soldiers as would not contribute to the repeal of the test and penal

laws, to ground their arms; when, to the king's great surprize, the whole regiment, except two captains, and some few popish soldiers, laid down their firelocks; at which he was so astonished, that he stood speechless for some minutes; then bidding them take up their arms, he told them with a fullen air, "That for the future he would not do them the honour to ask their advice." He saw now that it would only be exposing himself to contempt to try the rest of his forces, and therefore had recourse to another method, such as he thought would effectually answer his end: this was, to discard the greatest part of the officers and soldiers who were protestants, and substitute catholics in their place; a scheme which, to the unspeakable happiness of this nation, he had not time to accomplish, though he began it in part, by new-modelling the regiment commanded by his own natural son the duke of Berwick; but this only served to disgust the army the more. The navy shewed itself as little disposed to favour the views of the king as the military had done: for vice-admiral Strickland having ordered mass to be said on board his ship in the Downs, the sailors were enraged to such a degree, that it was with great difficulty they could be hindered from seizing the priests, and throwing them overboard. James, however, still continued obstinate in his purpose; and as he saw that his design of new-modelling the army would be liable to considerable obstructions and delays, he sent for six regiments over from Ireland, the greatest part of them composed of papists in whom he could entirely confide, and ordered three thousand men to advance out of Scotland.

Such was the situation of affairs, when the nation, now fully convinced of the king's designs to subvert the constitution both in church and state, began in earnest to think of means for preserving their religion and liberties from being utterly destroyed; and many persons of eminence and interest in the kingdom, as well clergy as laity, who had gone very great lengths in support of the kingly authority, thought it was better to retract their doctrine of non-resistance and passive obedience, than bring their country to the brink of ruin by an obstinate adherence to it; and entered into a strict union with the non-conformists for their mutual security, and to take measures for inviting over the prince of Orange, in order to put him at the head of the party against the king. The prince no sooner received an intimation of this disposition in the English to shake off the yoke of his father-in-law's government, than he adroitly set himself to work to make his own advantage of it. He had sent over Zuylestein, one of his gentlemen of the bed-chamber, to congratulate James on the birth of his son. This minister had orders to sound some of the principal persons of the kingdom on this great subject. Zuylestein soon informed him that the conjuncture was entirely favourable to his views; that the whole nation were ready to rise, and only wanted a chief to head them. Several of the nobility and gentry going abroad on various pretences*, waited on the prince at the Hague, and con-

* Those who went over to Holland, and there promoted this enterprize, among many others, were the following;

Mr. Sidney, brother to colonel Algernon Sidney (beheaded in the late reign); sir Robert Peyton; sir Rowland Gwyn; Dr.

confirmed this intelligence. As a frequent correspondence passed between England and Holland, the prince of Orange and the English protestants kept up a mutual intercourse, and by letters and messages concerted that plan, which at length was maturated, to the happy deliverance of this nation from a papal yoke.

The situation of affairs in Europe at this time contributed not a little to the success of this design. The manifest partiality of James in favour of the ambitious views of Lewis XIV. had alarmed not only the protestants, but the Roman catholic powers likewise, and they dreaded nothing so much as a firm coalition between the two courts of England and France: they saw no hopes of safety for themselves but in a revolution in this kingdom. Innocent XI. who was known by the name of the Protestant Pope, only on account of the wise disregard he had shewn to the mad attempts of James to introduce popery into England, was, if we may believe contemporary historians, far from being averse to the intended reformation in our government. The design, however, was managed with great secrecy at first, both at London and at the Hague; but when it came to be known, was approved by the whole nation, nay indeed by all Europe, France only excepted. The prince of Orange, however, would not engage in this matter till he had received a formal invitation from such persons whom he knew to have every thing to risque in case of their enterprize miscarrying. This invitation was brought over by Zuylestein on his return from his embassy, and then the prince readily accepted of the proffer made him, to undertake the defence of the nation against the machinations of their sovereign. Would it be a trespass on the regard we owe to William III. to say, that perhaps self-interest, and the desire of reigning over so great a kingdom, contributed as much as his love for liberty and the protestant religion, to induce him to accept of the proffered chieftainship over the discontented English?

It is certain that he could not have chosen a more fortunate time for his enterprize, as the people were then extremely incensed by the imprisonment of the bishops, which was justly considered as a glaring insult, not only to the church, but even to all the protestants in the kingdom.

The leading men who had joined in the invitation of the prince of Orange, dispersed themselves in their different counties, in order to gain the populace in their party, and ripen them into a disposition for a general revolt. All this time, neither the king nor his council seem to have had the least suspicion of what was transacting. William, on his side, conducted the necessary preparations with admirable prudence and policy. Under pretext of interfering in the dispute then on foot between prince Clement of Bavaria, and the cardinal of Furstemberg, about the election of an archbishop of Cologne, he formed an army of nine thousand men, which was encamped near Nimeguen; a fleet of fifty men of war, and a sufficient

number of transports, were by degrees assembled in the Dutch harbours, and waited only for orders to take on board the troops designed for the landing in England. All this was transacted with a circumspection and address, that sufficiently evinced the great capacity and abilities of the prince of Orange, who could conceal these public preparations under such pretences, that no one could as yet discover his intentions. Doubtless he was greatly indebted to the complaisance of the States, who on this occasion heartily concurred with him in all his measures. The prince, after he had determined to put himself at the head of the male-content party in England, had desired the English lords at the Hague to demand assistance of the States in the name of all England. Their High Mightinesses did not want much persuasion to yield to a request of this kind: they were equally concerned in the affair with the English themselves, as the ruin of Holland would doubtless have soon followed the slavery of England, considering the designs of Lewis XIV. and his close union with James. Nor was it from his own countrymen only that the prince of Orange received countenance and assistance in this enterprize; many of the neighbouring princes, the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the whole house of Lunenburg, agreed to assemble their forces, and protect the United Provinces, during the absence of their Stadtholder.

It was a considerable time before king James would believe that his son-in-law had conceived any design against him, or that the forces the prince was assembling were destined to invade England. Lewis, however, having received intelligence from the count d'Avaux, his ambassador at the Hague, of what was likely to be the event of these great preparations, transmitted the information to James, and at the same time made him an offer of any number of troops he should think proper for his defence; or that he would immediately send over fifteen thousand men, if the king of England would put Portsmouth into their hands, in order to preserve to them a free communication with France. These affairs were laid before the council; but the earl of Sunderland, who was prime minister, and is, not without reason, supposed to have already entered into a correspondence with the prince of Orange, strenuously opposed the accepting them. He alleged in support of his opinion, that a small body of foreign troops would do more hurt than good, as they would be sufficient to excite the murmurs of the people, but not to keep them in subjection. The English soldiers, he said, naturally averse to be commanded by, or even act in concert with, foreigners, would take every opportunity to desert: that, on the other hand, it would require no less than forty thousand men to prevent or quell the opposition of the discontented part of the nation: that such an army would naturally receive all its orders from the court of France; and while it kept

Dr. Burnet; lord Wharton; colonel Sidney, uncle to the earl of Sunderland; lord Dunblain, son to the earl of Danby; the earls of Shrewsbury and Macclesfield; admiral Herbert; his cousin Mr. Herbert; Mr. Russel; Major Wildman; the lords Mordaunt and Pawlet; and the earl of Wiltshire. The principal persons with whom they corresponded in England were,

the earls of Danby, Devonshire, and Dorsetshire; the lords Loveland and Delamere; the duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Halifax, the marquis of Winchester, the lord Willoughby, Mr. Leicester, Mr. Hambden, Mr. Powle, and others; with several eminent citizens of London. Burnet. Rapin. Echard.

the

the English under awe, would reduce the king himself to little better than a viceroy to Lewis XIV. These arguments, though dictated by perfidy, carried with them an appearance of sound reasoning: the council subscribed to the minister's opinion, and James refused, though with many expressions of gratitude, this important offer.

Still Lewis was loth to forsake his friend and ally, in whose welfare he considered himself as deeply interested. He sent orders to d'Avaux to remonstrate to the States in his name, against the preparations which they seemed to be making for a descent upon England. The strict friendship and alliance, said the French minister, which subsists between the two monarchs, will make Lewis consider every attempt against his ally as an act of hostility against himself. This remonstrance, far from intimidating, served only to incense the States. They demanded, with great vehemence, What was the purport of the late alliance between France and England, which had been so secretly concluded? Whether it was of the same nature with the former; intended for the destruction of the protestant religion? If it was, it then behoved them instantly to provide for their safety, and to defeat those projects which were formed against them *. James himself was vexed with Lewis for taking this rash step; and finding that he had been advised to it by Skelton, the English envoy at the Hague, he sent for that minister home, and committed him to the Tower, at the same time publicly disclaiming all alliance with France, and his having any knowlege of the memorial. Whatever truth there might be in this assertion, neither the States nor his own subjects gave credit to it: the English in particular were more incensed than ever against their sovereign, whom they firmly believed to have entered into a plan with the French king for reducing them to entire slavery.

While the unhappy James, distracted by a thousand uneasy apprehensions, was considering how best he might retrieve his affairs, he received, towards the end of September, certain advice of the prince of Orange's design, and that he might soon expect to see the Dutch fleet upon his coasts, with a land army on board, accompanied by several English noblemen and gentlemen of distinction, who had hitherto concealed themselves there. James was perfectly thunderstruck at receiving this news: neither himself nor his council could propose any possible means of resisting the invasion. The protestants, who composed the bulk of the nation, he knew, looked upon themselves as victims devoted to ruin, and would therefore naturally join the prince in their own defence: nay, it was more than probable he was coming over upon their express invitation. Both the fleet and land forces had sufficiently discovered their little inclination to support the king in the execution of his designs, or rather their resolution to oppose him to the utmost. What then was to be done? There was little time for deliberation: the storm was driving swiftly on, and it behoved him to have immediate recourse to some shelter against its fury. James then resolved to throw himself upon the church of England, and by revoking several of his late unpopular acts, endeavour to retrieve the good will and affection of

his subjects. With this view he consulted immediately with the bishops then in London, abolished the commission for ecclesiastical affairs, took off the bishop of London's suspension, restored the city to its charter, removed popish magistrates and put protestants in their room, and took some other steps towards the redress of grievances. These however had not the desired effect: they came too late, and were generally looked upon as the result of fear, rather than of inclination or a real change of sentiments. James seems to have been at some pains to confirm his people in this opinion; for notwithstanding the present ticklish situation of his affairs, he had the madness to name the pope to be one of the godfathers to his new-born son.

Meanwhile the prince of Orange laboured incessantly at the compleating of his armament; and when all things were in readiness, he published a manifesto, explaining the true motives of his undertaking. Copies of this paper were sent over here, and distributed all over the kingdom. In this declaration the prince solemnly disclaimed all thoughts of conquest, or of disturbing the king, his father-in-law, in the enjoyment of his sovereignty, declaring that his design was only to maintain the protestant laws and liberties of these kingdoms, which had been so openly violated, and to procure the assembling of a free and lawful parliament, that might at once settle all the rights of the subject, and the prerogatives of the crown, on a firm and unalterable basis; and to this, he said, he had been invited "by a great many lords, both spiritual and temporal, and by many gentlemen, and other subjects of all ranks."

At the same time, the States-General published a paper, containing the reasons which had induced them to lend their ships and men to the prince of Orange. These were, the invitations his highness had received from the nobility, gentry, and clergy of England, and the apprehensions that king James, after he should have subjected his own kingdom to his arbitrary will, would join with the French monarch in reducing the United Provinces to slavery, and totally extirpating the protestant religion.

On the twenty-first of October, the prince of Orange set sail for England with the Dutch fleet, consisting of about fifty men of war of the line, twenty-five frigates, as many fire-ships, and between three and four hundred victuallers and transports, having on board four thousand horse and nine thousand foot, and accompanied by the English nobility and gentry already mentioned, and others; with count Nassau, general of the horse; count Solmes, colonel of the foot-guards; count Stirum; Mynheer Bentinck; Mynheer Overquerque; and Mynheer Zuylestein: as also the famous marshal Schomberg, and a great number of French officers, who had left their native country, and taken refuge in Holland on account of religion. Admiral Herbert, who had gone over to the prince from England, led the van of the fleet: the prince commanded in the center, with a flag flying at his main-mast-head, on which were displayed his own arms, and those of his consort, surrounded with this motto, THE PROTESTANT RELIGION, AND THE LIBERTIES OF ENGLAND: underneath, the words JE MAINTIENDRAI, the device of the house of Nassau. This fleet had sailed but a few leagues when the wind

came about to the west, and blew so violent a storm, that in a very few hours there were not four ships to be seen together. The scattered vessels made some for one port, some for another. Happily not one was lost; but upon the news of this disaster arriving here, the court party immediately set their hirelings to work, to represent the fleet as so miserably disabled, that it could not possibly be in a condition to put to sea again till the latter end of the spring. On this occasion James acted as if he had really believed the fiction of his own raising; for he instantly began to recal some of his late popular acts, and thereby discovered what was to be expected from him, if once he should find himself freed from the present danger. Much about this time the king appears to have discovered that the earl of Sunderland had played him false, by holding a correspondence with the prince of Orange; for in this month of October that nobleman was dismissed from his two employments of secretary of state and president of the council. The earl thought proper, some time afterwards, to publish an apology for his conduct.

James had been not a little alarmed at that expression in the prince's manifesto, where he says, "He was earnestly invited over by several of the lords spiritual and temporal, and by many gentlemen, and others:" and thereupon sending for the archbishop, and as many of the prelates as could be assembled, he demanded of them, If that part of the prince's declaration was true? The bishops were a little confounded: however, they replied by many general professions of duty and affection to his majesty. The king then asked them, if they would sign an abhorrence of the intended invasion? adding, that this would be the most convincing proof they could give him of their loyalty, and of eminent service to him in the present posture of affairs, by the effect it would have on the minds of his enemies, both within and without doors. A declaration against the prince of Orange, he said, was then in the press, and nothing retarded the publication but waiting for their paper of abhorrence to be annexed to it. He then dismissed them from his presence, after having assigned them a short day for giving in their answer. On the day appointed the bishops again waited on the king at Whitehall, when, upon their entering the presence, "Well, my lords, asked his majesty with some impatience, Where is your paper?" "We humbly beg of your majesty, replied they, to hold us excused from writing any thing of the nature your majesty was pleased to mention to us, or for making a particular defence to a general accusation, lest we should thereby give the first precedent of that kind against the privilege of peers: moreover, we humbly conceive, that our profession being to promote peace, it belongeth not to us to declare war, especially against a prince so nearly allied to the crown." This answer threw the king into a violent transport of rage; and finding that the prelates continued firm to their resolution, in spite of menaces or soothing, he ordered them to withdraw, not without sensible marks

of his displeasure. But to return to the prince of Orange.

The damage the scattered fleet sustained was so small, that the prince was soon in a condition to put to sea again, which he did on November 1, and stood to the northward, intending to land in some part of Yorkshire, near the mouth of the Humber; but the wind blowing strong at east, they put before it, and made to the westward; and on the third of November the fleet entered the Channel, and lay by between Calais and Dover: the king's fleet, under the earl of Dartmouth, lay at anchor at the Gunfleet; but the wind blew so hard, that they could not get under way to assail the enemy. Indeed, it is more than probable that the admiral, knowing the disposition of the seamen in general to be averse to the court and its measures, was apprehensive of putting all upon a stake by a precipitate engagement. Be that as it may, the prince, making sail again, came off the Isle of Wight in the evening; and orders were given not to over-run Dartmouth in the night. The next morning, however, to their great mortification, they found the wind and current, for which they had not made proper allowances, had carried them past both Dartmouth and Torbay. They gave all over now for lost, as they saw nothing left but to winter at Plymouth, or some of the more westerly ports, which would give the king time to provide for his defence in such a manner as might overturn all their projects. In the midst of these disagreeable reflections, the wind on a sudden flew about to the south, and carried the whole fleet in less than four hours into Torbay. The infantry was landed that evening; and their debarkation was hardly completed, when the wind, shifting again, blew a storm from the west, which prevented the Lord Dartmouth's pursuing them. The Dutch fleet lay so land-locked, that the gale had no effect upon it: the English, on the contrary, unable to keep the sea, were obliged to run into harbour for safety. This is the substance of Dr. Burnet's account of this expedition, who was on board the fleet in quality of prince's chaplain*.

The prince, having refreshed his troops, put them in march, and advanced to Exeter, which city he entered on the 8th of November. He remained there till the 15th, without being joined by any person of condition, insomuch that his spirit again began to flag; and it was actually debated in the council, whether they should not reembark, and return to Holland. But at length Sir Edward Seymour, Major Barrington, and several other gentlemen of the county of Devon and Somerset, made their appearance at his highness's quarters with tenders of their assistance. The prince received them with the greatest politeness and cordiality. Soon after he had the satisfaction of finding himself joined by the earl of Abington, the Lord Russell (son to the earl of Wharton), Mr. Godfrey, and Mr. Howe; and to hear, that the Lord Delamere had taken arms for him in Cheshire; that the earl of Danby had secured York, and with the earl of

* This right reverend father tells us, that going to the prince's quarters after landing, his highness took him by the hand, and asked him, if he did not believe in predestination? To which the doctor replied, "He could never forget that providence which had appeared so signally for them." Burnet.

This circumstance of the same wind being favourable to the Dutch, and unfavourable to the king's fleet, gave occasion to apply

the two famous lines of Claudian to the prince of Orange:

"O! nimium dilecte Deo, cui militat æther,
"Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti."

Which may be thus rendered:

O youth! high favour'd of indulgent heaven,
To whom the winds for ministers are given!

Bath, governor of that city, had declared in his favour. The earl of Devonshire did the same in Derby. In fine, every day furnished fresh instances of the attachment of the nation to a prince whom they now looked upon as their deliverer from popery and arbitrary power. Sir Edward Seymour, upon his first coming in, had drawn up an association, in the name of himself and friends, to stand by the prince and one another in the cause they had engaged in, which was afterwards signed by great numbers of all ranks throughout the kingdom.

Upon the first news of the prince's landing, the two archbishops, with five other prelates; the dukes of Grafton and Ormond; the earls of Dorset, Clare, Clarendon, Rochester, Burlington, and Anglesey; the lords Newport, Paget, Chandois, and Ossulston, all of them then residing in London, drew up a petition to his Majesty; "intreating him to call with all speed a free parliament, and to take some measures for satisfying the prince of Orange, and for preventing the effusion of Christian blood." This petition was presented on the 17th of November by the two archbishops and the bishops of Ely and Rochester. The king returned an answer, in which he assured them, that there was nothing he more passionately desired than to have a free parliament; and that, as soon as the prince of Orange should have quitted the realm, he would convoke such an one; but could not think of doing it while an enemy was in the heart of the kingdom, and could command so many returns.

The same day the king set out for Salisbury, where his army had its head-quarters, with a view to oppose the prince. On his arrival in the camp, he had the mortification to hear, that the Lord Cornbury, son to the earl of Clarendon, and colonel of the dragoons, had carried with him his own regiment and three others to the prince at Exeter. The other principal officers of the army gave his majesty to understand by their general, the earl of Feversham, that though they were ready to stand by his majesty to the last drop of their blood on any other occasion, they could not answer to their consciences to fight against a prince who was come over to secure to them the enjoyment of their religion and properties. Soon after the duke of Grafton, and several other officers of distinction, went over to the prince; and James finding that there was no relying upon his troops, and probably apprehensive that they might deliver him up to his son-in-law, set out for London, after having published a proclamation, promising pardon to all his subjects who had taken up arms, if they would return to their duty. On his way back to his capital, he was deserted by the prince of Denmark, the duke of Ormond, and, what was still more extraordinary, by the Lord Churchill, who had owed his whole fortune to the king's bounty, by whom he had been raised from the rank of a page to an high command in the army, and had afterwards been created a peer. This ingratitude was deeply felt by James, but a more severe blow awaited him; for when he arrived at Whitehall, he understood that

his daughter, Anne princess of Denmark, had left the town the night before, and, with the bishop of London, was gone to join the prince. The wretched king was no way prepared for so astonishing an event. He burst into tears when he received the affecting news; and, in the distress of his heart, he exclaimed, "God help me! my own children have forsaken me."

The prince of Orange, having received advice of the king's return to London, advanced with his army to Sherborn, and from thence to Salisbury, where he made a triumphant entry, the king's forces having before retired to Reading. In this distress the king assembled all the Protestant peers about town, and desired their advice*, who proposed the calling a free parliament, and to send commissioners to treat with the prince. This the king readily complied with; the lord chancellor was directed to issue out writs accordingly; Papists were removed from the posts and offices they held about the court; Sir Edward Hales, lieutenant of the Tower, who was one of that communion, was displaced, and succeeded by Sir Bevil Skelton; and father Peters, the king's confessor, seeing the storm rise so high, wisely consulted his safety by an escape into France.

The marquis of Halifax, the earl of Northampton, and the Lord Godolphin, were sent to treat with the prince, who delivered to them a paper containing certain proposals, the substance whereof was, that a free parliament should be called; that all Papists should be disarmed, and dispossessed of all employments they enjoyed; that all proclamations against himself should be recalled; that the command of the Tower should be put into the hands of the lord-mayor; that if the king should think proper to reside in London during the time of the session of parliament, the prince should likewise reside in the same place with an equal number of guards, or that the king and he should reside at an equal distance from London; that each army should be removed thirty miles from the city, and that no new forces should be brought into the kingdom; that Tilbury-fort should be put into the hands of the city magistrates; that, until the parliament should meet, part of the revenue should be assigned for the maintenance of the prince's army; and that, in order to prevent an invasion from abroad, Portsmouth should be committed to the charge of some person equally agreeable to the king and the prince.

When these proposals were presented to James, he affected to think them as moderate, or even more so than he could have expected in the present posture of his affairs; but in all probability his real sentiments were otherwise, and that finding himself attacked and pursued by one of his son-in-law, abandoned by the other, deserted by his own daughters and bosom friends, and hated by his subjects, he looked upon his fortune as desperate, and therefore resolved upon flight, the last resource of a vanquished prince. It is said he was chiefly instigated to this resolution by his popish counsellors, who dreaded nothing so much as the

* We are told, that on this occasion the king, addressing himself to the earl of Bedford, "My lord, said he, you are a good man, have great influence, and can do me signal service." "Alas! replied the earl, I am a feeble old man, very incapable of performing any considerable service; but I had a son, he added with a sigh, who, if now alive, could serve

your majesty in a more effectual manner." He alluded to Lord Russell, who, towards the end of the late reign, had fallen a sacrifice to the king's (then duke of York's) vengeance. James was so thunderstruck with this answer, that he remained for some time speechless. Burnet. Hume.

meeting of a parliament, where they were conscious they should be rendered incapable of ever having any share in the administration again, and perhaps punished for their attempts to subvert the government and the established religion.

By whatever motives James was actuated, it is certain, that while every thing seemed to tend to an accommodation, and that the nobility were ordered to assemble to agree upon measures for re-establishing the peace of the kingdom; the king, having sent away the queen and the prince privately to Gravesend, from whence they took shipping, and passed over to France, on the eleventh of December disappeared himself in the night-time, accompanied only by Sir Edward Hales, Mr. Sheldon, and Mr. Labadie. He left a letter behind him for his general, the earl of Feverham, wherein he says, "if he could have relied upon all his troops, he should not have been driven to this extremity, and would at least have hazarded one battle for the maintenance of his crown and dignity; but as matters stood with the army, he thought it madness to venture himself at their head against the prince of Orange: he thanked the general and all the officers that had been true to him; desired them not to hazard their lives and fortunes by an unavailing opposition; only cautioning them not to enter into an association against him."

Nothing could equal the surprize which seized the city, the court, and the kingdom, upon the discovery of the king's flight. The more effectually to increase the confusion which James knew must be the natural consequence of his taking such a step, he named not any one who should in his absence conduct the affairs of the public: he threw the great seal into the river; he burned all the writs which had been made out for the election of a new parliament; and caused a caveat to be entered against making use of those that were actually issued. Feverham was no sooner informed of his majesty's retreat, than he disbanded the troops which were in the neighbourhood; and, without either paying or disarming them, let them loose to pillage and plunder at pleasure. The London mob now drew together, and pulled down the mass-houses; and the houses of some foreign ambassadors did not escape their fury, from a notion that many rich Catholics had deposited their most valuable effects there. Jefferies, the chancellor, who had hid himself in disguise at a house in Wapping, waiting for a ship to carry him over to France, was discovered and seized by them, and treated so severely, that the lord-mayor sent him to the Tower to prevent his being pulled in pieces. There he died shortly after of the bruises he had received, and so escaped the exemplary punishment he had so notoriously deserved. What still increased the confusion, was a report that prevailed, at one and the same instant, all over England, on the 12th of December, that the disbanded Irish soldiers of Feverham's army were burning of towns and cutting of throats every-where, and that nothing less than a general massacre of the Protestants was expected: the people were at their wits end; the city was illuminated, that the enemy might not take the advantage of the darkness to surprize it; and every man was in arms, to defend his family from the insults of the cruel Irish. But the next day discovering the falsity of the report, the people recovered from their consternation. It is generally

supposed this was a stratagem made use of to create in the people a dread of popery and of King James's administration. If so, it certainly answered all the ends of the contrivers; and did more towards preventing that king's restoration, than the prince of Orange's troops.

In this public exigency the lords, both spiritual and temporal, then in London, together with some persons of distinction, held a consultation in Guildhall with the lord-mayor and aldermen. They resolved to adhere to the prince of Orange, and sent deputies to him with this resolution, subscribed by all the members of the assembly. They then took the keys of the Tower from Skelton, and appointed the Lord Lucas governor of that fortress till the prince's pleasure should be known. They also published a proclamation, as did likewise the prince of Orange, requiring the officers of the army to re-assemble the disbanded troops, and wait in quarters for further orders; the day after which, viz. on the 14th of December, his royal highness the prince arrived at Windsor in his way to London to settle with the lords, by whom he was expected, the affairs of the nation, on a supposition that the king had gone over to the continent, and entirely resigned the reins of government; but to the no small surprize and indeed mortification of the prince of Orange, news suddenly arrived, that his majesty had been discovered at Feverham, in Kent, on board a ship in which he was waiting for a fair wind to carry him over to France; and that after suffering several indignities from the populace of the place, who, not knowing his person, had mistaken him for some Papist of quality making his escape, he was brought on shore, and lodged in the town. The peers, hearing his majesty was still in his dominions, sent down four of their number, viz. the earls of Middleton, Aylesbury, Yarmouth, and Feverham, with a detachment of the guards, to attend his majesty to London, whither he returned on the 16th of December. The populace, touched with compassion for his unhappy fate, received him with shouts and acclamations of joy. An express was immediately dispatched to the prince of Orange, to acquaint him with the return of his majesty to his capital. How little agreeable this intelligence was to his highness, may be gathered from his actually sending Mynheer Zuylestein to desire the king would approach no nearer than Rochester; but the message arrived too late. Indeed, Dr. Burnet scruples not to assure us, "That the prince of Orange had much rather his father-in-law had met with no interruption in his intended voyage."

The king, being come to Whitehall, began to resume his former authority; and the same night caused an order of council to be published for suppressing tumults, and preventing the demolishing and plundering of houses, and other kinds of outrages. The next day he sent an invitation to the prince by the earl of Feverham to come to St. James's Palace with what number of guards he should think proper, that they might confer together for the redress of the grievances complained of. The only answer his highness returned to this message, was the detaining the bearer, the earl of Feverham, prisoner. The Dutch guards were ordered to take possession of Whitehall, and to turn out all the English; the lords Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Delamere, were sent, in the prince's name,

name, at midnight, requesting him to remove early in the morning to Ham, a seat of the duchess of Lauderdale's. The wretched James had by this time lost all remains of spirit or resolution: he patiently submitted to the ignominious treatment offered him (for such it certainly was, however partial prejudice may have varnished it over), and contented himself with requesting that he might be allowed to remove to Rochester instead of Ham. This was readily granted: it was indeed the very thing the ruling powers designed to bring about: they had readily foreseen, that by convincing him he was no longer regarded as a sovereign, and even alarming him with fears for his personal safety, they urged him into that measure which was most suitable for answering their purposes, a second flight. It is plain that the stratagem succeeded; for the king, after loitering a few days at Rochester under the protection of a Dutch guard, and seeing no likelihood of being invited to keep possession of the throne, privately embarked, on the 23d of December, on board a frigate in the river, which, after a short passage, landed him safely at Ambleteuse in Picardy, from whence he repaired to St. Germain, where he was received by the French monarch with the greatest marks of friendship and esteem.

King James left a paper behind him, containing his reasons for withdrawing a second time; wherein he says, "The world could not wonder at his conduct, after the prince of Orange had made the earl of Feversham prisoner, whom he sent to treat in a friendly manner with him, and commanding his own guards to take possession of Whitehall at eleven at night, without acquainting him with it; and even sending him an order at midnight, when he was a-bed, to be gone. After this, he had little to hope for from one who had invaded his kingdom, and called the legitimacy of his son in question, appealing to all that knew him, and even to the prince himself, if they could believe him guilty of so unnatural a villainy. He said he was born free, and desired to remain so; and for that reason had withdrawn himself again, but so as to be within call, whenever the nation's eyes should be open, to see how they had been abused and imposed upon by the specious pretences of religion and property *."

Such was the farewell which James II. took of his subjects, after having governed them three years, nine months, and eleven days; and here we may properly fix the period of this unfortunate monarch's reign, which might have been as happy

as any of his predecessors, had not his mistaken notions of prerogative, his excessive bigotry to the religion of Rome, and an inflexible severity of temper, hurried him into measures which rendered his government intolerable to a free and generous people, who could no longer submit to a prince, whom they saw altogether guided by the violent counsels of a popish jesuitical faction, and blindly adopting their enslaving superstition.

Of fourteen children this king had by his two wives, Anne Hyde, daughter to the earl of Clarendon, and Maria d'Este, daughter to the duke of Modena, three only survived him, viz.

Mary, his eldest daughter, born the thirtieth of April, 1662, and married to William-Henry of Nassau, prince of Orange, afterwards king of England.

Anne, his second daughter, both by his first wife, born the sixth day of February, 1664, and married to his royal highness George prince of Denmark, second son to Frederick III. king of Denmark, afterwards queen of England.

By his second queen he had one son;

James Francis Edward (whose birth was disputed) known commonly by the title of the Chevalier de St. George, and in England by the name of the Pretender, who fixed his residence at Rome, where he died in the month of February of this present year 1766, aged seventy-eight.

King James the Second's natural issue was as follows:

By Mrs. Arabella Churchill, sister of John duke of Marlborough, afterwards married to colonel Godfrey, he had, 1. James Fitz-James, grandee of Spain, mareschal of France, knight of the Golden Fleece, commonly called duke of Berwick, outlawed in 1695.

2. Henry Fitz-James, commonly called the Grand Prior, born 1673, outlawed in 1695; lieutenant-general and admiral of the French galleys. He died in France, December 7, 1702.

3. Henrietta, born 1670, who married Henry lord Waldegrave, 1683.

By Mrs. Catherine Sedley, daughter of sir Charles Sedley, baronet, created baroness of Darlington, and countess of Dorchester, afterwards married to Collier, earl of Portmore, he had Catherine Darnley, born 1681. She married, first, James Annesley, earl of Anglesey, in October 1699; and after his death, secondly, John Sheffield duke of Buckinghamshire and Normandy, March 1, 1705; by whom she had Edmund duke of Buckingham, born January 11, 1716, who died in 1742.

* Rapin.

Burnet.

INTER

INTERREGNUM, or rather the Prince of ORANGE'S ADMINISTRATION.

AS soon as king James had thus left the kingdom, the lords took upon themselves the government, and meeting in their house, chose lord Halifax their speaker. On the twenty-fifth of December, they agreed to address the prince of Orange to take upon him the administration of all public affairs till a convention should meet; for which they desired him to issue out letters to the several counties, cities, or boroughs, directing them to chuse such a number of persons to represent them as were of right to be sent to parliament. They also issued an order for all papists to depart ten miles from the city of London, and not to remove above five miles from their habitations in the country. In order to give the greater weight to the proceedings of the lords, the prince of Orange published an order, desiring all such persons as had been members in any of king Charles II's parliaments, and also the lord mayor and aldermen, with fifty of the common-council of the city of London, to meet him at St. James's on the twenty-sixth of December, which they accordingly did (there being about one hundred and sixty of the old members) and repairing to the commons house, his highness made a speech to them, desiring their advice likewise as to the calling a free parliament, and the settlement of the nation. Whereupon this assembly resolved upon the like addresses for calling a convention, and requesting the prince to take upon him the administration of the government, as the lords had done. The prince returned an answer severally to the lords and commons, signifying his compliance with their request; and then the executive power was lodged in the hands of his highness, by the unanimous consent of the great assembly of the nation.

His first acts of authority were, the issuing a declaration for the better collecting the public revenue, for withdrawing the Dutch troops out of their respective quarters to have the elections free, and another order, prohibiting all soldiers quartering in private houses, without the owners consent. He sent orders to Mr. Barillon, the French ambassador, to depart the kingdom in twenty-four hours; and on the thirty-first of December published a proclamation, authorizing all justices of the peace, and other officers (not being papists) to act in their respective places till the meeting of the convention, or orders to the contrary. He borrowed 200,000 l. of the city of London to pay the forces that had been disbanded by the earl of Feversham, and re-assembled again; and he summoned the Scottish gentry and nobility about town to attend at St. James's the seventh of January, which they did, to the number of one hundred and ten, and joined in the like address to his highness, with regard to the administration of all public affairs in Scotland, as the nobility and gentry of England had done with respect to their country; at the same time requesting that his highness would be pleased to summon a general meeting of the states for the fourteenth of March next ensuing. The prince returned them an answer, as he

had done to the English: and at the same time, in compliance with one part of the address of the lords and commons, he directed his attention towards the state of affairs in Ireland, and sent a summons to the earl of Tyrconnel, lord-lieutenant of that kingdom, to submit to the present administration; but that nobleman, preferring his fidelity to his lawful sovereign to all other considerations, paid no regard to this citation.

In the mean time, the elections for members to compose the ensuing convention, went on rapidly in favour of the prince of Orange's party, though it must be allowed that the general disposition of the nation operated wholly in this choice, there not being the least shadow of restraint used for that purpose; and on the twenty-second of January, 1689, that assembly met. The lords again chose the marquis of Halifax for their speaker, and the commons put Mr. Powle into their chair. To the two houses thus assembled, the prince of Orange sent severally the following letter:

My lords and gentlemen,

"I have endeavoured to the utmost of my power to perform what was desired from me, in order to the public peace and safety, and I do not know that any thing hath been omitted since the administration of affairs was put into my hands: it now lieth upon you to lay a foundation for the firm security of your religion, your laws, and your liberties. I do not doubt that by such a full and free representative of the nation as is now met, the ends of my declaration will be attained; and since it hath pleased God hitherto to bless my good intentions with so great success, I trust in him that he will compleat his whole work, by sending a spirit of peace and union to influence our councils, that no interruption may be given to a happy and lasting settlement.

"The dangerous condition of the protestants in Ireland requiring a large and speedy succour, and the present state of things abroad, oblige me to tell you, that next to the danger of unseasonable divisions among yourselves, nothing can be so fatal as too great a delay in your consultations. The States, by whom I have been enabled to secure this nation, may suddenly feel the ill effects of it, both by being too long deprived of the service of their troops which are now here, and of your early assistance against a powerful enemy, who hath declared a war against them. And as England is by treaty already engaged to help them upon such exigences, so I am confident that their chearful concurrence to preserve this kingdom, with so much hazard to themselves, will meet with all the returns of friendship and assistance which may be expected from you as protestants and Englishmen, whenever their condition will require it.

Given at St. James's, the twenty-second day of January, 1689." *

This letter being read, both houses joined in an address to the prince, acknowledging him, under God, the deliverer of the nation, approving of his taking the administration of the government, and

praying him to continue it. They then appointed a general thanksgiving, for the late happy deliverance from popery and slavery, and ordered a particular prayer to be inserted therein for the prince of Orange.

In the mean time, the fugitive king, who with his queen and son were most generously treated by Lewis XIV. behaved in such a manner as rendered him the object of contempt to all Europe. He kept no company but with jesuits: he made them daily visits at their college in St. Anthony's-street in Paris: he told them that he was one of their fraternity, and as such desired their prayers; and, what is still more extraordinary, he said the truth. He had got himself admitted into this order with certain ceremonies, by four English jesuits, when duke of York. This weakness of mind in a prince, joined to the manner in which he had, or at least was likely to lose his crown, rendered him so despicable, that the French courtiers diverted themselves with making songs and lampoons on him; nor did his being a Catholic, and having sacrificed his all for that faith, gain him the more esteem. The archbishop of Rheims, brother of Louvois the minister, said openly in James's anti-chamber at St. Germain's, "Is not this a pious man to give up three kingdoms for a mass *?"

In the midst of these humiliations, Lewis endeavoured to buoy up his spirits by his immense liberality, and the noble preparations which he made for restoring him to his throne. James, somewhat roused from his lethargy by this generous and spirited conduct of his old friend and ally, or perhaps sensible of the prejudice his flight had done him, endeavoured to prevent the consequences, and, if possible, recal his subjects to a sense of their duty, and of the royal character he still bore, by writing two letters to the houses of the convention, nearly to the purport of that he had left behind him at Rochester, only adding a promise, on the word of a king, that he would, on his return to England, call a free parliament: he required their advice "what was fit to be done by him towards his returning;" and concluded with assurances of a pardon and act of oblivion to all his subjects who had departed from their allegiance, some few only excepted. These letters, however, were returned unopened by each of the houses. Whether or not these proposals from a king, who, great as might be his demerits, had not as yet been legally deposed, deserved some degree of notice from his subjects, I leave others to determine. A doubt of James's sincerity, and their fears for the Protestant religion, probably got the better of all regard to decorum on this occasion, as the resolutions they soon after came to seem to evince.

The commons having for some days discontinued their sitting, met not again till the 28th of January, to give time to some of the members, then on the road, to come up to London. On that day Mr. Dolben made a long speech to prove the vacancy of the throne by the voluntary desertion of king James, when, after a debate of four or five hours, the house passed this memorable vote:

"That king James II. having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between king and people, and, by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and

withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, hath abdicated the government; and that the throne is thereby become vacant."

The next day the commons farther voted, "That it hath been found by experience to be inconsistent with this protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince."

In the upper house, however, things did not go on quite so smoothly. There was a strong party for a regency, among whom the earl of Nottingham was the chief. After great debates, it was carried to put the word "deserted" in the room of "abdicated," and to leave out the words "and that the throne is thereby become vacant." This occasioned a most memorable conference between the two houses. After many long and learned arguments on each side, a new sovereign was preferred to a regent, by a majority of two voices only (51 to 49). Twelve bishops were for a regency, and two only on the other side the question; Dr. Compton, bishop of London, and sir Jonathan Trelawny, bishop of Bristol. The archbishop of Canterbury, who was a timorous man, absented himself from the house, that he might not be obliged to give his opinion on the subject. In fine, the lords concurred with the votes of the commons, "That king James had abdicated the government, and thereby the throne was become vacant;" and thereupon the convention were determined to declare the princess of Orange, the next Protestant heiress, queen. But Dr. Burnet informs us, that "the earl of Danby sending over to the princess, to give her an account of their debates, and to let her know, if she desired it, he did not doubt they should be able to set her *alone* upon the throne; she returned for answer, that she was the prince's wife, and would never be other than what she should be in conjunction with him and under him; and should take it very unkindly of any one that should endeavour to separate their interests." The doctor adds, "that she sent the lord Danby's letter and her answer to the prince, who, being now assured of the consent of the princess under her hand, sent for the earl of Danby, together with the marquis of Halifax and the earl of Shrewsbury; and gave them to understand, that, though some were for putting the princess on the throne *singly*, he would neither think of holding it by apron-strings, nor would he take any share in the government, unless it was lodged in his own person for term of life; though he would consent that the issue of the princess Anne should succeed before the issue he might have by any other wife but the princess."

This resolution of his highness, according to the doctor, put an end to all the debates in the convention; and the two houses at last agreed, and each voted apart, that the prince and princess of Orange should reign jointly as king and queen of England; and that the administration should be in the hands of the prince alone. This vote, according to Dr. Burnet, was not carried without a great opposition. Echard says it passed by twenty voices, sixty-five against forty-five.

On the 12th day of February the princess of Orange (who had been sent for over by her husband) arrived in London from Holland; and the next day both prince and princess, being seated on two large chairs under a canopy of state in the

* Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV.

Banqueting-house, both houses of the convention waited on them in a body, when the clerk of the crown read, in the names of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, assembled at Westminster, "a declaration of their rights*," which had been violated by king James; which declaration concluded thus:

"Having therefore an entire confidence that his said highness the prince of Orange will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights, and liberties, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, assembled at Westminster, do resolve, That William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, be, and be declared king and queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to them the said prince

and princess during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them; and that the sole and full exercise of the royal power be only in, and executed by, the said prince of Orange, in the names of the said prince and princess, during their joint lives; and after their decease the said crown and royal dignity of the said kingdom and dominions to be to the heir of the body of the said princess; and for default of such issue, to the princess Anne of Denmark, and the heirs of her body; and for the default of such issue, to the heirs of the body of the said prince of Orange."

This declaration being read, the marquis of Halifax, as speaker of the upper house, made a solemn tender of the crown to their highnesses, in the name of the peers and commons of England, which was accepted in a most obliging manner by their highnesses; and the same day they were proclaimed by the names of William and Mary, king and queen of England †.

Of the State of Religion, Learning, Laws, Commerce, &c. from the Death of Queen ELIZABETH to the Revolution. Including a Period of Eighty-seven Years, viz. from A. D. 1603 to A. D. 1689.

OF RELIGION, and of the CHURCH.

SEVERAL ecclesiastical matters having been purposely omitted, that the narration of civil affairs might not be interrupted, it will now be requisite to relate the progress of the reformed religion among us from the death of queen Elizabeth, where we last reviewed it; and to give some short account of the religious differences in the church, from that period to the time when the prince of Orange, at the instance of the nobility and people, deserted by their king, took upon himself the government of this realm.

James I. who wished for nothing so much as to settle the peace of the church, and heal those differences of religion which had occasioned a separation amongst the members of the church, several of whom, the people of the same county, of the same religion, and of the same judgment and doctrine, had parted communion on account of a few habits and ceremonies, did, in the very first year of his reign, appoint a conference to be holden at Hampton-Court before himself; to which several eminent prelates and dignified clergy of the

* The rights of the people herein asserted were as follow:

"1. That the pretended power of suspending laws, or execution of laws, by regal authority, without consent of parliament, is illegal.

"2. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal.

"3. That the commission for erecting the late court of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, and all other commissions and courts of like nature, are illegal and pernicious.

"4. That levying of money for or to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant of parliament for longer time, or in any other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal.

"5. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning is illegal.

"6. That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with the consent of parliament, is against law.

"7. That the subjects which are Protestants may have arms for their defence suitable to their condition, and as allowed by law.

"8. That elections of members of parliament ought to be free.

"9. That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament.

"10. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel nor unusual punishments in-

flicted.

"11. That jurors ought to be duly impanelled and returned; and jurors which pass upon men in trials of high-treason, ought to be freeholders.

"12. That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction, are illegal and void.

"13. And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, parliaments ought to be held frequently."

"And they do claim, demand, and insist upon, all and singular the premises as their undoubted rights and liberties; and no declarations, judgments, doings, or proceedings, to the prejudice of the people, in any of the said premises, ought in any-wise to be drawn hereafter into consequence or example." Burnet. Rapin. Echard.

† On this occasion the former oaths of allegiance and supremacy were abrogated, and the following ordered to be taken by all persons, instead of them:

"I, A. B. do solemnly promise and swear, That I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their majesties king William and queen Mary. So help me God."

"I, A. B. do swear, That I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, the damnable doctrine and position, that princes excommunicated by the pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, potentate, or state, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm. So help me God."

church

church of England were summoned on the one side, and four of the principal divines of the dissenters on the other*.

The conferences were opened on the fourteenth day of January 1604, when his majesty signified to the ministers the cause of his calling them together, and desired the dissenters to produce their objections against the present government of the church; whereupon Dr. Reynolds, who was their spokesman, gave in a paper containing the following heads:

1. That the doctrine of the church might be preserved in purity, according to God's word.
2. That good pastors might be planted in all churches to preach the same.
3. That the church-government might be sincerely administered, according to the word of God.
4. That the book of Common Prayer might be fitted more to the increase of piety.

Out of these heads he framed several points, which he insisted on as necessary for the furtherance of true religion, and perfecting a lasting union among the members of the protestant faith. In the first place, he moved, that confirmation might not be confined to bishops alone; but that any minister might confirm in his own parish. This was thought to circumscribe too much the episcopal jurisdiction, and to be a step towards bringing in presbyterian government, which James of all things disliked; and the bishop of Winchester challenged Dr. Reynolds to produce one instance of confirmation having been ever conferred, either in antient or modern times, by any other of the clergy than bishops.

Dr. Reynolds then made another motion, viz. "That there might be a new translation of the Bible; alledging, that the present version was very corrupt, and in many places directly contradictory to the sacred original." Of this he brought many striking examples, which proved so satisfactory to the whole convocation, that it was generally agreed to have a new translation, which was soon after carried into execution under the eye of the king himself, and is the same that we now use.

After several other points moved by Dr. Reynolds, but not of sufficient importance to demand a place here, he came at last to subscription; requesting that it might not be exacted as heretofore; many good men, he said, not being able to comply with it for certain reasons; the principal of which was, because the apocryphal books are appointed to be read by the Common-prayer book, notwithstanding that in some of them are manifest errors, and such as are directly repugnant to the Scriptures, which are the word of faith. To this the king himself answered, That as he would not wish all canonical books to be read in the church, unless there was some learned person to interpret their true sense and meaning to the hearers, so he was not for enforcing the lecture of any apocryphal ones, in which there was any notorious error; but, at the same time, he declared, that as there were some of them that were clear and correspondent to the Scriptures, and served to illustrate several passages only slightly touched upon by the inspired writers, he thought it proper to admit them; but

under such restrictions as the bishop or clergyman should, at the time of reading, think proper to point out to the people.

Another scruple brought by Dr. Reynolds was concerning the sign of the cross in baptism. The doctor acknowledged the sign of the cross in baptism to have been constantly in use, since the apostles time, at entering and going out of the church, and at prayers and benedictions; but doubted of the antient use of it in baptism. To this objection the bishop of Winchester replied, that in Constantine's time it was used in baptism; and the dean of Westminster shewed out of Tertullian, Cyprian, Origen, and others, that in their time it was used "in immortali lavacro," which could be nothing but baptism. The king declared, that he thought this antiquity sufficient to warrant the continuance of it still.

At length Mr. Knewstubbs moved how far an ordinance of the church was to bind them, without impeachment of their Christian liberty. The king was greatly offended with this postulatam: he told Mr. Knewstubbs, that he would not condescend to argue that point with him, and wondered how he could presume to doubt him; for he was bound to obey what the church had once ordained. Dr. Reynolds added, that the sign of the cross ought to be laid aside, if for no other reason than the great abuse that had been made of it in the time of popery, to the raising a spirit of superstition in weak minds. He was answered by the king, that the very reason he alledged for the laying aside this ceremony, was the strongest imaginable in favour of its being retained; for if, added his majesty, it was, as you say, abused to the purposes of superstition in the time of popery, this plainly implies that it was rightly used in its primitive ordination.

The next thing objected was the wearing of the surplice. To this it was answered, that as it appears, from the earliest authorities of the Christian church, that in the celebration of divine service the ministers wore, by way of distinction, a different habit than at other times; and that this habit was of white linen; there was no reason, were it only for the sake of decency and order, that it might not be continued. The managers for the dissenters, however, continued to enforce their objections; and requested, that, in regard of some tender consciences, the surplice and the cross in baptism might not be urged: but the king remained inflexible on that head; telling them, that he was afraid their refusal proceeded rather from obstinacy than tenderness of conscience; and therefore, if they continued refractory, they must take the consequences.

Many other points were handled, as about predestination, absolution, and remission of sins; baptizing by women; about the words in marriage, "with my body I thee worship;" the oath "ex officio;" the high commission, and others; in all which the king's decision went clearly against the dissenters, who, finding they had as little chance in this conference as the protestants had in those held by queen Mary, or the papists under Elizabeth, retired with an appearance of submission.

James, to secure their obedience, did soon after, in concert with his convocation, establish the canons of the English church. These canons decreed,

* For their names, see page 483 of this volume.

that all persons should stand, "ipso facto," excommunicated who should affirm the church of England not to be a true or apostolical church, or the liturgy corrupt, or the rites and ceremonies thereof to be anti-christian; as also any such person who should separate from the church, or should pretend that any sect of ministers and lay-persons may make rules, orders, and constitutions, without the king's authority. This was a most severe blow upon all recusants and dissenters from the established church, many of whom suffered the greatest hardships, rather than comply with the injunctions laid on them, or subscribe to terms which in their consciences they thought erroneous. Two persons were burnt for heresy in king James's reign; one was Bartholomew Legat, an Arian, with whom the king himself, and some bishops, held a conference, but without being able to convince him of his errors; whereupon he was declared an obdurate heretic, and delivered over to the secular power, who sentenced him to the flames; and he was burnt in Smithfield on the 18th of March, 1613. The next month one Edward Wightman, of Burton upon Trent, was convicted of heresy, and suffered death at the stake with great resolution. In 1622 one John Trask was condemned to the like punishment; but the constancy of the two former sufferers had made such an impression on the spectators, that it was thought not advisable to repeat executions of that horrible kind; and the poor wretch, by a mercy that had more of policy than humanity in it, was permitted to linger out a miserable life in the cells of Newgate*.

Towards the latter end of this reign, the Arminian or Remonstrant tenets began to spread in England. As Arminianism, by its doctrine, tended to exalt the prerogative above law, no wonder that the court espoused its cause; but all those who adhered to the cause of liberty powerfully opposed it; whereupon all such, though ever so good churchmen, were branded by the court with the name of Puritans. Hence the distinction of State or Doctrinal Puritans, and Discipline Puritans or Disciplinarians. By this means the Puritans acquired great strength for the bulk of the people, and the clergy were at once confounded with them. At the head of the Arminians was Laud; the chief of the Doctrinal Puritans was archbishop Abbot.

In the first year of the reign of Charles I. the church was exalted to the highest degree of splendor. Episcopacy was declared to be of apostolical, and consequently of divine, institution; and the presbyterian government, though challenging the title of Christ's kingdom and ordinance, was declared to have no foundation in scripture, nor in the practice of the church, for one thousand five hundred years. The clergy were all obliged, on pain of deprivation, to swear, that "they approved the doctrine and discipline of the church, and would never consent to alter the government of it by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, &c." This oath was framed and enjoined in a convocation in this king's thirteenth year, 1637, which was authorised by the great seal of England, to sit as a synod, a month after the parliament was dissolved. The proceedings of this synod were generally condemned as illegally passed, to the prejudice of the fundamental liberty of the

subject; but against the oath many exceptions were made, some of which we shall insert.

First, Because the &c. left the oath too loose, insomuch that neither the makers nor the takers rightly understood the same.

Secondly, The words "*we* will never consent to alter the government of the church," were disliked, as if the same tended to abridge the liberty of the king and state in future parliaments and convocations. Goodman, bishop of Gloucester, the day before the ending of the synod, went to the archbishop of Canterbury, and acquainted him, that he could not in his conscience subscribe the canons enacted by the convocation, while all of them tended to exalt the royal prerogative beyond the just limits; upon which he was committed for some time prisoner to the Gate-house.

Archbishop Laud, instead of indulging the puritans, widened the breach between them and the church, by introducing many new and pompous ceremonies into the public worship; the churches were adorned with paintings, images, altar-pieces, &c. and instead of communion-tables, altars were set up, and bowings to them and the sacramental elements enjoined, and the doctrines of Arminianism were encouraged and propagated. These innovations were loudly complained of by the Puritans, who taxed the authors of them with a design to introduce popery. Their opposition, however, only brought persecution upon them: an implicit conformity was enforced with all the terrors of the High-commission court, to the ruin of many families, and the raising dangerous disturbances in several parts of the kingdom. Upon these proceedings, great numbers transplanted themselves and families into America, and gave birth to a second colony in New-England, that of Massachusetts Bay.

According to Bates and Dugdale, there were eight sail of ships at once in the river of Thames filled with Puritan families leaving England, among whom were the famous Oliver Cromwell, afterwards protector; John Hampden, esq. the celebrated opposer of the ship-money tax; and Mr. Arthur Haselrig: but the ship was stopped by an order of council, and a proclamation issued, prohibiting all masters and owners of ships to carry any passengers to New-England, without a special licence from the privy-council: but the more severely the dissenters were used, the more they increased, both in number and opposition, till the meeting of the Long Parliament in 1640, when the affairs of religion took a new turn.

We must not forget, that in the early part of this king's reign, the controversy about keeping the Sabbath was revived by one Theophilus Bradbone, a minister of Suffolk, who asserted, "That the commandment of sanctifying every seventh day, as in the Mosaical decalogue, is moral and perpetual; and that no kind of work, business, employment, or recreation, even of the most innocent kind, was to be allowed on that day, nor so much as any discourse or mention to be made or held of pleasures, or any worldly matter." This doctrine was strenuously opposed by the High-church party, as tending to gall men's necks with a Jewish yoke, against the liberty of Christians, and giving the emissaries of the church of Rome an handle to

* Fuller, b. x. 63, 64.

pervert people to popery, by persuading them that the protestant religion was so rigorous, that no lawful liberty was allowed therein: and further, it was urged that Christ, as lord of the Sabbath, had mitigated the rigor thereof, and allowed the indulging in decent and lawful recreations; and that this strict observance was set up merely from a principle of dissension, and in order to brand with the character of Libertines all who did not comply therewith. The books written on this subject were all called in; and Bradbone being cited before the High commission-court, thought proper to retract his opinions. Soon after, the king following the example of his father, as related in the civil history of that reign, issued a declaration, allowing his subjects, especially the common people, to have sports on the Lord's day, at such times as they were not exercised in their public devotion at church.

We have in the foregoing part of this history taken notice of the sending over the Liturgy, or Book of Common Prayer, to the church of Scotland, and the commotion it occasioned there. Charles about this time thought it necessary, in order to quell the disturbances in that kingdom, to raise an army, to reduce his rebellious subjects to obedience, which gave rise to all the calamities which ensued in church and state, in the few remaining years of this unhappy reign. The liturgy, and shortly after episcopacy itself, were both abrogated by those who usurped the government of the kingdom; and it is with concern we find that many ministers of the gospel here in England, who were reputed learned and pious men, and had conformed to the doctrine and discipline of the church, did, to the great scandal of religion, join with those that opposed the king's just authority, and the laws of their country; and by their preachings and writings excited the people to an unlawful and unnatural war, on pretence of reformation of religion.

The discipline of the church being set aside, no other was created in its room till several years afterwards. In this interval, the clergy were permitted to read more or less of the Liturgy, as they pleased, and to govern their parishes according to their discipline. The vestments were left indifferent. As soon as the presbyterians got the upper hand, they peremptorily refused that indulgence to others which they themselves had so warmly pleaded for during the time of episcopacy: and so rigid were they in point of uniformity, that in the treaty of the Isle of Wight, they would not indulge the king with the liberty of having a Common-prayer book to read privately in his family; and when they had destroyed the hierarchy, and got all the best livings in their own hands, yet they were still dissatisfied, for want of church power to crush the sectaries, as they termed all who dissented from them. Of these the independents were the chief, whose opinion it was, that every congregation had power to chuse and ordain their pastor, and jointly with him to manage their religious concerns, without classical or synodical assemblies, and consequently were for universal toleration. This the presbyterians would by no means allow them: not content with having their form of church government made the natural establishment, they were continually soliciting the parliament for a coercive power, in order to prosecute all those who differed from them in opinion. Upon which

the army, which consisted chiefly of independents, by Cromwell's new-modelling of it, and whose favourite point was liberty of conscience, became violently incensed against them, and betook itself to the desperate measures of assuming the sovereign power, bringing the king to justice, setting aside the covenant, and erecting a commonwealth, and at last became so far masters, as to hold the presbyterians in a sort of subjection.

The presbyterians finding the tables thus turned upon them, and that they had no longer any thing more than the shadow of authority in the state, began to think of restoring Charles II. In this sentiment they were greatly confirmed by that prince's declaration from Breda, in which he granted liberty to tender consciences, and promised that no man should be disquieted or called in question for difference of opinion, which did not disturb the peace of the kingdom. Upon this declaration, they heartily joined the episcopalians in effecting the restoration of the royal family, which was accomplished in the year 1660, in the manner related in its place.

With monarchy, the antient church government was also restored, and the presbyterians soon found themselves reduced to the necessity of pleading for that indulgence they had denied to others. After several fruitless tentatives to get themselves admitted to a share of church government and civil employments, without being obliged to submit to those terms of union exacted by our canons, they were finally crushed by the episcopal act of uniformity in the year 1662; by which all who did not conform to the Liturgy by a certain day, were deprived of all ecclesiastical benefits, without the king's having any discretionary power to mitigate the execution of this rigorous law, or any provision being made for the maintenance of the deprived. All who had not episcopal ordination, were made incapable of holding any benefice, and the next year the conventicle act was passed, as was that called the Five Mile Act, in 1665.

After struggling many years under these difficulties, the dissenters had a little respite, by the king's declaration in 1672, for suspending the execution of the penal laws, as well against non-conformists as papists: but this indulgence did not last long; the parliament considering it as an alarming step in favour of popery, annulled this declaration, and passed the famous Test Act; by which it was enacted, that no man should bear any office or place who did not take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and receive the sacrament according to the usage of the church of England. Presbyterianism was now humbled in the dust, and continued to be so all the rest of the reign of Charles II.

The steps taken by James II. to subvert the established religion of this nation, and introduce popery in its stead, have been so fully related in the history of that reign of errors, that it would be equally needless as tedious to recapitulate the particulars here. Suffice it to observe, that the church party, perceiving the king's intentions, and their all was at stake, thought proper to lay their resentment, and join the dissenters in promoting the Revolution; and these latter, being entertained the hopes of coming into power, William indeed exerted his utmost efforts to obtain a comprehension for them, but the

the sacramental test; but in this he was vigorously opposed by his parliament, and all that the dissenters could obtain was the Act of Indulgence, whereby they were excused from all penalties for their not coming to church; and for going to separate meetings. This however was a valuable privilege, and to this act they are indebted for that happy liberty of conscience which they enjoy at this day.

The state of learning, arts, and sciences, during the government of the Stuarts, we have occasionally touched upon at the end of each reign; and have also given some account of the most celebrat-

ed persons in arts, arms, or literature, who flourished during that period. Little then remains for us to add in this article: we shall therefore, agreeable to our plan, proceed to give an account of the most remarkable statutes (and such only) that were enacted by the several parliaments from the accession of James I. to the Revolution, with the taxes or subsidies granted to them for the support of government; a short sketch of the public revenues before and at the Revolution; and, by way of conclusion, shall add some remarks on the state of commerce during that æra.

L A W S.

J A M E S I.

THE statutes of the greatest importance that passed in this reign were,

1 Jacob. I. An act disabling bishops from alienating or transferring crown lands and revenues to the crown.

An act, depriving criminals of their clergy, who are guilty of stabbing.

An act, making it felony in a person to marry a second husband or wife, the first being alive, unless when the husband or wife remains seven years beyond sea, or are absent in the king's dominions, the one not knowing the other to be living.

An act, making witchcraft (the notion of which prevailed greatly in those days) felony, without benefit of clergy: and if any person shall take upon them to tell or declare by witchcraft, charm, or sorcery, where any treasure of gold or silver may be found, or goods lost be recovered, they are to suffer one year's imprisonment, and be set in the pillory every three months during that year.

3 Jac. I. An act to prevent dangers which may happen from popish recusants, wherein such persons are disabled to execute any office in the government, and are disabled to sue, &c. as persons excommunicated. A recusant forfeits one hundred pounds who sends his child beyond sea; and such child remaining a recusant after eighteen years of age, is rendered incapable of inheriting or enjoying lands or goods transferred, or descending to him; and the disposal of livings in his gift is given to the universities.

An act for cutting the New River, and bringing its water to London.

7 Jac. I. An act for the founding Chelsea-college, which recites, That whereas his majesty, for the refuting of errors and heresies, had founded a college at Chelsea, and therein placed certain divines, incorporated by the name of The Provost and Fellows of the College of King James in Chelsea, near London: that it should be lawful for the said provost and fellows to cut a trench or channel, for bringing water from the river Lee in Hackney-Marsh to the city of London, for the perpetual maintenance of the said provost and fellows, and their successors, by the rent to be made of the said waters.

21 Jac. I. An act, declaring all unlawful monopolies and dispensations with penal laws void; as also all compositions for the forfeitures on the breach of any penal statute before judgment.

An act, called the Statute of Limitation, where-

by actions personal are to be brought within a certain limited time.

An act against prophane swearing and cursing.

An act, making it murder to conceal a dead bastard child.

An act for making the river Thames navigable from Oxford.

T A X E S of J A M E S I.

In the first year of this king, the house of commons granted him for life, a subsidy of tonnage and poundage for the guard of the seas. Tonnage duty was three shillings for every ton of wine, and one shilling for an aum of Rhenish wine. The poundage was one shilling for every twenty shillings value of goods exported and imported, woollen cloths exported excepted; as also fish exported, taken by English subjects.

In his second year he sent privy-seals to the wealthiest of the citizens of London, to borrow money of them; and soon after the customs of merchandizes, both outward and inward, were raised, and let out to farm.

In a parliament holden at Westminster, the third year of his reign, there were given him three entire subsidies, and six fifteenths by the temporality, and by the clergy four entire subsidies.

In his seventh year he had aid throughout England for making his eldest son prince Henry knight, which brought in great sums of money.

In his eighteenth year the temporality gave him two subsidies, and the clergy three; and in the year 1623, the temporality gave him three subsidies and three fifteenths, and the clergy four subsidies. Besides these subsidies, he issued many great privy-seals, and had also a benevolence throughout the realm.

C H A R L E S I.

THE statutes of any moment that passed in this reign, were the following:

1 Car. I. An act forbidding all unlawful sports on Sundays, such as bear and bull-baitings, interludes, common plays, and other pastimes, on pain of three shillings and four-pence, to be paid by the aggressor, or to suffer the punishment of the stocks.

In the statute-book, before the acts made in the third of Charles I. we meet with the petition containing a declaration of the rights and privileges of the people, presented by both houses of parliament

ment to the king; to which he gave the royal assent.

3 Car. I. An act prohibiting the going or sending any person to a popish seminary: it is also enacted, That any one who contributes to the maintenance of any convent or seminary, shall forfeit all his goods and his lands for life, and be disabled to prosecute any suit to receive a gift or legacy, &c. as a person excommunicated; provided that if any one so educated conforms to the church of England within six months after his return, he shall not incur the penalties in this act.

17 Car. I. An act providing, That whereas Michaelmas Term till then began in the octaves of St. Michael, or a week after Michaelmas-day, it should not for the future begin till three weeks after Michaelmas:

An act for making the parliament perpetual, enacting, That the parliament then assembled should not be dissolved, prorogued, or adjourned, but by act of parliament, which contributed as much as any thing to the ruin of king Charles and the constitution; and therefore by the act of the 12 Car. II. which was made in the year 1660, immediately after the restoration, that parliament is declared and enacted to be dissolved and determined.

An act dissolving the court of Star-chamber, and enacting, That a writ of habeas corpus shall be allowed on commitments by the council.

An act repealing the act for establishing the High-commission Court. By the same statute it is enacted, That the ecclesiastical courts shall inflict no penalty on offenders.

An act declaring the tax of ship-money illegal, and abolishing the same, with all the judgments and proceedings consequent thereupon.

An act for restraining the incroachments and oppressions of the stannary courts.

An act ascertaining the metes and bounds of forests, and appointing commissioners to settle the same.

An act for regulating weights and measures, and the office of the clerk of the market; whereby it is enacted, That there shall be but one weight and measure throughout the kingdom; and that whoever uses any other, shall forfeit five shillings for every offence.

Taxes of Charles I.

King James at his death left his son a large dominion but a poor exchequer, which was the occasion that his taxations were more frequent than in his father's reign.

In the first year the parliament, at their first session, granted him two subsidies from protestants and four from popish recusants, and from the clergy three; and till the parliament provided other means, he continued to levy, as in his father's time, tonnage, poundage, and other sums, by way of impost, upon merchandise imported and exported.

In his second year he raised near 200,000*l.* by way of loan, for the war with France, and the relief of Rochelle.

In his third year the parliament gave him five subsidies. In the sixth year he revived an antient custom or usage*, by which all that were qualified by the law for knighthood were to take upon them

that order, or to make fine for respite of the same, whereby 100,000*l.* was brought into the Exchequer.

In his ninth year he issued writs, under the great seal of England, for the charging of the ports, towns, cities, boroughs, and counties of this realm respectively, with providing and furnishing ships for the defence of the king and kingdom; whereby great sums were raised. This tax was commonly known by the name of ship-money, and was the principal cause of all the troubles that afterwards befel this unfortunate prince; and ended but with the sacrifice of his life.

In a parliament holden in Ireland the same year, the deputy or lord-lieutenant obtained some subsidies for the payment of the army of that realm; and the over-rate of his majesty's revenue there.

In his sixteenth year the earl of Strafford, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland, obtained of the Irish parliament the grant of four subsidies; and the convocation of bishops in England gave him an ample benevolence of four shillings in the pound for six years, to be assessed on all the clergy in England, towards the carrying on of the war then begun with Scotland.

And in the same year the English parliament, then assembled, granted him four entire subsidies for the relief of the army then raised against the Scots, and for relief of the northern parts of the kingdom, then much burthened by an army of Scots quartering in those parts, who imposed great taxes on the inhabitants for their maintenance.

In his seventeenth year the same parliament granted two subsidies for the further relief of his majesty's army, and the northern parts of the kingdom; and likewise a subsidy of tonnage and poundage, and other sums of money payable upon merchandise exported and imported, from the 25th of May to the 15th of July following; and when that act was on the point of expiring, they granted another for the same duties, from the 15th of July, to the 10th of August following; and by five other subsequent acts, the parliament granted the like subsidy and impost upon merchandise to the 3d of May, 1642.

And in the said 17th year several sums of money were by act of parliament charged upon persons according to their ranks, dignities, offices, callings, estates, and quality, by way of poll, for the speedy disbanding two armies then in the bowels of the kingdom.

This year also a contribution, or loan, was granted for the relief of Ireland, where a bloody rebellion had broken forth the preceding year.

And in his 18th year an act passed for raising and levying of monies for the necessary defence, and great affairs of the kingdoms of England and Ireland, and for the payment of debts undertaken by the parliament.

These were all the taxations, either by loan or otherwise, raised by royal authority during this reign: but the war which the parliament raised, without his authority, and against it, was supported and maintained, by prodigious sums of money illegally levied on the subject, by contribution, assessment, and excise, which cannot be properly inserted here; and it is to be wished the memory of such unjust proceedings might be for ever effaced.

* See Coke's second book of Institutes, fol. 593. statute De Militibus.

CHARLES II.

THE statutes of most consequence that passed in this reign were,

An act of the 12th (that is, the first from the Restoration) Car. II. for dissolving the Long Parliament, and making the convention a parliament.

An act for reducing the interest of money from eight to six per cent.

An act appointing the twenty-ninth of May to be publicly kept as a day of thanksgiving.

An act for restoring the clergy to their rights.

An act for the encouragement of navigation, prohibiting the importation of any goods from Asia, Africa, or America, but in English ships; and that no goods shall be imported in English ships, but from the places of their growth or manufacture; and three-fourths of the seamen are to be English.

Ships loading in the plantations to give security to bring their cargoes to England, or to some British plantation, and not to carry them to any foreign country.

No goods of the growth of Muscovy shall be imported but in English ships, navigated as aforesaid.

Nor any goods from the Turkish empire, unless in vessels belonging to the port or place from which such goods come.

No wines of the growth of France or Germany shall be imported in any but in English vessels; and all masts, and other naval stores, raisins, figs, prunes, olive oils, corn, grain, sugar, pot-ashes, brandy, or spirits; wines of the growth of Spain, the Canaries, Portugal, the Madeiras; all goods of the growth of Russia, currants, and Turkish commodities, imported in any English shipping, navigated as above, shall be deemed aliens goods. See an additional act, 15 Car. II. cap. 7. for encouragement of trade.

In this same twelfth year of Charles II. was passed the first legal act for laying an excise upon beer, ale, and other liquors. This act was first set on foot during the protectorship of Cromwell.

An act for taking away court of wards, knights service, &c. and settling a revenue on the crown in lieu thereof.

An act for appointing the thirtieth of January to be observed annually as a fast.

13 Car. II. An act declaring the command of the militia by sea and land to be solely in the king, and that neither both, or either of the houses of parliament, have any pretence to the same, nor can lawfully levy any war, offensive or defensive, against the crown.

An act, containing articles for the better government of the royal navy and ships of war.

An act, restoring ecclesiastical jurisdiction to the bishops and spiritual courts.

An act (called the Corporation Act) for the better governing of corporations, whereby all officers are obliged to declare, "That it is not lawful, on any pretence whatsoever, to take up arms against the king, &c. to renounce the solemn league and covenant, &c."

14 Car. II. An act, decreeing that quakers, and others, refusing to take an oath before a magi-

strate when required, or persuading others not to take such oath, and quakers assembling in conventicles, to forfeit five pounds for the first offence, ten pounds for the second, and for the third offence to abjure or quit the realm.

An act to establish the uniformity of public prayer, and the administration of the sacraments, and of consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons, after the manner of the church of England.

An act prohibiting the printing of impious, heretical, seditious, or schismatical books. By this act all books are prohibited to be printed that are not entered in Stationers-Hall, and duly licensed; and the printing-presses are regulated, and three copies are reserved for the king's library, and the two universities.

15 Car. II. An act for the encouragement of trade, navigation, the plantation, and Fisheries. See 12 Car. II. cap. 18.

An act, called the Conventicle Act, of which we have given an account in the history of this reign.

An act condemning seamen who refuse to fight and defend merchant ships against pirates, to lose their pay; and if they do fight, and save the ship, declaring them entitled to be rewarded out of the cargo, and at a rate not exceeding two per cent.

16 Car. II. Persons cheating at play to forfeit treble the value of what they win; and all securities for money won at play, exceeding one hundred pounds at any one time, to be void.

19 Car. II. An act to redress inconveniencies for want of proof of persons deaths beyond seas, or absenting themselves, upon whose lives estates depend.

22 Car. II. An act allowing the exportation of corn, oxen, horses, &c.

22 and 23 Car. II. An act against maiming, &c. commonly called the Coventry Act, making it felony, without benefit of clergy, maliciously to cut out or disable the tongue, put out an eye, slit the nose, cut off the nose or lip, or disable any limb or member of any of his majesty's subjects.

An act against maliciously burning ricks or stacks of corn, hay, &c. killing of cattle, or maiming them, or destroying trees or fences in the night.

An act enacting how intestates estates shall be administered and distributed. By this act, ordinaries, &c. upon granting administrations are required to take bonds, with two sureties for the due administration of the intestate's goods; and the surplusage, after debts and funeral charges paid, shall be distributed in the manner following, viz. one third to the wife of the intestate, and the residue among his children, and such as legally represent them, other than such children (not heirs at law) who shall have any estate by settlement of the intestate in his life-time, equal to the other shares. And where any such children shall have been advanced by settlements or portions not equal to the other shares, he or they shall have so much of the surplusage as shall make the estate of all to be equal; but the heir at law shall have an equal part in the distribution with the other children, without any consideration of what he hath by descent, or otherwise, from the intestate.

If there be no children nor legal representatives of them, one moiety, or half, shall be allotted to

the wife, and the residue agreeably to the next of kindred to the intestate, in equal degrees, and to those who represent them.

No representatives to be admitted among collaterals, after brothers and sisters children. If there be no wife, all shall be distributed among the children; and if no child, to the next of kin to the intestate in equal degree, and their representatives. No such distribution shall be made till one year after the intestate's death; and every one who has a share in it shall give bond, with sureties, that if debts afterwards appear, he shall return a rateable part.

An act to regulate the weights and measures of corn and salt.

By an act of the same year, none may keep dogs, nets, guns, or any other engine or instrument for taking or destroying the game, but he who hath lands of inheritance of one hundred pounds per annum, or for life, in his own or his wife's right, or a lease of ninety-nine years of one hundred and fifty pounds per annum, unless the heir of an esquire, or other person of higher degree: and persons fishing in any private waters or rivers, shall pay treble damages to the party aggrieved, and a sum not exceeding ten shillings, to the poor. N. B. By this act none are deemed esquires under the degree of knights sons.

29 Car. II. An act to prevent frauds and perjuries, &c. By this act it is declared, That all leases, estates, interests of freehold, or term of years, or any uncertain interests in lands, &c. not put in writing, and signed by the contracting parties, shall have no greater effect than estates at will, except leases not exceeding three years, whereof the rent shall be two-thirds of the value.

No action shall be brought to charge a defendant, upon any promise to answer for the debt or miscarriage of another, or upon any agreement in consideration of marriage, or upon any contract or sale of lands, &c. or any interest concerning them, or on any agreement not to be performed within a year, unless such agreement, or a note thereof, be in writing, and signed by the party to be charged, or some other authorized by him.

All devises of lands or tenements shall be in writing, and signed by the testator, or some other, in his presence, and by his direction, and subscribed in his presence by three or four witnesses, or else they shall be void.

No writ of execution shall bind the property of goods but from the time of its delivery to the sheriff.

No contract for the sale of goods, of the value of ten pounds or upwards, shall be good, unless the buyer receive part of them, or give something in earnest, or some note thereof in writing, to be signed by the parties to be charged, or their agents.

No nuncupative (or verbal) will shall be good, where the estate bequeathed exceeds thirty pounds, unless it be proved by three witnesses present at the making thereof, nor unless the testator bid them bear witness that such is his will, nor unless it be made in the last sickness of the deceased, in his dwelling-house, unless he be surprized, and die before his return; and after six months, no testimony shall be received of such nuncupative

will, unless the said testimony were put into writing within six days after making such will.

No will in writing of any personal estate shall be repealed by words only, except the same be in the life-time of the testator committed to writing, read to him, appointed by him, and this attested by three witnesses.

An act abolishing the writ De Heretico Comburendo, or for burning heretics; with all proceedings therein, and all punishments by death, in consequence of ecclesiastical censures.

31 Car. II. was passed the famous HABEAS CORPUS act. It is enacted by this statute, That upon the service of the Habeas Corpus on a jailor or his servants, or upon any other person having a prisoner in his custody, the prisoner, within three days after, upon paying or tendering twelve pence per mile for the removal of him, shall be brought up, and the writ returned, and the cause of his imprisonment certified: and officers refusing to make their returns, or bring the prisoner up, &c. as aforesaid, shall forfeit one hundred pounds for the first offence, and two hundred pounds for the second.

If any person committed to prison for treason or felony, expressed in the warrant, shall, the first week of the term or day of the sessions of Oyer and Terminer, pray to be brought to his trial, if he be not indicted the next term of Oyer and Terminer: after such commitment he shall upon motion, the last day of such term or sessions, be admitted to bail.

Prisoners may obtain their Habeas Corpus from any judge, or out of the Chancery: and if the lord-chancellor, keeper, or any other judge, shall deny such Habeas Corpus, he shall forfeit five hundred pounds to the party aggrieved.

We must here repeat an observation we have elsewhere made, that few of our English monarchs ever passed a greater number of acts of parliament for the benefit of the subject than this king.

TAXES OF CHARLES II.

Immediately after his restoration (called the twelfth year of his reign) the parliament presented a bill "for a speedy provision of money to pay off and disband all the forces of this kingdom, both by sea and land. This was to be done by poll, and was a very great tax, because many orders of men were included in it, which had never been mentioned in any former act of the like kind. The reader perhaps will not be displeased to see the assessments of the several degrees, as they are rated in the said act.

"1. Every duke of England, Scotland, and Ireland, inhabiting and residing in this kingdom, was to pay one hundred pounds; every marquis, eighty pounds; every earl, sixty pounds; a viscount, fifty pounds; a baronet, forty pounds; the eldest son of a duke of twenty-one years of age, sixty pounds; of a marquis, fifty pounds; of an earl, forty pounds; of a viscount, thirty-five pounds; of a baron, thirty pounds; a baronet of any of the three kingdoms, or Nova Scotia, thirty pounds; a knight of the Bath, thirty pounds; a knight bachelor, twenty pounds; a

serjeant at law, twenty pounds; an esquire, ten pounds; and every widow, according to her husband's degree, a third part what her husband was to pay.

2. "Every parson or vicar possessed of a parsonage or vicarage, or other estate of one hundred pounds, forty shillings; every doctor of the civil or common-law, five pounds; every advocate, five pounds; a judge or commissioner in the Court of Admiralty, twenty pounds; a prætor, five pounds; a doctor of physic, ten pounds.

3. "The lord-mayor of London, forty pounds; every sheriff, alderman, or who hath fined for alderman, twenty pounds; every deputy-alderman, ten pounds; the town-clerk of London, twenty pounds; every common councilman, five pounds; every master of the first twelve companies, ten pounds; every warden thereof, six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence; every liveryman of those companies, five pounds; every one who had been master of any of the companies of dyers, brewers, leatherfellers, girdlers, stationers, woodmongers, upholsterers, apothecaries, pewterers, tallow-chandlers, armourers, or sadlers, six pounds; every warden of any of those companies, five pounds; every liveryman of them, three pounds; every of the yeomanry, one pound; every master of the company of barber-chirurgeons, white-bakers, wax-chandlers, cutlers, butchers, carpenters, painters, cordwainers, coopers, scriveners, brown-bakers, turners, or innholders, three pounds; every one who had been warden of any of those companies, two pounds; every liveryman thereof, one pound; every person who had been master of the company of founders, cutlers, masons, bricklayers, joiners, plaisterers, weavers, fruiterers, marblers, embroiderers, poulterers, cooks, or plumbers, one pound; every warden of those companies, fifteen shillings; and every one of the livery, ten shillings; every person who hath been of the livery of either company of bowyers, fletchers, blacksmiths, bottle makers, wool-packers, farriers, paviors, loreiners*, glasiors, clerks, or watermen, five shillings; every freeman of any company within the city of London, twelve-pence; every keeper of one or more hackney-coaches and two horses, ten shillings; every merchant-stranger, if a knight, forty pounds; if below that degree, and trading to sea, ten pounds; if trading within the land, five pounds: every alien using trade within any city or corporation, if a house-keeper, ten shillings; every English merchant in or about London, not a freeman, ten pounds; every factor in the city, two pounds; every person that hath been alderman in any city within the kingdom, under the degree of a knight or esquire, five pounds.

4. "The prothonotary of the King's-Bench, one hundred pounds; clerk of the Crown of the same, twenty pounds; Custos Brevium of the same, forty pounds; marshal of the same, fifty shillings; master of the Rolls, sixty pounds; clerk of the Crown in Chancery, forty pounds; clerk of the Rules and in the King's Bench, ten pounds; master of the Subpœna Office, forty pounds; warden of the Fleet, fifty pounds; clerk of the ha-

naper, fifty pounds; clerk of the Inrolment, each ten pounds; each of the six clerks in Chancery, forty pounds; every curfitor of the same, ten pounds; usher of the same, ten pounds; every clerk of the pettybagg, five pounds; every examiner, ten pounds; chief register of the same, twenty pounds; every under register, ten pounds; every clerk in the office of the Six Clerks in Chancery, eight pounds; each of the clerks of the Chapel of the Rolls, three pounds; every prothonotary of the Common-Pleas, fifty pounds; Custos Brevium of the same, eighty pounds; every philazer of the same, ten pounds; clerk of the Outlawries, twenty pounds; clerk of the Statutes, twenty pounds; clerk of the Treasury, ten pounds; exigenter of London, forty pounds; every other exigenter, five pounds; the king's remembrancer of the Exchequer, forty pounds; every teller of the same court, twenty pounds; the treasurer's remembrancer, ten pounds; every attorney of the office of the king's remembrancer, ten pounds; every attorney of the office of Pleas, ten pounds; the remembrancer of the First-fruits, twenty pounds; clerk of the Estreats, twenty pounds; clerk of the Pleas, thirty pounds; the auditor of the receipts in the Exchequer, forty pounds; clerk of the Pel in the Receipt, thirty pounds; usher of the Court of Exchequer, twenty pounds; every attorney in the Office of Pleas there, ten pounds; every auditor of the same, ten pounds; every clerk of the court of the Duchy of Lancaster, ten pounds; every auditor of the same, ten pounds; every clerk of the Privy-seal, ten pounds; every clerk of the Signet, ten pounds; every attorney in any of the courts at Westminster, or within the courts of Law or Equity, or in the counties palatine of Chester, Lancaster, Durham, and the marches of Wales, three pounds; every person in any office or place under the king (except his household servants in ordinary) ten pounds; the lieutenant of the Tower of London, fifty pounds; every one that could spend in lands, leases, monies, or stock, one hundred pounds per annum, forty shillings; and so for a greater or lesser estate: every single person above the age of sixteen years, twelve-pence; every single person not rated nor receiving alms, above sixteen years of age, six-pence."

In his said first year the parliament also granted him a subsidy on tonnage and poundage, and other sums of money payable upon merchandize exported and imported. The duties of excise on malt liquors, cyder, perry, mead, spirits or strong waters, coffee, tea, sherbet, and chocolate, were also settled on him during life, by way of additional revenue to the tonnage and poundage. This was granted by way of recompensing the crown for the emoluments it lost by the taking away the courts of ward, and liveries and tenures in capite or by knights-service. By this means the royal revenues were raised to twelve hundred thousand pounds per annum, which was more than any king of England ever enjoyed, except Henry VIII.

The following year the commons granted the king a supply of one million two hundred thousand pounds for his present occasions, to be levied

* Or lorimers (from lormiers, an old French word) a company of artificers in London, who make bits for bridles, spurs, and such-like iron ware for horses.



serjeant at law, twenty pounds; an esquire, ten pounds; and every widow, according to her husband's degree, a third part what her husband was to pay.

2. "Every parson or vicar possessed of a parsonage or vicarage, or other estate of one hundred pounds, forty shillings; every doctor of the civil or common-law, five pounds; every advocate, five pounds; a judge or commissioner in the Court of Admiralty, twenty pounds; a prætor, five pounds; a doctor of physic, ten pounds.

3. "The lord-mayor of London, forty pounds; every sheriff, alderman, or who hath fined for alderman, twenty pounds; every deputy-alderman, ten pounds; the town-clerk of London, twenty pounds; every common councilman, five pounds; every master of the first twelve companies, ten pounds; every warden thereof, six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence; every liveryman of those companies, five pounds; every one who had been master of any of the companies of dyers, brewers, leatherfellers, girdlers, stationers, woodmongers, upholsterers, apothecaries, pewterers, tallow-chandlers, armourers, or saddlers, six pounds; every warden of any of those companies, five pounds; every liveryman of them, three pounds; every of the yeomanry, one pound; every master of the company of barber-chirurgeons, white-bakers, wax-chandlers, cutlers, butchers, carpenters, painters, cordwainers, coopers, scriveners, brown-bakers, turners, or innholders, three pounds; every one who had been warden of any of those companies, two pounds; every liveryman thereof, one pound; every person who had been master of the company of founders, cutlers, masons, bricklayers, joiners, plaisterers, weavers, fruiterers, marblers, embroiderers, poulterers, cooks, or plumbers, one pound; every warden of those companies, fifteen shillings; and every one of the livery, ten shillings; every person who hath been of the livery of either company of bowyers, fletchers, blacksmiths, bottle makers, wool-packers, farriers, paviors, loreiners*, glaziers, clerks, or watermen, five shillings; every freeman of any company within the city of London, twelve-pence; every keeper of one or more hackney-coaches and two horses, ten shillings; every merchant-stranger, if a knight, forty pounds; if below that degree, and trading to sea, ten pounds; if trading within the land, five pounds: every alien using trade within any city or corporation, if a house-keeper, ten shillings; every English merchant in or about London, not a freeman, ten pounds; every factor in the city, two pounds; every person that hath been alderman in any city within the kingdom, under the degree of a knight or esquire, five pounds.

4. "The prothonotary of the King's-Bench, one hundred pounds; clerk of the Crown of the same, twenty pounds; Custos Brevium of the same, forty pounds; marshal of the same, fifty shillings; master of the Rolls, sixty pounds; clerk of the Crown in Chancery, forty pounds; clerk of the Rules and in the King's Bench, ten pounds; master of the Subpœna Office, forty pounds; warden of the Fleet, fifty pounds; clerk of the ha-

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3. "The lord-mayor of London, forty pounds; every sheriff, alderman, or who hath fined for alderman, twenty pounds; every deputy-alderman, ten pounds; the town-clerk of London, twenty pounds; every common councilman, five pounds; every master of the first twelve companies, ten pounds; every warden thereof, six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence; every liveryman of those companies, five pounds; every one who had been master of any of the companies of dyers, brewers, leatherfellers, girdlers, stationers, woodmongers, upholsterers, apothecaries, pewterers, tallow-chandlers, armourers, or sadlers, six pounds; every warden of any of those companies, five pounds; every liveryman of them, three pounds; every of the yeomanry, one pound; every master of the company of barber-chirurgeons, white-bakers, wax-chandlers, cutlers, butchers, carpenters, painters, cordwainers, coopers, scriveners, brown-bakers, turners, or innholders, three pounds; every one who had been warden of any of those companies, two pounds; every liveryman thereof, one pound; every person who had been master of the company of founders, cutlers, masons, bricklayers, joiners, plaisterers, weavers, fruiterers, marblers, embroiderers, poulterers, cooks, or plumbers, one pound; every warden of those companies, fifteen shillings; and every one of the livery, ten shillings; every person who hath been of the livery of either company of bowyers, fletchers, blacksmiths, bottle makers, wool-packers, farriers, paviors, loreiners*, glasiors, clerks, or watermen, five shillings; every freeman of any company within the city of London, twelve-pence; every keeper of one or more hackney-coaches and two horses, ten shillings; every merchant-stranger, if a knight, forty pounds; if below that degree, and trading to sea, ten pounds; if trading within the land, five pounds: every alien using trade within any city or corporation, if a house-keeper, ten shillings; every English merchant in or about London, not a freeman, ten pounds; every factor in the city, two pounds; every person that hath been alderman in any city within the kingdom, under the degree of a knight or esquire, five pounds.

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naper, fifty pounds; clerk of the Inrolment, each ten pounds; each of the six clerks in Chancery, forty pounds; every curfitor of the same, ten pounds; usher of the same, ten pounds; every clerk of the pettybagg, five pounds; every examiner, ten pounds; chief register of the same, twenty pounds; every under register, ten pounds; every clerk in the office of the Six Clerks in Chancery, eight pounds; each of the clerks of the Chapel of the Rolls, three pounds; every prothonotary of the Common-Pleas, fifty pounds; Custos Brevium of the same, eighty pounds; every philazer of the same, ten pounds; clerk of the Outlawries, twenty pounds; clerk of the Statutes, twenty pounds; clerk of the Treasury, ten pounds; exigenter of London, forty pounds; every other exigenter, five pounds; the king's remembrancer of the Exchequer, forty pounds; every teller of the same court, twenty pounds; the treasurer's remembrancer, ten pounds; every attorney of the office of the king's remembrancer, ten pounds; every attorney of the office of Pleas, ten pounds; the remembrancer of the First-fruits, twenty pounds; clerk of the Estreats, twenty pounds; clerk of the Pleas, thirty pounds; the auditor of the receipts in the Exchequer, forty pounds; clerk of the Pel in the Receipt, thirty pounds; usher of the Court of Exchequer, twenty pounds; every attorney in the Office of Pleas there, ten pounds; every auditor of the same, ten pounds; every clerk of the court of the Duchy of Lancaster, ten pounds; every auditor of the same, ten pounds; every clerk of the Privy-seal, ten pounds; every clerk of the Signet, ten pounds; every attorney in any of the courts at Westminster, or within the courts of Law or Equity, or in the counties palatine of Chester, Lancaster, Durham, and the marches of Wales, three pounds; every person in any office or place under the king (except his household servants in ordinary) ten pounds; the lieutenant of the Tower of London, fifty pounds; every one that could spend in lands, leases, monies, or stock, one hundred pounds per annum, forty shillings; and so for a greater or lesser estate: every single person above the age of sixteen years, twelve-pence; every single person not rated nor receiving alms, above sixteen years of age, six-pence."

In his said first year the parliament also granted him a subsidy on tonnage and poundage, and other sums of money payable upon merchandize exported and imported. The duties of excise on malt liquors, cyder, perry, mead, spirits or strong waters, coffee, tea, sherbet, and chocolate, were also settled on him during life, by way of additional revenue to the tonnage and poundage. This was granted by way of recompensing the crown for the emoluments it lost by the taking away the courts of ward, and liveries and tenures in capite or by knights-service. By this means the royal revenues were raised to twelve hundred thousand pounds per annum, which was more than any king of England ever enjoyed, except Henry VIII.

The following year the commons granted the king a supply of one million two hundred thousand pounds for his present occasions, to be levied

* Or lorimers (from lormiers, an old French word) a company of artificers in London, who make bits for bridles, spurs, and such-like iron ware for horses.



serjeant at law, twenty pounds; an esquire, ten pounds; and every widow, according to her husband's degree, a third part what her husband was to pay.

2. "Every parson or vicar possessed of a parsonage or vicarage, or other estate of one hundred pounds, forty shillings; every doctor of the civil or common-law, five pounds; every advocate, five pounds; a judge or commissioner in the Court of Admiralty, twenty pounds; a prætor, five pounds; a doctor of physic, ten pounds.

3. "The lord-mayor of London, forty pounds; every sheriff, alderman, or who hath fined for alderman, twenty pounds; every deputy-alderman, ten pounds; the town-clerk of London, twenty pounds; every common councilman, five pounds; every master of the first twelve companies, ten pounds; every warden thereof, six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence; every liveryman of those companies, five pounds; every one who had been master of any of the companies of dyers, brewers, leather-sellers, girdlers, stationers, wood-mongers, upholsterers, apothecaries, pewterers, tallow-chandlers, armourers, or sadlers, six pounds; every warden of any of those companies, five pounds; every liveryman of them, three pounds; every of the yeomanry, one pound; every master of the company of barber-chirurgeons, white-bakers, wax-chandlers, cutlers, butchers, carpenters, painters, cordwainers, coopers, scriveners, brown-bakers, turners, or innholders, three pounds; every one who had been warden of any of those companies, two pounds; every liveryman thereof, one pound; every person who had been master of the company of founders, cutlers, masons, bricklayers, joiners, plaisterers, weavers, fruiterers, marblers, embroiderers, poulterers, cooks, or plumbers, one pound; every warden of those companies, fifteen shillings; and every one of the livery, ten shillings; every person who hath been of the livery of either company of bowyers, fletchers, blacksmiths, bottle makers, wool-packers, farriers, paviors, loreiners*, glaiers, clerks, or watermen, five shillings; every freeman of any company within the city of London, twelve-pence; every keeper of one or more hackney-coaches and two horses, ten shillings; every merchant-stranger, if a knight, forty pounds; if below that degree, and trading to sea, ten pounds; if trading within the land, five pounds: every alien using trade within any city or corporation, if a house-keeper, ten shillings; every English merchant in or about London, not a freeman, ten pounds; every factor in the city, two pounds; every person that hath been alderman in any city within the kingdom, under the degree of a knight or esquire, five pounds.

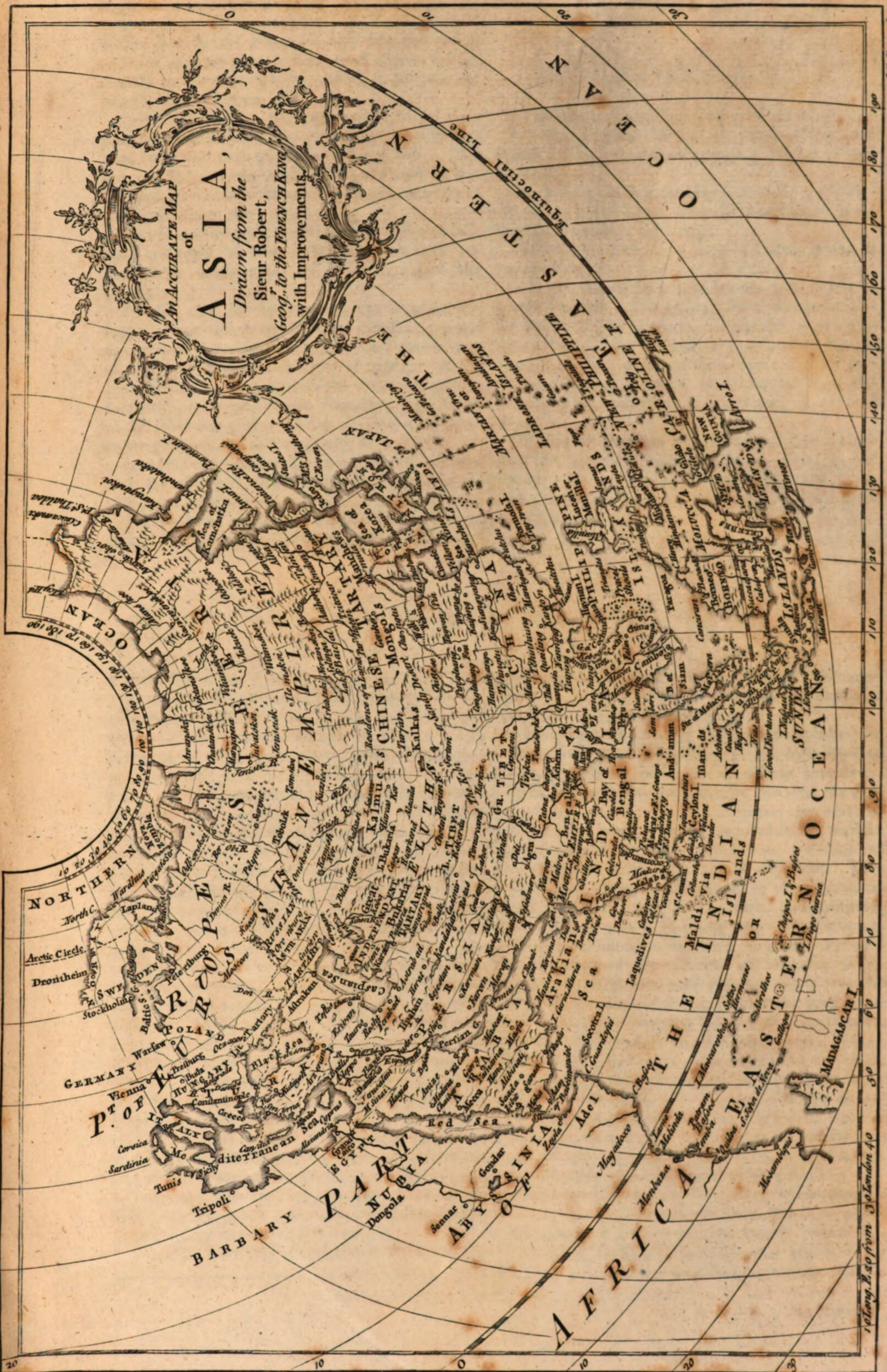
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AN ACCURATE MAP
of
ASIA,
Drawn from the
Geog. to the French King,
with Improvements,
by Sieur Robert.

G. H. Miller del.

Longitude from 30 London 40

by a monthly tax of seventy thousand pounds for eighteen months; a perpetual and annual tax of two shillings on every chimney-hearth in each house, alms-houses excepted, was also laid on by the commons, who at the same time impowered his majesty to levy the seventy thousand pounds per month for three years.

In the year 1663, the commons granted him four entire subsidies; and the clergy in convocation, following their example, did the like. This was the last aid the spirituality gave; for it was resolved on hereafter to tax the church benefits as temporal estates were taxed.

The following year the parliament granted the king a supply of two millions and an half towards the maintenance of a war against the Dutch.

In 1665 the commons voted the king a new supply of one million two hundred thousand pounds to continue the war, and one hundred and twenty thousand pounds to the duke of York, for the great services he had done to the nation; and pursuing this their prodigious liberality, they voted in the following year a further supply of one million eight hundred thousand pounds.

In 1668 they granted the sum of three hundred and ten thousand pounds, by an imposition on wines and other liquors.

For the other taxes imposed in this king's reign, as also for those in the following one of his brother

James II. we refer the reader to the history of those reigns, where he will find them noticed as they occurred.

J A M E S II.

THERE being but one parliament in this reign, which did not sit much above two months, very few laws were made. The principal of them were,

An act prohibiting the importation of gun-powder, arms, ammunition, or utensils of war, without licence, on pain of forfeiture.

An act appropriating a duty laid upon coals, to the finishing the cathedral of St. Paul's.

An act concerning administrators and intestates personal estate. This enacts, That no administrator shall be cited to render an account of the personal estate of his intestate, otherwise than by inventory thereof, unless at the instance of some person in behalf of a minor, or of one having a demand out of such estate as a creditor, or next of kin.

If after the death of a father any of his children shall die intestate, without wife, or issue, in the life-time of the mother, every brother and sister, and their representatives, shall have an equal share with her.

C O M M E R C E.

THE late Mr. Anderson, in his excellent Treatise on the Origin of Commerce*, observes, that the seventeenth century may be truly said, from its very commencement, to approach to a resemblance of modern times, whether considered in a commercial or a political light. Navigation, the arts, mechanical, mathematical, manufactural, and nautical; agriculture, architecture, and plantations, were amazingly improved; almost all the commercial, banking, and metallic companies of Europe, established nearly as at present subsisting; the great and principal increase of the commerce of England and Holland effected, who also got into their hands the trade of the famous Hanse-Towns, now on their decline. Many new inventions and projects were set on foot; the great increase of trade begot the enlargement and embellishment of the city of London and its suburbs. Many excellent new productions were introduced among us, and here naturalized. New English plantations were formed in America, and the old ones greatly improved. In a word, commercial liberty was legally and firmly established in England. In general, it will be seen, that towards the close of this century, commerce gradually advanced to almost its very growth of perfection; and almost every part of Christendom endeavoured to push into trade and manufacture, whilst at the same time England's commerce and shipping continued visibly to prosper and increase.

We shall from the above-named author briefly

point out some of the principal steps in this happy progress, at least so far as relates to the period at present under our consideration.

King James I. having, at his accession to the crown of England, called in all his own ships of war, as well as our then numerous privateers, which, though they had greatly annoyed the enemy, had done infinite damage to the commerce of the nation; he thereby put an end to the warlike expeditions he had been engaged in, and declared himself to be at peace with all the world. This pacific disposition in the king, so often (and in great measure with justice) termed pusillanimous, did however give a breathing-time to our mercantile and colonising adventurers to plant, and gradually improve the colonies of Virginia, New-England, Bermudas, and Newfoundland; as also to make a considerable progress in the East India trade. At the opening of his first parliament, James spoke strongly against monopolies, but he afterwards gave great encouragement to them. Our own woollen manufacture being now become so very considerable, and so much of it sent abroad as to work up all, or near all, our own wool at home, it was thought high time to prohibit the exportation of it, which James did by proclamation in the year 1604, the second of his reign.

By a statute of this same year, when wheat is not above one pound six shillings and eight pence per quarter; rye, pease, and beans, fifteen shillings; and barley and meal fourteen shillings per

* Anderson's Origin of Commerce, vol. I. p. 451. et alibi.

quarter; they may be exported in English ships, paying custom, two shillings per quarter for wheat, and one shilling and four-pence for the other kinds.

The English East-India company sent out their second voyage thither in the same year 1604, with four ships under sir Henry Middleton; two of which he loaded with pepper at Bantam, and sent the other two to the isles of Banda, famous for the trade of nutmegs and mace. At Antigua he laded a good quantity of cloves, with which that place abounded, and returned in 1606, having the misfortune to lose one of his ships at sea. In the year 1605, the present Levant, or Fishery Company, was erected, by the designation of The Merchants of England trading to the Levant Seas. Thus a most profitable trade to England was established in perpetuity, whereby great quantities of our woollen manufactures, and of later times much other merchandize, as watches, jewels, &c. have been annually exported thither: besides, the immense quantities of raw silks brought from thence, have been the means of raising our silk manufacture to its present height, and of greatly advancing many other sorts of manufactures.

In the year 1607, James granted an exclusive charter or licence to Richard Pinkwell, esq. and his colleagues, for the sole discovery of a north-west passage to China, Cathay, the Moluccas, and other parts of the East-Indies, incorporating them by the peculiar name of The Colleagues of the Fellowship for the Discovery of the North-West Passage: but this, like most of the former attempts of this kind, came to nothing. Captain Henry Hudson, however, sailed this same year as far north as eighty degrees and a half in quest of the said passage; and he made the like attempt the following year, 1608, to as little purpose, after having in vain tried a north-east passage by Nova Zembla. The same year, however, he discovered and gave his name to the vast bay called, after him, Hudson's Bay.

The English East-India Company now sent out their third voyage with three ships thither: it would however afford the reader as little instruction as pleasure, to relate particulars that are to be found in so many works. It will therefore be sufficient to observe, that the superior industry of the Dutch in India had already been beforehand with us in the spice islands, of which they soon after this made themselves sovereigns, and such remain to this day.

The manufacture of allum was this year, 1608, first invented, and successfully practised in England, being encouraged and carried on in Yorkshire by the lord Sheffield, sir John Bouchier, and other landed gentlemen of that county, to the very great benefit of this nation in general, and to the singular emolument of the proprietors thereof, to this present time.

King James endeavoured to effect the propagation of silk in England, and for that purpose enjoined and encouraged the planters of mulberry-trees; but experience has shewn that silk is not to be propagated in any degree north of the river Loire, in the south of France.

In 1609 the English East-India Company made their fifth voyage thither, but with one ship only, which they sent to Bantam, and thence to the isles

of Banda, &c. but the Hollanders being absolute lords there, refused them admittance to traffic. Although the fifteen years exclusive trade granted by queen Elizabeth's charter to the East-India Company, was not to expire till 1615, yet king James, on the thirty-first of May, in the year 1610, was prevailed on to grant the company a renewal of their charter, and to render the company perpetual, with the usual power of making by-laws, of having a common seal, and the other powers in the former charter. The merchants engaged in this trade were so encouraged by this grant, that they now built the largest merchant ship that England ever had, being upwards of one thousand tons burthen, named The Trade's Increase, and with three others made their sixth voyage to India. The king also at this time built the finest ship that had been ever constructed in this country: she was of the burden of one thousand four hundred tons, carried sixty-four cannons, and was named The Prince. By these gradual steps did the Navy-Royal of England arrive at its present magnitude and grandeur.

In this same year, 1610, the spirit of adventuring on new plantations still prevailing, king James made a grant to a certain number of merchants of Bristol, of part of Newfoundland, lying between Cape Bonavista and Cape St. Mary's; and a colony was accordingly sent thither: but they have never been able to this day to make a more cultivable and useful plantation there than is necessary for the famous fishery on its banks, its situation in respect to our continent colonies, and to the French North-American dominions, and for shelter and relief of our own shipping. About this time the London adventurers to Virginia were made a corporation; and the next year the Russian Company for the first time sent two ships to Greenland, for the killing of whales, carrying with them six Biscayners expert in that fishery; but they lost both their ships.

In the year 1612, the cluster of small and very rocky islands, situate between Europe and America, named the Bermuda's, or Somers's Isles, in thirty-two degrees and an half north latitude, five hundred miles east from Carolina, was first planted by the English. They had been discovered almost an hundred years before, by one Bermuda, a Spaniard, but were never planted by any before this time. Sir George Somers and sir Thomas Yates, in their voyage to Virginia, anno 1609, were shipwrecked there, and lived nine months on these islands; in which time they built a ship of the cedar-wood growing there, and sailed in her to Virginia, leaving two men behind them in the largest of the islands, who were found alive in 1612, when the colony was first planted. From sir George Somers, these islands got the name of Somers's Isles, now corrupted to Summer Islands, though the just name of Bermudas is mostly used. Sir George Somers was, it seems, a second time drove on those islands, and died there; but those who were with him, on their arrival in England, made so favourable a report of the beauty and fertility of them, that the Virginia Company, who, as first discoverers, claimed the property, told them to about one hundred and twenty persons, to whom king James granted a charter; and in 1612 they planted, with one hundred and sixty persons, one of the largest of them,

THE
EAST INDIES,
distinguishing the
EMPIRES and KINGDOMS
on the Continent commonly call'd
INDIA:
By the S^r Robert
with Improvements.



These Islands are divid'd into thirteen Governments, call'd Atolls.

Paras of Longitude East from London.

them, named St. George's Isle, and sent afterwards five hundred people more thither anno 1619; whereupon they instituted an assembly, with a governor and council. Some have reckoned these islands four hundred in number, but most of them too small to have any name, they being all circumscribed within the compass of little more than forty-seven leagues. St. George's, the largest, is naturally fortified almost quite round with rocks; and where there is any landing-place, they have forts and batteries; and the harbour, there being only one, extremely well fortified. These islands produce very few staple commodities fit for exportation, excepting their cedar sloop, with which they trade, and sell them at the West Indies, and some provisions; with the gain of which trade they are enabled to pay England for all the necessities they are constantly supplied with. This colony was afterwards, like Virginia, made a regal government, and so it still continues. The Bermudians have two misfortunes attending them; a want of fresh water, and frequent attacks of furious winds, thunder, lightnings, &c. At their principal island of St. George, large ships may safely enter and be secure, under shelter of the fortifications, from any attacks of an enemy; and this is probably the reason why we still keep those otherwise unprofitable islands, there being no productions there but what may be had in our other plantations. They grow some tobacco, but it is not equal in goodness to that of Virginia*.

In the year 1613, the English Russia Company procured an exclusive charter for their whale-fishery; and they obliged certain French ships which they had permitted to fish there, to pay them a tribute of eight whales. In the same year captain Saris, in our East-India Company's service, arrived the first of any of our nation at the port of Firando, in the isle of Bungo or Ximo, a part of the empire of Japan. Our Company continued some years to trade there, but were afterwards excluded all resort thither, with all other Europeans, the Dutch only excepted.

Edward Misselden, esq. an eminent merchant, in his treatise, entitled The Circle of Commerce, gives us the following state of the exports and imports of all England in this year 1613.

1. Exported to all the world between Christmas 1612, and Christmas 1613, to the value of	l.	s.	d.
	2,090,640	11	8
2. The customs on these goods	86,794	16	2
3. Impost paid outwards on woollen goods, tin, lead, and pewter	10,000	0	0
4. The merchants gains, freight, and other petty charges	300,000	0	0
Total exports	l. 2,487,435	7	10
Imported during that time in silks, Venice gold and silver stuffs, Spanish wines, linen, and other merchandize, with all the customs thereon	2,141,151	10	0
Balance gained this year to the nation	346,283	17	10

On which Mr. Anderson very pertinently and justly observes, that tho' this balance seems larger than that exhibited under the year 1354 (the twenty-eighth of Edward III.) yet the silver money of that balance being thrice the weight or quantity of our's, amounted to no less than 765,644 l. 1s. of our money: and he remarks further, that the total of the imports then was not one-seventh part of the exports.

The ingenious gentleman first mentioned has likewise given us the total amount of the customs of England for this year 1613, viz.

	l.	s.	d.
At the port of London—outwards,	61,322	16	7
inwards,	48,250	1	9
Total custom of the port of London	109,572	18	4
At all the out-ports	outw. 25,471	19	7
	inw. 13,030	9	9
Total account of the customs of Engl.	148,075	7	8

By this account it appears that London, in 1613, paid then very near thrice as much for customs as all the rest of England together.

The year 1614 produced the discovery of a new species of woollen manufacture in England, namely, the making of mixtures dyed in the wool. This has ever since got the appellation of *Medley Cloth*, all woollen cloth before this time being only of one single colour dyed in the cloth.

In this year also the fine island of Barbadoes in the West-Indies is said to have been discovered and settled on by some English people. It is the mother of all our West-India sugar-islands, and the chief of the Caribbees. It has proved of the greatest advantage to this nation, by its excellent productions. The East India Company now began to trade on the joint stock account, no voyages being from henceforth allowed on separate stocks. The following is a list of the English company's factories at the time we are now speaking of in India, viz. Bantam, Jacatra (since called Batavia), Surat, Amadavar, Agra, Asmere, Bram-pore, Calcutta (from whence the cloth called Calico took its name) Masulipatam, Siam, Benjar, Soccardania, Macassar, Acheen, Jambi, Tecoo, Bandar, and at Firando in Japan: from many of which places our Company have withdrawn their factories, and from some others the Dutch have not long since wormed us out. In the year 1616, one Le Maire, a merchant of Amsterdam, discovered a passage to India by the south-west round Cape Horn, through a new streight south of the Magellanic Streights, to which he gave his name, which it still retains: it is much safer of navigation than the other. About this time one of our ships sailed to Mocha in the Red Sea, and settled a factory there for the first time, by the permission of the Turkish aga.

In the following year we find, for the first time, mention of fins of whales being brought home with the blubber of oil; but the very next year our English adventurers having met with great losses and discouragements, relinquished that fishery; and so it remained till the reign of Charles II. King James now granted new charters of powers to the East-India Company.

* Anderson, vol. I. p. 486, 487.

The colony of Virginia went on increasing, and had by this time considerable quantities of tobacco planted there, which now began to be well taken off at home. Sir Samuel Argall, the then governor, finding this colony in a thriving way, began to have his eye on the French, who had crossed the river St. Lawrence, and had a settlement in the colony then named Acadia (a part of that province called Nova Scotia) and also farther southward, a part of what is now called New England. But he drove the French from Port-Royal, since named Annapolis-Royal; some of whom went home to France, and others of them sailing up the river St. Lawrence, settled in Canada. "We are here to observe (says Mr. Anderson *) that the English, from their very first settling on the continent of America, had ever deemed Nova Scotia to be a part of North-Virginia; for at this time all the country north of Cape Henry was known by the sole name of Virginia, which, being the mother English colony on that continent, and its patent extending to the northernmost parts in America; all the country north of what was at this time planted in Virginia, had the appellation of North-Virginia." It is a justice due to the managers of the Virginia Company to observe, that even so early as the year 1618, they had formed a design to erect a college, for the conversion of the Indians to Christianity, altho' it proved afterwards abortive. In this same year, 1618, the first English African Company was erected by charter, but soon after dissolved, on not answering the expectations either of the adventurers or of the government.

In the year 1620, the English Company trading to the East-Indies obtained leave of the king of Golconda to settle at Madras-Patan, on the coast of Coromandel, where they were permitted to build the fort called St. George; which place has ever since been the Company's general factory for their trade in that country.

In the same year our people first planted the country since called New-England. Captain John Smith having surveyed the inland country, and presented a map of it to Charles prince of Wales, (afterwards king Charles I.) that prince gave it the name of New-England, which was afterwards further peopled, and considerably improved by the emigration of numbers of puritans from the mother-country, on account of the persecution raised against them here for their religious tenets. The colony is at this day the noblest of all our North-American continent provinces: they take off from Great-Britain to the value of three hundred thousand pounds and upwards annually, in British products and manufactures.

According to Mr. Miffelden, in his Circle of Commerce, p. 121. the general balance of our foreign trade for the year 1622, was as follows:

	l.	s.	d.
The total amount of exportations	2,320,436	12	10
The total imports	2,619,315	0	0
Balance lost to England this year	298,878	7	2
by her foreign commerce			

The same accurate author gives us the total amount of the customs of England, both outward and inward, for the said year 1622, viz. 168,222 l. 15 s. 11 d.

In this same year, 1662, sir William Alexander, afterwards earl of Sterling, having obtained a patent some time before from king James, as king of Scotland, for settling that country called by him Nova Scotia; and having got sundry noblemen and gentlemen of Scotland to be sharers with him in it, sent a colony of Scots thither, who named the peninsula on the east side of the Bay of Fundy, Nova Caledonia, and the other part on the north side Nova Alexandria †: and for the better enabling him to settle that plantation, king James granted him a Scots patent for advancing a number of persons to the hereditary dignity of baronets of Nova Scotia: yet, after considerable pains, and labour and expence, this colony came to nothing.

As the making of rivers navigable is of great benefit to commerce, we cannot pass by unnoticed, an act of parliament passed in the twenty-first year of king James I's reign (1624) for making the river Thames navigable for barges, lighters, and boats; from London to Oxford.

In the year 1625, the first of Charles I. we find a navy-board for England appointed to be managed by twelve commissioners. These seem to have been mostly stationed as at present, into distinct branches, such as a comptroller, a surveyor, a clerk of the navy, &c. This board also, as at present, was to be subordinate to the lord high-admiral, or the admiralty-board, from whom the said commissioners were to receive directions and orders of maritime affairs ‡.

In the same year the Virginia Company was dissolved, and that valuable colony settled as at present, under regal government. It will not be amiss to insert here the state of our Newfoundland fishery, as it stood about this time. It appears then that the ports of Devonshire annually employed one hundred and fifty ships, and carried their fish to Spain and Italy. This fishery maintained eight thousand persons for six months in Newfoundland, and supported many thousands of families at home in preparing nets, casks, provisions, &c. and repairing the ships for the voyage §.

About this time also the sugar-trade of England had its rise in the first settlement of the island of Barbadoes, the mother of all the sugar colonies, which was discovered by sir William Courteen, some time before the death of James I. In the year 1627, king Charles granted Barbadoes and the other Caribbee isles to James Ley, earl of Marlborough, and lord-treasurer; but at the restoration of king Charles II. it was determined by the king and council, that out of the revenue of Barbadoes, then greatly improved, three hundred pounds a year for his life should be granted to the earl of Marlborough, who had disposed of his patent for that sum to the earl of Carlisle; and that the earl of Kinnoul, who claimed under the earl of Carlisle, should be paid one thousand pounds on surrendering lord Carlisle's Charter: and thus Barbadoes and all the other Caribbee isles came under the immediate government of the Crown, and so have remained ever since.

In year 1628, sir David Kirk and his associates possessed themselves of Canada, which then only consisted of the country on the north side of the

* Vol. I. p. 499.

† Heylin's Cosmograph. p. 1024.

‡ Rymer's Foed. tom. xviii. fol. 13. et seq.

§ See a treatise of commerce, printed in a small quarto in the year 1626, entitled, The Golden Fleece.

great river of St. Lawrence, together with the castle of Quebec, of which the said sir David's son was appointed governor. The French hereupon agreed to recognize our king's property in all Nova Scotia, and to pay sir David Kirk fifty thousand pounds for his quitting the forts which he had possessed himself of in Canada; which sum however was never paid.

King Charles I. in the fourth year of his reign, incorporated that best planted, and most populous province of New-England, called the Massachusetts Bay, of which Boston is the capital town. In this same year Carolana, now called Carolina, was first planted by sir Robert Heath, the king's attorney-general, in virtue of a patent granted by Charles to him and his heirs for that purpose. Sir Robert afterwards conveyed this province to the earl of Arundel, who was at the expence of planting sundry parts of it; but the subsequent civil war in England prevented that nobleman's farther progress therein. The Five Nations of the Indian Iroquois, so long the voluntary vassals of the English crown, made a surrender and sale of all their conquests in that country, which reached as far as the Mississippi, to the governor of New-York, in king James II's reign*. The Isle of Providence, the chief of all the Bahama Isles, was also first planted by the English in this year, who likewise claimed the rest of those islands as the first occupiers.

In the *Fœdera* (vol. xix. fol. 335.) we find a proclamation of king Charles relating to the trade of the East-India Company, in which is the following catalogue of the wares and merchandizes licensed to be *exported* to India, and to be *imported* from thence, viz.

Goods allowed to be exported to India, perpetuana's and drapery, pewter, saffron, woollen stockings, silk stockings and garters, ribband roses edged with gold lace, beaver-hats with gold and silver bands, felt hats, strong waters, knives, Spanish leather shoes, iron, and looking-glasses.

Goods which might be imported from India; long pepper, white pepper, white powder, sugar, preserved nutmegs and ginger, preserved mirabolans, bezoar stones, drugs of all sorts, agate heads, blood stones, musk, aloes succotrina, ambergris, rich Persian carpets, quilts of satin, taffaty, painted calicoes, damasks, satins and taffaties of China, quilts of China embroidered with gold, sugar-canes, china dishes and puslanes (that is, porcelane) of all sorts.

By this catalogue (greatly differing from our modern India cargoes) we may learn, says Mr. Anderson, that many rich and useful commodities were then imported from India, and that china-ware or porcelain was come into use in Europe, altho' this is the first authentic mention thereof we meet with; but neither tea nor coffee were as yet brought home by our India ships. The East-India Company, however, seem as yet to have made but very little profit to their adventurers there, whose gains amounting in fifteen years time to no more than twelve and a half per cent.

The year 1632 gave birth to the fine and now prosperous colony of Maryland, being a part of what was then reckoned Virginia. Sir George Calvert, secretary to king James I. first discovered

this tract of land; and finding its commodiousness for trade, obtained a promise of the king's grant of the said unplanted country; but he dying before the grant was made out, his son Cæcilius, created lord Baltimore in Ireland, took it out in his own name on the twentieth of June, 1632. The isle of Montserrat, in the West-Indies, was also planted by the English this year, who likewise settled on the isle of Antigua, but soon abandoned it, on account of its having no fresh-water brooks, or scarce any other but rain water.

In the year 1637, king Charles erected a separate East-India Company for a trade to China and Japan. The scheme of this new East-India Company was, as Mr. Anderson very justly observes, an iniquitous one against the old Company, whose charter was, doubtless, entirely exclusive of all others, and the king was probably put upon it by his ministers, on the plausible pretext of great profit to himself.

Towards the close of the year 1642, the war between king Charles and his parliament commenced, to the no small interruption of commerce and manufactures: the trade of the English East-India Company in particular seems to have been at this time almost quite sunk, or at least greatly decayed. The Dutch East-India Company, however, abandoning the settlement they had on the island of St. Helena, in 1651, our Company took possession of that isle. It is situated in the Atlantic Ocean: it consists of one steep and lofty rock, resembling a castle, in the sea, and accessible only in one place, defended now by a platform of forty guns, beyond which is a fort where the governor resides. This island is twenty-seven miles in circuit, and the rock has only a foot of vegetable soil, producing grapes, fruits, and garden-stuffs of all kinds, but no corn comes to perfection. The East India ships always touch here on their return home.

In the year 1652, one Mr. Edwards, an English Turkey merchant, brought home with him a Greek servant, who first introduced the roasting and making of coffee, till then unknown in England. This servant was the first who sold coffee, and kept a house for that purpose in Holland.

Cromwell, in 1654, concluded a treaty of peace and alliance with John IV. king of Portugal, wherein were sundry articles advantageous to the trade of England, both with respect to our subjects freely trading to Brasil, &c. much more than since; as also for the security of the goods of the English dying in Portugal. These articles were in part confirmed by subsequent and more legal treaties.

In the following year, 1655, Cromwell dissolved the East-India company, and laid that trade open for three years; but the infinite damage accruing to our commerce from that step, obliged the protector to reinstate the Company at the expiration of that time. Having nothing further to add of the times preceding the restoration of Charles II. we must do the Rump Parliament and Cromwell, with all their faults, the justice to remark, that they made sundry and very good regulations and laws for the improvement of our commerce and shipping, most of which were adopted, and legally enacted by the parliament, immediately after the constitution reverted to its true form of government.

* See Cox's Description of Carolina, p. 109, 113, 116, &c.

The first matter relating to the subject of commerce after the return of Charles II. to the throne of his ancestors, is the famous act (of navigation so called) passed for the encouragement and increase of shipping and navigation, "wherein (saith the preamble to that act) under the good providence and protection of God, the wealth, safety, and strength of this kingdom, are so much concerned." Having already given the principal enacting clauses of this statute, whereby not only the trade to and from our American plantations was secured to ourselves alone, but likewise our mercantile shipping was considerably increased, as also the number of our sailors, and all trades depending on sea affairs, we shall not enlarge any farther thereupon, but only observe, that by the means of this act, the most important in commerce that ever was enacted in this or any other nation, we are at length become, in great measure, what the Dutch once were, the great carriers of Europe, especially within the Mediterranean sea.

In this same year, 1660 (the twelfth of Charles II's reign, reckoning from his father's murder and the first of his own restoration) sir Thomas Modyford, an eminent planter in the island of Barbadoes, having acquired a prodigious fortune there, chose to remove and settle in Jamaica, where he instructed the young English planters who went over in Cromwell's time, to cultivate the sugar canes; for which, and his other improvements, he was afterwards appointed governor of that island. We must not forget, that in this year an act of parliament passed in favour of the Dutch or Flemings at Colchester in Essex, who had first brought into England the manufacture of baize.

After the restoration of king Charles II. the English East India Company being supposed, notwithstanding the disorders in it of late years, still to exist as established by queen Elizabeth, king James I. and king Charles I. obtained of his majesty a new exclusive charter, dated the third of April, 1661, by the old name of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East-Indies.

About this time the worsted manufacture established in Norwich and Norfolk was prodigiously increased, and the silk manufacture in London had made vast progress, insomuch as to employ above forty thousand men, women and children. After this time we find divers acts of parliament, in this and succeeding reigns, for regulating the silk manufacture at home, and the importation of raw and thrown silk from foreign parts. At this time Charles II. shamefully delivered up to France the country of Nova Scotia, and such part of Canada as was held by our people.

The town, port, and island of Bombay, being part of the portion which Charles had with his wife the princess Catherine, daughter to Alphonso VI. king of Portugal, in 1661, was by him granted, in 1688, in full property for ever to our East-India Company, to hold it in free common soccage of his imperial crown, under an annual rent of ten pounds in gold, to be paid on September 30 yearly at the custom-house in London. It has been since greatly improved both in strength and commerce.

In the year 1662 the English, from their colonies on the north continent of America, first began to cut down the logwood-trees, growing in infinite quantities on the uninhabited coasts of the province of Yucatan, and more especially in the Bay of Cam-

peachy, where they first made a settlement for that end, as it was not near any Spanish settlement or inhabitants. In process of time, however, the Spaniards became so uneasy at that settlement, and our logwood-cutting, that they actually made prize of all English vessels they met with in the American seas which had logwood in them. This gave rise to many warm disputes between that nation and us, and it is to be feared will still occasion much altercation.

Connecticut in New-England, and Carolina, were about this time first made royal colonies.

By a report of sir Charles D'Avenant, inspector-general of the customs in the reigns of king William and queen Anne, it appears that our imports in the year 1662 amounted to 4,016,019 l. and our exports to 2,022,812 l. consequently the balance against us was no less than 1,993,207 l.

In 1664 king Charles, on making war with the Dutch, undertook to drive that people out of New-Nedderland (since named New-York) where, as also in the country since called New-Jersey (by the Dutch Nova Belgia) they had got footing, and greatly improved.

In the year 1666 the island of Antigua (or Antego) was finally settled by the English, who had deserted it after a former attempt in 1632. This is now the best English colony of the Caribbees, after Barbadoes and St. Christophers. It is noted for the best harbours in all these islands: it is much troubled with hurricanes, which do great damage both on shore and at sea. It is now well fortified; and by means of tanks or cisterns, they make a tolerable shift to supply themselves with rain water, when their wells fail. They raise and send home to Britain great quantities of sugar, rum, and molasses. In the said year, 1666, captain Sayle, of the new colony of Carolina, being driven in a storm on the Isle of Providence, the chief of the Bahama Isles, on his return to England made a report of the condition of those isles; on which Charles II. granted patent to the lords proprietors of Carolina of the said isles. The island of Providence lies on the east side of the Gulph of Florida, and two hundred and six miles from the continent of that name, in twenty-five degrees fifteen minutes north latitude, and is about twenty-eight miles in length, and eleven in breadth. It came in time to be neglected, and was the resort only of pirates till the reign of king George I. when captain Woodes Rogers was sent regal governor there, to whom the pirates for the most part submitted, and accepted of the king's pardon: it has ever since remained a regal colony. In 1745 two well-designed forts were erected there, so that the island is now in a good posture of defence against an enemy. Besides this principal island of Providence, there are several British settlements on Harbour Island and Eleuthera. The Bahama Islands abound with many sorts of good, and some very uncommon timber, and with plenty of stones and loam. On Exuma there is excellent salt, and they have made some trials to rear sugar-canes. About this time the dying and dressing of fine white woollen cloths, which had long been unsuccessfully attempted, was at length brought to perfection in England.

The general balance of trade of England for the year 1668 was most grievously to our loss; for the imports exceeded the exports 2,132,864 l. 18 s. "This great national loss, says an ingenious author,

in

in his treatise called the *British Merchant*, was owing to our having a full or uncircumscribed trade with France; which trade being afterwards prohibited, the general balance in 1699 was got to be so far in our favour as 1,147,660 l. 10 s. 9 d. Total gained by us from having no trade with France, 3,280,525 l. 8 s. 9 d. which balance in the year 1703, was so considerably increased, as to be no less than 2,117,523 l. 3 s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. being a gain from the year 1668 of 4,250,388 l. 1 s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

In the year 1670, the wear of muslins was first introduced from India; before which time we made use of the more substantial cambricks, Silesia lawns, and such kind of fine flaxen linen from Flanders and Germany, in return for our woollen manufactures of various kinds exported to those countries in very considerable quantities.

In the same year was made the famous treaty of peace between England and Spain, commonly called the *American Treaty*; by which Charles II. of Spain recognized all our rights to the American dominions we were possessed of at that time. This year also the *Hudson's-Bay Company* was established by charter, dated the second of May 1670. This company have three or four forts in different parts of *Hudson's-Bay*, in which they have in all about one hundred and twenty persons, who for nine months in the year live in a manner shut up within these forts in low houses, so built as to defend them from the piercing cold, snow, and rains. Three or four ships are annually sent from England, laden with coarse woollen goods, guns, powder and shot, spirits, edge tools, and sundry other utensils. In return for which, the natives sell them all kinds of furs, goose quills, castor, whale fins and oil, bed feathers, &c. and they make a handsome annual dividend to their proprietors.

It was in or about the year 1676 that the printing of callicoes was first set on foot in London. At the same time was also brought into use from Holland the weavers loom engine, then called the *Dutch loom engine*.

Mr. Anderson tells us, that in a manuscript account of Newfoundland in his possession, written anno 1677, it appears, that in the year 1676 there went thither from England one hundred and two ships for the cod-fishery there, each ship having twenty guns, and carrying eighteen boats, and for each boat five men; in the whole one hundred and eighty men. The total value of the fish and oil they made there in that year was computed at 386,400 l. a clear proof how great a nursery this fishery must be for English sailors, and how beneficial for the employment of ship-building, &c.

The year 1680 gave rise to the noble English colony of Pennsylvania in North-America, between forty and forty-three degrees north latitude. Mr. William Penn, an eminent quaker, had it granted him at this time, having purposed to make it a retreat for the people of his persuasion, who were disturbed here on account of their religious tenets. He carried over a great number of these people with him, who were soon afterwards joined by many more from Great Britain and Ireland. At his first arrival in the country he found many English families there, and a considerable number of Dutch and Swedes, who all readily submitted to his wise and excellent regulations, which, with his gentle

and generous conduct, soon endeared him to the planters, and so widely spread his fame, and that of his infant government, that numbers flocked over from all parts of Europe to settle in Pennsylvania, for so he called this colony, after his own name. Mr. Penn's beautiful and superb plan of his capital city of Philadelphia, still strictly adhered to, and drawing constantly nearer to perfection, may serve for a pattern to the richest country on earth. At that city they build and employ many good ships: those of five hundred tons and upwards may lie close to the quay. They trade to our sugar colonies with their corn, pease, flour, biscuit, beef, pork, fish, pipe-staves, peltry or furs, lumber, horses, &c. in exchange for sugar, rum, molasses, ginger, pimento, and foreign silver, as dollars, &c. They also employ themselves in raising hemp, flax, and other materials for our British manufactures, as drugs for dyers, &c. iron, and copper; they even carry their corn, fish, pipe-staves, &c. as far as Italy; and going from thence to Britain, they here load woollen, silk, linen, and sundry other necessaries wanted in their colony. They also carry on a clandestine trade with the Spanish main for silver, and their logwood trade, which they import into England, helps to pay for the commodities they carry away from hence*. Thus has the spirit of intolerance and persecution, the most absurd of all political measures, given existence to the finest province of British America.

The *Turkey Company* was now in a flourishing condition; they exported great quantities of woollen manufactures, and other English wares, to the great enriching this nation. In or about the year 1681, they exported to the value of half a million sterling yearly; in return for which they brought home raw silks, grogram, yarns, galls, drugs, cotton, &c. all which being manufactured in England, afford bread to the poor of the kingdom.

In the year 1682, our *East India Company* lost Bantam, one of the best factories they had ever possessed in India, occasioned by a quarrel between the old king of Bantam and his son. Our Company sided with the father; the Dutch assisted the son, whose arms prevailing, the old king was made prisoner, and shut up the rest of his days; and the young king gave his friends the Dutch the possession of the castle of Bantam, who soon drove out the English Company's factors and servants, and have ever since remained in possession of the place. Our Company however got possession this same year of Bencoolen, in the great island of Sumatra; by which important settlement they have preserved to England the pepper trade, which otherwise would have been lost to us by their expulsion from Bantam.

The year 1685, the first of king James II. was distinguished by the famous revocation of what was before deemed the perpetual and irrevocable edict of Nantes; by which edict the protestants in France enjoyed the free and public toleration and exercise of their religion in France. This revolution, tho' infinitely distressful to many thousands of individuals in that kingdom, was productive of much good to almost all the protestant countries of Europe, but more especially to this nation. That part of the suburbs of London called Spitalfields, was peopled entirely with French manufacturers in silk; some thousands of other artists helped to people

* Anderson, vol. ii. p. 170, 171.

and increase the suburbs of Soho and St. Giles's; others of them brought over the art of making chrystal in perfection, which was thereby lost for a time in France. Above fifty thousand of these refugees settled here, and have proved a great and manifest advantage to us, by improving our arts and manufactures, and likewise by introducing fundry new ones; and supposing, at the lowest computation, that these fifty thousand people, one with another, coming into Great Britain, brought sixty pounds each only in money and effects, they must have brought three millions sterling to the wealth of this nation.

In this same year king James granted the East-India Company a new charter, being their sixth since the Restoration; wherein he prohibits any of his subjects to send out ships, or trade within the limits of the said Company, as had been done by several adventurers, to the Company's great damage, and destruction of that trade. He certifies all the preceding charters in their favour for ever, and in their fullest extent; he invests them with the power of exercising martial law, to extend as far as the island of St. Helena, and to their fort of Peyanian, on the west coast of Sumatra, as well as to their other limits. He also grants full power to the Company to appoint admirals, vice-admirals, and other sea officers; and to raise and muster seamen and soldiers, and to equip their ships in a warlike manner, for attack and defence against any enemy, or any ships carrying on an illicit trade within their limits. The Company may also coin money in any of their forts, of the specie usually coined by the princes of those countries only, which money shall be current every-where within the Company's limits, &c. &c. *

Having thus gone through the most material transactions relating to commerce during this period, I shall close this article with a short view of

the gradual increase of our wealth, trade, shipping, and revenue, during this period, extracted from the most approved writers on this subject.

We have an eminent instance of the great increase of our commerce and shipping in only twenty-two years space, from Dr. D'Avenant's discoveries on the public revenues and trade of England; and from Comber's History of English naval affairs, we find that the tonnage of the merchant ships in England at the Revolution (anno 1688) was near double to the tonnage in 1666.

Also that the tonnage of the navy-royal, which in the year 1660, the first of the Restoration, was only 62,594 tons, was in this year, 1688, increased to 101,032 tons.

D'Avenant, who, as inspector-general of the customs, must have been perfectly master of this subject, informs us, that "in the year 1666 the farm of the custom of England was but 390 000 l. yearly; yet from Michaelmas 1671, to Michaelmas 1688, being seventeen years, the customs yielded *net* to the Crown 9,447,799 l. which at a medium was 555,752 l. per annum."

The last quoted author gives us also a view of the gradual increase of the general rental of England, occasioned by the increase of our commerce, and the great improvements made in agriculture.

"The general rental of England, says he, for land, houses, or mines, about the year 1600, did not exceed six millions per annum; which general rental, soon after the Revolution, was reckoned at about fourteen millions. The above six millions, in 1600, at twelve years purchase (the common price of lands at that period) was worth but seventy-two millions; but the lands, &c. of England, at the rental of fourteen millions, and worth eighteen years purchase, in 1688, amounted to two hundred and fifty two millions." How amazing an alteration in the space of less than one century!

* Anderson, vol. ii. p. 184.

A TABLE

A TABLE of the SUCCESSION of PRINCES in the several Kingdoms of EUROPE with which ENGLAND hath the greatest Correspondence and Connection, from the Accession of the STUART Family, in the Person of JAMES I. A. D. 1603, to the REVOLUTION, A. D. 1689; being a Series of Eighty-seven Years.

EMPERORS of GERMANY.	KINGS of ENGLAND and SCOTLAND.	KINGS of FRANCE.	KINGS of SPAIN.	KINGS of PORTUGAL.	KINGS of DENMARK.	KINGS of SWEDEN.	KINGS of POLAND.	CZAR of RUSSIA.	P O P E S EXALTATION.
RODOLPH II. 1576	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
		HENRY IV. 1589			CHRISTIAN IV. 1588		SIGISMUND (king of Sweden) 1586		CLEMENT VIII. (Aldo- brandino) 1592
	JAMES VI. of Scot- land, and I. of England 1603		PHILIP III. 1598	PHILIP III. of Spain 1598		SIGISMUND, and king of Poland 1594			
MATTHIAS 1612 FERDINAND II. 1619		LEWIS XIII. 1610				CHARLES IX. 1604			PAUL V. (Borghese) 1605 He excommunicated the re- public of Venice, built the palace of Borghese, and em- bellished the city of Rome.
			PHILIP IV. 1621			GUSTAVUS A- DOLPHUS 1611			GREGORY XV. (Ludovico) 1621 URBAN VIII. (Barberino) 1623
FERDINAND III. 1637	CHARLES I. 1625			JOHN 1640	CHRISTINA, q. 1632		ULADISLAUS VI. 1632		
	LEWIS XIV. 1643 to 1689 and beyond.								INNOCENT X. (Pamphili) 1644
	Beheaded 1649 Commonwealth —			ALPHONSO 1651	FREDERICK III. 1649				ALEXANDER VII. (Chigi) 1655
LEOPOLD 1658 to 1689 and beyond.	CHARLES II. re- stored 1660		CHARLES II. 1665 to 1689 and beyond.	PETER 1667 to 1689 and beyond.	CHRISTIAN V. 1670 to 1689 and beyond	CHARLES XI. 1660 to 1689 and beyond.	MICHAEL WIES- NOWISKI 1670 JOHN SOBIESKI 1673 to 1689 and beyond.	PETER the Great 1682 to 1689 and beyond.	CLEMENT IX. (Rospigliosi) 1667 CLEMENT X. (Altieri) 1670 INNOCENT XI. (Odescalchi) 1676 A great enemy to Lewis XIV. espoused the cause of the emperor Leopold. He was called the Protestant Pope. ALEXANDER VIII. (Ottoboni) 1689 and beyond.
	JAMES II. 1685 Abdicated 1689								

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I N D E X.

The marks n*, n†, n‡, &c. after the number of the page, shews the particular note at the bottom of that page.

A

ABBEY, of Westminster, revived as a sanctuary, by queen Mary, 338. Made a collegiate church, 349. Abbeys and monasteries, dissolution of, 264—268. Abhorrrers and Petitioners, two parties so called; who they were, 642.

Albany, Alexander Steuart, duke of, brother to king James III. of Scotland, banished; makes an agreement with Edward IV. and assumes the title of king of Scots, 119. Is defeated, and takes refuge into France, 120.

—— John duke of, his son, recalled from France, and made regent of Scotland, 216. Obliges the earl of Angus to take shelter in England, 218. Opposed by Henry VIII. but supported by the Scotch parliament, 220. Invades England, 231. Resigns his post of regent, and goes over to France, 234.

Albemarle, general George Monk, created duke of, by Charles II. 605. Account of his descent, *ib.* n*. Commands the English fleet against the Dutch, but is worsted in several engagements, 613, 614. His death, 619.

Alençon, duke of, proposed as a match for queen Elizabeth, but she refuses him leave to come to England, 388. See Anjou.

Angoulême, count of, Francis Valois, married to Claude of France, 166. Made general of the French army, 211. Succeeds Lewis XII. as king of France, 215. See France.

Anjou, duke of, his arrival in England, and reception by queen Elizabeth, 397—400. Is deceived by her in the affair of their marriage, and returns to France, 401. His death, 406.

Alva, duke of, his severity to the German protestants, 368, &c. Seizes the effects of the English, 376. Is recalled from the Netherlands, 389.

America, North, when and by whom first discovered, 197. Farther discoveries of that part of the world promoted by Henry VII. and VIII. See Commerce.

Angus, earl of, Archibald Douglas, marries Margaret queen dowager of Scotland, 217. Is obliged to retire into England, 218. Returns to his native country, 277.

Annates, paid to the pope, suppressed by Henry VIII. and his parliament, 259.

Anne of Cleves, comes to England, and is married to Henry VIII. 272. Is disliked by him, and divorced, 273. Her behaviour on that occasion, 274.

——, princess, married to the prince of Denmark, 650. Leaves London, and joins the prince of Orange, 669.

Arran, earl of, James Hamilton, takes refuge in England, but is obliged to submit to the regent of Scotland, 215. Is himself made regent of that kingdom, 279; and duke Chatleherault in France, 310. Engages in a conspiracy against Mary queen of Scots, 346. Is pardoned, but afterwards treacherously imprisoned by the earl of Murray, 377.

Arthur, prince, eldest son of Henry VII. born, 138. His marriage with the princess Catherine of Spain, agreed upon, 144. Appointed guardian of the realm in her father's absence, 147. Married by proxy, 159; and afterwards in person, 160. His death, 162. His widow married to his brother Henry, 165.

Articles, Six, bloody statute so named, 270, 271. Repealed, 299.

—— Thirty-nine, first made, 354.

—— of marriage between Philip of Spain, and queen Mary, 323, 324.

Arundel, earl of, Henry Fitz Allen, appointed one of the privy counsellors to Edward VI. 292. Cabals against the duke of Somerset, lord protector, 304. His dissimulation with the duke of Northumberland, 316. His speech to the council in favour of queen Mary, 317. whom he joins, and is sent by her to arrest Northumberland, 318. Is made knight of the garter, *ib.* Solicits queen Elizabeth in marriage, 349. His death, 399.

——, earl of, Philip Howard, his right to that title, 399. Is imprisoned for religion, 407. Tried and condemned, but is pardoned, 419. His death, 428.

Athol, earl of, Walter Stewart, murders king James I. of Scotland, 60.

VOL. II.

Attorneys act, restraining their number, 184.
Audley, lord, heads the Cornish insurrection against Henry VII. 154. Taken and beheaded, 155.

B

BONNER, Edmund, sent ambassador from Henry VIII. to the pope, and enters an appeal to a general council, 258. Made bishop of London, 272. His cruelties to the protestants, 280. Is imprisoned, 297. Set at liberty, 318. His uncommon cruelty to the protestants, 331, &c. His death, 344.

Bothwell, earl of, his character, 362. A great favourite with Mary queen of Scots, 363. Tried for the murder of the lord Darnly, and acquitted, 364. Carries off queen Mary, and obliges her to marry him, *ib.* and 365. Flies beyond sea, 366.

Bourbon, duke of, Charles, rebels against Francis I. and cause of it, 232. Joins the emperor, who appoints him lieutenant-general in Italy, 233. Invades France, 235. Wins the battle of Pavia, 236. Marches to Rome, and is slain in an attack upon that city, 239, n†.

Brittany, duke of, John, makes a treaty with Henry V. 6. And another of alliance with the duke of Bedford, against Charles VII. of France, 31. Forsakes the English, and joins with Charles, 37. Returns to the English again, and renews his treaty with the duke of Bedford, 39. His farther negotiations with that duke, 46. His death, 66.

——, Francis II. duke of, declares war against the English, 69. Affords assylum to Henry earl of Richmond, 111. Whom he refuses to deliver up at king Edward's requisition, 112, 116. Concludes a treaty of alliance with king Edward, 119. And with Richard III. 129. Obligated to give up Landois his prime minister, 136. Defeated at St. Aubin, and soon after dies, 141.

——, Anne, heiress and duchess of, his daughter, distressed by the king of France, 141. Makes a treaty with Henry VII. 142. Married by proxy to Maximilian, 143; but afterwards espouses Charles VIII. of France, by which her duchy is annexed to that crown, 146.

Buchan, earl of, John Steuart, sent to the assistance of the dauphin by the Scots, 24. Made constable of France, 26. and earl of Evreux, 33. Is killed in the battle of Vernal, 34.

Buckingham, duke of, Humphrey Stafford, so created by Henry VI. 67. Joins Henry VI. against the duke of York, 79. Slain in the battle of Northampton, 88.

——, Henry Stafford, duke of, espouses the cause of the duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III. 121, 124. Greatly rewarded by that king, 126. Forms a conspiracy against him, 127. Is betrayed, and loses his head, 128.

——, Edward Stafford, his son, restored by Henry VII. 134. Commands under Henry VIII. at the siege of Tourenne, 211. Quarrels with cardinal Wolsey, who causes him to be impeached, 227. Is beheaded, 228.

——, George Villiers, duke of, his first introduction to James I. 498. His rapid preferment, 500; and insolence, 502. Persuades the prince of Wales to undertake the journey to Spain, 507. Makes himself hated there, 508. Returns home, and breaks off the Spanish match, 509. Accuses the earl of Bristol, and gets the parliament on his side, 510. Is censured as the cause of king James's death, 512. Sent ambassador by Charles I. to the United Provinces, 515. Attacked by the parliament, but supported by the king, 516. Is accused by the earl of Bristol of high treason, and articles exhibited against him, 517. It comes to nothing, 519. His bad conduct at the isle of Rhé, 520. Is murdered by Felton, 525. His character, *ib.*

——, Villiers, duke of, one of the cabal in Charles II. reign, 619. His character, 616.

Bulleyn or Boleyn, Anne, account of that lady and her family; Henry VIII. falls in love with her, 241, and n*. Favours the reformed religion, and is an enemy to cardinal Wolsey, 243, whom she ruins with Henry, 249. Is created marchioness of Pembroke, 257. Is privately married to the king, *ib.* Declared queen, and solemnly crowned,

crowned, 258. A staunch friend to the reformation, 261. Is accused of adultery and incest, 264. Is tried, condemned, divorced from the king, and executed, 265.

CABOT, John, first discoverer of the continent of America, 197. Knighted by king Henry VII. ib.

Sebastian, his son first discovers Newfoundland,

210

Cade, Jack, history of his rebellion, 75. Is deserted by his followers, and slain by Iden, sheriff of Kent, 76

Cadiz, in Spain, taken by the English, 427

Cambridge, Richard, earl of, his conspiracy against Henry V. 9. And death, 10.

Campejo, cardinal, made legate to England by pope Leo X. 223. Made bishop of Salisbury, 235. Comes to England about the divorce of Henry VIII. and queen Catherine, 245. His proceedings in that affair, 247. Leaves England, 249

Cannon, brass, first used in England, 270. Iron, when first cast, 280

Catherine of France, married to Henry V. 23. Is crowned in England, 25. Afterwards married to Owen Tudor, 28. Dies, 58

— of Arragon, princess of Spain, married to prince Arthur, 160. And afterwards to his brother Henry VIII. 165, 200. Is crowned, 200, n*. Left guardian of the kingdom, 210. Original of the divorce between Henry VIII. and her, 241, 242. Farther account of that affair, 248, 251, &c. Sentence of divorce passed against her by Cranmer, 258. Dies, 263.

— Howard married to Henry VIII. 275. Is divorced and beheaded for incontinency, 277

— Parr married to Henry VIII. 280. Falls into disgrace with Henry, but is afterwards taken into favour, 287. Dies, 302

Cecil, Sir William, secretary of state under Edward VI. 308. Has the seals taken from him by queen Mary, 321. Made secretary of state to queen Elizabeth, 342. Plot to remove him miscarries, 376. Created lord Burleigh, and appointed one of the commissioners to try Mary queen of Scots, 381. See Burleigh

— Sir Robert, (his brother) made secretary of state, and sent to negotiate with Henry IV. of France, 428. Corresponds with James king of Scotland, 435, 481. Engages Elizabeth to name that prince her successor, 437. Promoted by James I. 481. Created earl of Salisbury, 484. See Salisbury

Charles V. prince of Castile and archduke of Austria, affianced to the princess Mary, daughter of Henry VII. 219. Succeeds Ferdinand in the kingdom of Spain, and makes a league with Henry VIII. 218, 219. Is chosen emperor, 224. Has an interview with Henry at Dover, 225. Makes a league against France, 227. Comes to England: is made knight of the garter, and enters into several treaties with Henry, 229, 230. Gains the battle of Pavia, and holds the king of France prisoner, 235, 236. Breaks with England, and is defied by the herald of that kingdom, and of France, and the answer he returned, 244. Challenges the French king to single combat, ib. Concludes treaties with the pope and the king of France, 249, 250. Makes peace with the confederates, 334. Resigns the crown of Spain to his son Philip, ib. And the imperial dignity to his other son Ferdinand, 336

Charles I. second son of James I. of England, created prince of Wales after the death of his brother Henry; ruled by the duke of Buckingham, who persuades him to undertake the journey to Spain, 507. Returns and breaks off his intended match with the Infanta, 508. Succeeds to the crown of England; and his speech to his first parliament, 513. His marriage with the princess Henrietta of France, ib. Quarrels with the parliament, and dissolves it, 514. Crowned, 515. His difficulties, and letter to the speaker of the House of Commons, 516. His arbitrary treatment of the parliament, two of whose members he imprisons, 517. Dissolves the parliament, with orders to destroy their remonstrance, 518. Declares war against France, and assists the Rochellers, 519, 520. Passes the petition of rights, 524. His speech to the parliament on the affair of tonnage and poundage, ib. His conduct in religious affairs, 525. Misted by archbishop Laud, 526. Dissolves the parliament, and sends several of the members of the commons to the Tower, ib. Makes peace with France and Spain, 527. His arbitrary methods of raising

money, 528. Gains over several of the members, in the opposition, ib. His journey to Scotland, conduct there, and return, 529. Demands the tax of ship-money, 529, 530. Sends the case of ship-money to the judges, 531. His impolitic conduct with regard to the church of Scotland, 532. Makes concessions to the Scots, but to no purpose, 534, 535. Levies an army to punish them, 536. Makes peace with them, and on what terms, 537. Enforces ship-money, and prepares a new for a war in Scotland, 539. Dissolves the parliament, and pursues many unconstitutional measures, 540. Goes in person with his army against the Scots, 541. Holds a great council of the peers at York, and agrees to conferences with the Scots, ib. Returns to London, and convokes the Long Parliament, 542. Marries his eldest daughter to the prince of Orange, 544. Endeavours to gain the parliament by many great concessions, 545. His great difficulties, 547. Signs the earl of Strafford's death-warrant, ib. Goes to Scotland, 548. His conduct there, ib. Accused of encouraging the Irish papists, and insolently treated by his English parliament, 549. Goes to the house of commons, and demands the persons of five members, 550. Fatal consequences of that step, ib. 551, &c. Removes from Whitehall with his queen and children, and goes to York, ib. Where he is joined by numbers of the nobility, and principal gentry, 552. But is refused entrance into Hull by Sir John Hotham, ib. Sets up his standard at Nottingham, 553. His proposals for an accommodation, rejected by the parliament, and his messengers insolently treated, ib. Marches with his army towards London, and encounters the parliament's army at Edge-Hill, 554. Lays siege to Gloucester, which he reduces, 558. Fights the first battle of Newbury, 559. Convenes a parliament at Oxford, 560. Renews his overtures for peace, 562. Appoints commissioners for a treaty at Uxbridge, 564. which miscarries, and he afterwards loses the battle of Naseby, 565. His danger, mortifications, and distresses, 566. Sends the prince of Wales out of the kingdom, and sends several messengers to the parliament for peace, 567. Puts himself into the hands of the Scots, by whom he is delivered up to the parliament, 568. His person seized by the army, 570. Is conducted to Hampton-Court; from whence he escapes over to the Isle of Wight; but is again delivered up to the parliament, and is confined in Carisbrook-castle, 571. His concessions, 572. Seized by the army, and removed to Hurst-castle, 574. And from thence to Windsor, 575. Accused, and commissioners appointed to try him, 576. His sentence, ib. His interview with his children, 577. Behaviour at his execution, ib. His burial, character, and speech, 577, 578

Charles II. born, 527, n*. The house of commons publishes an act, forbidding the proclaiming him king, 578. He is acknowledged by the Scots, and proclaimed at Edinburgh, 579. Enters into a treaty with them, 580. Ireland declares for him, ib. Lands in Scotland, 582. Loses the battle of Worcester, 584. His great danger, and wonderful escape, 584, 585. Retires to France, 585. And from thence into Germany, 590. Is supported by the court of Spain, 592. Is invited over by the English parliament, 603. Takes shipping, with his brother, at the Hague; arrives in England, and is proclaimed king, ib. His character, 604. Makes several promotions, and passes an act of oblivion, 605. Restores episcopacy, 606. Is crowned, 608. Passes the act of uniformity, 609. Is married to the princess Catharine of Portugal; favours the catholics, ib. Repeals the act for triennial parliaments, and passes the conventicle act, 610. Declares war against the Dutch, 611. Persecutes the Dissenters, 612. Declares war against France, 613. His dissimulation in regard to the papists, 614. Engages in the triple-alliance, 616. Proposes a general toleration, which is rejected by the parliament, 618. His profusion, and choice of the cabal for his private council, 619. Enters into a private treaty with the French king, 620. His shameful prevarication with his parliament, 621. Issues a proclamation for suspending the penal laws, 622. Declares war against the States-general, ib. Passes the test act, 625. Makes peace with the Dutch, 626. Courts the commons, 627. Prorogues the parliament, 628. Encourages commerce and navigation, 629. Suppresses coffee-houses, 630. Obliges the duke of York to marry his daughter Mary to the prince of Orange, 632. His disputes with the commons, 633, 634. Prorogues the parliament, 634. Brings about a general pacification, 635. Popish plot against, 636, &c. Becomes a pensioner to France, 638. Changes his privy-

privy-council, 639. Passes the famous habeas corpus act, and prorogues the parliament, 640. Takes away the duke of York's commissions, and sends him abroad, 641. Puts off the meeting of the parliament for a year, *ib.* Assembles the parliament at Oxford, 644. Where he dissolves it, 645. Puts himself at the head of a faction, 646. Issues a writ of Quo warranto against the charter of the city of London, 647. Banishes his natural son, the duke of Monmouth, from court, 650. Obliges his brother, the duke of York, to give his daughter Anne to the prince of Denmark, 650. Seizes the government of the city into his own hands, 651. His supineness in regard to foreign affairs, *ib.* His death and character, 652. His natural issue, 653. And remarkable occurrences of his reign, *ib.*

Churchill (afterwards the great duke of Marlborough) first appearance of him, 629. Greatly favoured and promoted by king James II. whom he abandons, and joins the prince of Orange, 669.

Clarence, duke of, Thomas Plantagenet, made high steward of England, 9. His success in France, 25. Killed at Baugé, 26.

—— duke of, George Plantagenet, brother to Edward IV. 97. Sides with the earl of Warwick against Edward, and marries that nobleman's daughter, 102. His agreement with queen Margaret and the earl of Warwick, 105. The crown settled upon him, and made duke of York and lord lieutenant of Ireland, 106. Deferts Warwick, and is reconciled to his brother Edward, 108. Is prosecuted by the queen and her party; committed to the Tower, and there dies, 117.

Clergy, English, their precedency determined by the council of Constance, 172. Reformed by cardinal Wolsey, 249. Checked by the parliament, 252—256. Acknowledges the king's supremacy, 261. Married clergy ejected, 318.

Cobham, lord. See Oldcastle.

Coin of England, history of, from the Norman conquest to the reign of James I. 473, 474.

Columbus, Christopher, attempts the discovery of the West Indies, 148, 197.

Commerce of England, its state at different periods, 193—198. 461—470. State of, from the death of Elizabeth to the Revolution, 683—690.

Commonwealth of England, established, 579.

Convention, called by the prince of Orange, 672. Vote concerning the abdication and vacancy of the throne, 673. Present the declaration of rights, and place the crown on the head of the prince and princess of Orange, 674.

Covenant, explanation of, 533, 534. King Charles II. obliged to sign it before his landing in Scotland, 581.

Covenanters, a party in Scotland, so called from entering into the solemn league and covenant, 533. Insist upon the abolishment of episcopacy, 535. Send commissioners to London, 538. Their letter to the French king, 539. Their insolent demands of the English government, 541. Supported by the English parliament, 543. Who sign their covenant, 559. Enter England, 560.

Cranmer, Thomas, introduced to Henry VIII. and his advice on the affair of the divorce, 251. Made archbishop of Canterbury, 257. Favours the Reformation, 258. And pronounces the sentence of divorce, *ib.* Divorces Anne Bulleyn from Henry, 265. Dismisses his wife on account of the six articles, 271. Appointed one of the executors of Henry's will, 289. His character, 295. Invites several learned foreigners into England, 297. Imprisoned by queen Mary, 320. Recants and re-recants, then suffers death with wonderful resolution, 333.

Cromwell, Thomas, made secretary of state, 259. And vicar-general, 264. His unconstitutional proceedings, 271. Negotiates the marriage between Henry VIII. and Anne of Cleves, 272. Made earl of Essex, and soon after falls into disgrace with the king, 273. Is beheaded, 274.

—— Oliver, his declaration in regard to the famous remonstrance of the commons to Charles I. 549. Made lieutenant general of the parliament's army, and contributes to the victory of Marston-Moor, 561. Sides with the independents, *ib.* His artful conduct in the affair of the self-denying ordinance, 564. New models the army, and beats the king's forces at Ipslip, 565. His hypocrisy and dissimulation, 569. Gets the king's person into his power, 570. Threatens the parliament, 572. Defeats the Scottish army under duke Hamilton, 574. Instigates the parliament to pass the famous remonstrance, *ib.* Appointed one of the commissioners to try the king,

576. Cajoles and deceives Fairfax, 577. Made lord governor of Ireland, 580. Defeats the royalists there, 581. Is made general and commander in chief of the armies of the commonwealth, and marches against the Scots, 582. Defeats them at Dunbar, 583. And king Charles II. at Worcester, 584. Turns out the members of the house of commons, and locks up their door, 586. Calls a new parliament by his own authority, 587. Is made protector of the three kingdoms, *ib.* His conduct during his protectorship, 488—593. Falls sick, 594. His death, character, and descent, 595.

—— Richard, eldest son of Oliver, is introduced by his father to court, and made chancellor of the university of Oxford, 592. Succeeds him as protector, and is congratulated by foreign powers, 595. Is treated with contempt by the army, and betrayed by Desborow, 596. Resigns the protectorship, 597.

—— Henry, second son of Oliver, made lord lieutenant of Ireland, 562.

D.

DACRES, lord, of the North, commands at the battle of Flodden-field, 213. Burns Kelfo in Scotland, 231.

Dacres, Leonard, his rebellion against queen Elizabeth, 377, 378.

Danby, Thomas Osborn, earl of, so created, and lord high-treasurer, 625. Is prosecuted by the commons, 628. Discovers the popish plot to the parliament, 637. Is impeached of high-treason, 638. Committed to the Tower, and, in vain, pleads the king's pardon, 639. Released upon bail, 651.

Dangerfield, his meal-tub plot, 641. Is punished for perjury, and accidentally killed by one Francis, 655.

Darnley, Henry Stuart, earl of, beloved by Mary queen of Scots, 357. Married to her, 358. His ingratitude and ill conduct towards her, 359. Is murdered, 364.

Denmark, prince George of, married to the lady Anne; daughter to the duke of York, 650.

Derby, Thomas lord Stanley made earl of, 133. And high constable of England, 147.

—— Thomas, earl of, his son, commands at the siege of Terouenne, 211.

Devonshire, Thomas Courtney, earl of, conspires with Richard duke of York against Henry VI. 78. Impeached of high treason, and acquitted by his peers, 82. Joins Henry against the Yorkists; is taken prisoner by them, and beheaded, 96.

—— John Courtney, earl of, joins queen Margaret, 109. Slain in the battle of Tewksbury, 110.

—— Sir Edward Courtney, made earl of, by Henry VII. 133. Attends him in his expedition into France, 147.

—— William Courtney, earl of, marries Catherine, daughter to Edward IV. 120. Arrested by order of Henry VII. 163.

De Wit, John, grand pensionary of Holland, his character, 611. He and his brother massacred by the Dutch, 624.

Dorset, Thomas Gray, made marquis of, by Edward IV. 100. Assists in the murder of prince Edward, son to Henry VI. 110. Takes sanctuary with his mother, Elizabeth, widow of king Edward IV. 122. Escapes over to France, and joins the earl of Richmond, 127. Left hostage in France, 129. Released by Henry VII. 135. Committed to the Tower, 139. But set at liberty again, and sent ambassador to the pope, 140. Attends Henry VII. in his French expedition, 147.

—— Thomas Gray, his son, a favourite of Henry VIII. 205. Made general of the Spanish expedition, 206. Is imposed upon by king Ferdinand, and returns to England, 207. Made general under king Henry in his French expedition, 210. Attends the princess Mary to France, 214.

—— Henry Gray, his son, made duke of Suffolk. See Suffolk.

Douglas, Archibald, earl of, made duke of Torrueine, in France, 33. Killed in the battle of Vernueil, 34.

Drake, Sir Francis, account of him and his voyage round the world, 398, 399. His unsuccessful expedition to the Spanish West-Indies; and death, 426.

Dudley, Edmund, one of the wicked tools of Henry VII. 162. Account of his illegal practices, 192. Is tried, condemned, and executed, under Henry VIII. 200.

—— lord Guildford, son to the duke of Northumberland; his marriage with the lady Jane Grey; and death, 313, 326.

Dudley

Dudley, Sir Robert (his brother) made gentleman of the bed-chamber to Edward VI. 308. A favorite of queen Elizabeth, 348. Created earl of Leicester, 355. See Leicester

Dunkirk taken and delivered to the English, 595. Sold to the French by king Charles II. 609

Dutch first become a free people, 499

E.

EAST-India company first established, 433. Its charter and proceedings, 467, 468. Encouraged by James I. 493. See Commerce

Edinburgh, city of, burnt by the earl of Hertford, 281

Edward IV. elected king, 94. Begins his reign by an execution, 95. Defeats queen Margaret at Towton, 96. Is crowned: his speech in parliament, 97. His cruel proscriptions, *ib.* His popularity and alliances with foreign princes, 99, 100. Marries the lady Elizabeth Gray, 100. Strengthens himself by several foreign alliances, 101—103. Disobliges his brother Clarence and the earl of Warwick, who plot against him, 102. Marches in person against the rebels, 104. Is defeated by the marquis of Montagu, and obliged to fly to Flanders, 106. Returns to England: his dissimulation and success, 107. Marches against the earl of Warwick, and is reconciled to his brother Clarence, 108. Received into London, and gains the battle of Barnet, 109. And that of Tewkesbury, in which he takes prisoners queen Margaret and her son prince Edward, 110. His inhuman usage of the young prince, *ib.* Suppresses the rebellion of the bastard of Fauconbridge, 111. Demands the earls of Pembroke and Richmond from the duke of Brittany, but refused, 112. His treaty with the duke of Burgundy to invade France, 113. Enters France: finds himself deceived by the duke of Burgundy, 114. Has an interview with Lewis XI. and concludes the treaty of Perquigny, 115. Returns to England: again strives to get the young earl of Richmond into his power, but is again baffled, 116. Orders his brother Clarence to be accused and committed to the Tower, 117. Prolongs the truce with France, and makes war upon the Scots, 118, 119. His death, character, issue, and the remarkable occurrences of his reign, 120

— V. born, 106. Made prince of Wales, 117. State of affairs at his father's death, 121. Is forcibly taken from the earl Rivers by his uncle the duke of Gloucester, 122. Removed to the Tower with his brother, 123. His throne usurped by the protector, 125. And himself and brother murdered, 126, and *nt.* Declared illegitimate by the parliament under Richard III. 128. Account of his death published by Henry VII. 150.

— VI. born, 268. Proposed to be married to the princess Mary of Scotland, 278. Has the crown settled upon him by parliament, 281. Accedes to the crown on the death of his father Henry VIII. 292. A friend to the reformed religion, 295. Is imposed upon by the lord Thomas Seymour, lord high admiral of England, 298. Takes part with his uncle the duke of Somerset, but is obliged to give him up, 304. Is incensed against his sister the princess Mary, 307. Contracted to the lady Elizabeth of France, 308. Orders different translations of the Common-Prayer, 311. Alters the order of the Garter, and falls sick, 312. Settles the crown on lady Jane Grey, 313. His death, character, and pious donations, 314, 315

— prince, son of Henry VI. born, 80. Goes to France with his mother, 96. His surprizing escape after the battle of Higham, 99. Marries Anne Nevil, daughter of the earl of Warwick, 105. Lands in England with queen Margaret, his mother, 109. Loses the battle of Tewkesbury, 110. And is inhumanly murdered, *ib.*

— son of Richard III. made prince of Wales, 126. And declared heir to the crown, 128. His death, 129

Elizabeth, princess (afterwards queen) daughter to Henry VIII. born, 259, *nt.* Proposed to be married to the duke of Angoulême, 263. Her situation after her mother's death, 265. Suspected by her sister queen Mary, and put under arrest, 326. Released at the intercession of Philip king of Spain, 329. Succeeds her sister Mary on the throne, 341. Her prudent conduct at her accession, 342. Crowned, 343. Her speech upon being solicited to marry, *ib.* Restores the protestant religion, and makes peace with France, 345. Assists the Scottish protestants, 346. Makes the treaty of Edinburgh, 347. Rejects the offers of the pope, and several proposals of marriage from

foreign princes, 348. Is solicited to marry by several of her own subjects, *ib.* Her harsh conduct to Mary queen of Scots, 350. Her assiduity in affairs of government, 351. Assists the French Huguenots, 352. Makes a treaty with the French court, 355. Her great regard for the earl of Leicester, whom she proposes as an husband to Mary queen of Scots, 356. Her exquisite dissimulation, 358. Her marriage debated in council, *ib.* Stands godmother to the son of Mary queen of Scots, afterwards James I. 362. Her sharp answer to the parliament concerning a successor, 363. Demands the rendition of Calais, 367. Finally rejects the marriage with the archduke Charles, and settles a treaty of commerce with the czar of Muscovy, 368. Espouses the cause of the French Huguenots, 369. Detains Mary queen of Scots prisoner, 370. Refuses her admittance to her presence, but sends commissioners to treat with the Scottish rebels in her behalf, 371. Differs with Spain, 372. Her conduct with regard to the proceedings against Mary, 373, 374, &c. Enters into a connection with the earl of Murray, and others of Mary's rebels, 375. Saves her secretary, Cecil, from being impeached, and confines the duke of Norfolk for his practices with Mary queen of Scots, 376. Two rebellions against her, but both crushed, 377, 378. Sets the duke of Norfolk at liberty, and assists the Huguenots with money, 378. Sends an army into Scotland, 379. Is excommunicated by the pope, *ib.* Offers Mary her liberty, and on what terms, 380. They are rejected, and she assists the rebel party in Ireland, *ib.* Names the Royal Exchange, 384. Orders the Spanish ambassador to quit the kingdom, and signs the warrant for the duke of Norfolk's execution, 385. Her dissimulation with queen Mary, and with the court of France, 386, 387. Assists the prince of Orange and the Dutch protestants, 388. Listens to the match with the duke of Alençon, and supports the rebel faction in Scotland, *ib.* Sends the earl of Essex to Ireland, 390. Endeavours to get the person of James, prince of Scotland, into her hands, 391. Receives a deputation from the states of Holland and Zealand, 392. Procures an advantageous peace for the French Huguenots, 393. Assists the Dutch with forces, and exercises great severity over the papists at home, 394. Treats of the alliance with the duke of Anjou, and on what terms, 397. Sends Drake out on his voyage round the world, 398. Her arbitrary dealings with her parliament, 399. Her reception of the duke of Anjou, and her artful disengagement from that match, 400, 401. Exasperated against queen Mary, and cruel treatment of her, 404, 405. Empowered by parliament to name a successor, 405. Discovers a conspiracy against her life, 406. Makes a treaty with the Dutch states, and assists the French Huguenots, 407. Is excommunicated by pope Sixtus V. 408. Another plot against her life detected, 409. Makes a private league with James of Scotland, 410. And appoints commissioners to try Mary queen of Scots, 411. Her hypocrisy in that affair, 412. Signs the warrant for her execution, 413. Her letter to James, and base usage of secretary Davison, 415, and *nt.* Sends Drake to burn the Spanish plate fleet, 415. Prepares for an approaching invasion from Spain, 416. Her fleet destroys the invincible armada, 417. She distresses the Spanish trade, 420, 421, 422. Has a dispute with king James of Scotland, 423. Excites an insurrection there, 424. Her letter to the French king on turning papist, *ib.* Sends the earl of Essex, admiral Howard, and others, to destroy Cadiz, 426. Deceived by Henry IV. of France, 428. Sends an embassy to reproach Henry of France, and makes a treaty of alliance with the Dutch, 429. Strikes the earl of Essex at the council-board, 430. Sends him over lord lieutenant of Ireland; but greatly incensed at his conduct there, recalls him, and orders him into confinement, 431. Sets him at liberty, 432. Signs the warrant for his execution, 435. Repeals several monopolies at the request of her parliament, *ib.* Intirely subdues the rebel Irish, 436. Falls sick, 437. Nominates James VI. of Scotland her Successor, *ib.* Her death and character, 438. Remarkable occurrences of her reign, 439.

Elizabeth Woodville, widow of Sir John Gray, married to Edward IV. 100. Takes sanctuary with the duke of York and her daughters, 122. Accused of witchcraft by the protector, 123. Her children declared illegitimate, 134. Agrees to marry her daughter Elizabeth to the earl of Richmond, 127. Is prevailed upon by king Richard to leave the sanctuary and deliver up her children, 129. Suspected of encouraging the plot of Lambert Simnel, and

is shut up in the monastery of Bermondsey, by her son-in-law Henry VIII. 138.
 Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV. betrothed to Charles VIII. dauphin of France, 114. The marriage put off by Lewis XI. 118. Takes sanctuary in Westminster-Abbey with her mother, 122. Proposed to be married to Henry earl of Richmond, 127. Asked in marriage by Richard III. 129. Is set at liberty after the battle of Bosworth, 133. And married to Henry VII. 135. Crowned, 140. Her death, 163.
 — daughter of king Charles I. dies in confinement, 586
 Empson, Richard, one of Henry VII.'s wicked tools, his character, 162. Account of his illegal practices, 192. Is tried, condemned, and executed, under Henry VIII. 200
 England, one of the chief nations, and placed before Spain by the council of Constance, 171. Monarchy abolished, and its government changed into a commonwealth, 578, 579. Monarchy restored, 603—605
 Essex, Henry Bouchier made earl of, by Edward IV. 97
 — earl of, Henry Bouchier (his grandson) commands under Henry VIII. in France, 211, n*
 — Thomas Cromwell created earl of, by Henry VIII. 273
 — Lord Par made earl of, by Henry VIII. 280
 — earl of, Walter Devereux, so created by queen Elizabeth, 385. Sent to Ireland, 390. His difficulties there, 391. Trial and death, 393
 — Robert earl of, (his son) his expedition to Portugal, 419. Commands the English auxiliaries in the Low Countries, 421. His expedition against Cadiz, and success there, 427. Returns to England and is disgusted with the court, 427. His unsuccessful voyage to the Western Islands, 428. Is made marshal of England, ib. Receives a blow from Elizabeth, 430. His resentment and submission, ib. Is sent against Tyrone in Ireland, 431. Falls into disgrace with Elizabeth, who confines him, ib. Is tried and cashiered, but receives indulgence from the queen, 432. Rebels against her, 433. Surrenders, 434. His death and character, 435
 — earl of, (his son) his marriage with the lady Frances Howard, 495. And divorce, 496. Sent by Charles I. with a fleet to make an attempt upon the coast of Spain, but miscarries, 515. Made general of the parliament forces against king Charles I. 552. But is not hearty in their cause, 556. But still refuses to betray them, 560. Resigns his command, 564. His death, 569
 Exchange, Royal, when and by whom built, 384. Rebuilt, 616, n*
 Exeter besieged by Perken Warbeck, and the Cornish insurgents, 156. Its brave defence, ib. Its mayor presented by Henry VII. with his own sword, 157
 — duke of, Thomas Beaufort, commands at the battle of Agincourt, while marquis of Dorset, 10. Created duke by Henry V. 15. Appointed governor of Paris, 25. His character, 29. And death, 30
 — John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, duke of, so created by Henry VI. 67. Commands that king's forces at the battle of Wakefield, 92. Escapes from the battle of Towton, 96. Desperately wounded in the battle of Barnet, 109. Found dead on the sea-shore, 112
 — marquis of, Henry Courtney, beheaded, 269

F.

FAIRFAX, Sir Thomas, (son to the lord Fairfax) sides with Cromwell, and is made general of the parliament's army, in the room of the earl of Essex, 564. Gains the battle of Naseby over king Charles, 565. Crushes the royalists in the West of England, 566. His father dying he becomes lord Fairfax, and quiets a rising of the royalists in Kent, 573. Declines sitting as one of the king's judges, and his lady's behaviour at the trial, 576, and n*. Forms a design to rescue the king, but is outwitted by Cromwell, 577. Resigns his command, which is bestowed upon Cromwell, 582. Raises forces to oppose the Rump parliament, 600. Dies, 622, n*
 Fisher, bishop of Rochester, found guilty of misprision of treason, 259. Refuses the oaths of succession and supremacy, 260. Is tried, condemned, and beheaded, 262
 Fitzwalter, lord, rebels against Henry VII. 149. Beheaded at Calais, 151
 Fleetwood, colonel, made deputy of Ireland, in the room of Ireton, 585. Recalled, and Henry Cromwell sent in
 Vol. II.

his room, 592. Promises loyalty to Richard Cromwell, 595. Is voted commander in chief of all the commonwealth forces, 597. Is removed from that command by an act of the junto, 599
 Flemings expelled England by Henry VII. 150
 Fox, Richard, bishop of Exeter, made lord privy-seal by Henry VII. 135. Introduces Wolsey to king Henry VIII. 201. Retires from court, 217
 — Edward, sent to Rome concerning the divorce, 243. And to the princes of the Smalcaldic league, 263
 Frederic V. elector palatine, marries Elizabeth, daughter to James I. 495. Elected king of Bohemia, 502. His troubles, and treatment from James, 503, 504. Is stripped of all his dominions, 506. Dies, 528

G.

GARDINER, Stephen, sent to Rome about the divorce, 243. Made bishop of Winchester, 256. An enemy to the reformation, and persecutor of the protestants, 286. Is in disgrace with Henry VIII. who strikes him out of his will, 287. Imprisoned under Edward VI. 297. Set at liberty by queen Mary, who makes him lord high chancellor, 318. Crowns queen Mary, 321. His cruelty to the protestants, 330, &c. His death and character, 335
 Gloucester, Humphrey Plantagenet, duke of, his life saved by his brother Henry V. at the battle of Agincourt, 12. His character 29. Appointed protector, and made lord chamberlain and high constable of England, 30. Marries Jacquilina of Brabant, 35. His dispute with the bishop of Winchester, ib. and 36. Attempts to get his power enlarged, but without success, 39. Misuses the cardinal bishop of Winchester, 44. His protectorship declared void by parliament, 45. Suppresses Mandevill's rebellion, and again attacks the bishop of Winchester, 50. Made governor of Calais, 55, n*. Obliges the duke of Burgundy to abandon the siege of that place, 57. His duchess prosecuted for necromancy, 64. Opposes the release of the duke of Orleans, 61—63. Removed from the council: his arrest and death, 68, 69
 — duke of, Richard Plantagenet, brother to Edward IV. so created by that king, 97. Commands at the battle of Barnet, 109. And that of Tewkesbury, 110. Accused of murdering king Henry VI. but groundlessly, 111. His intrigues against the duke of Clarence, in whose death he is said to have assisted, 117. Commands an army against the Scots, 119. Gains the old nobility to his interest, 121. Gets young king Edward V. into his hands, and causes himself to be declared protector, 122. Obliges the queen dowager to deliver up the duke of York, whom, with his brother Edward, he sends to the Tower, 123. Accuses the queen of witchcraft, and causes lord Hastings to be put to death, ib. and 124. Gets himself elected king by the intrigues of the duke of Buckingham, 124, 125. See Richard III.
 Godfrey, Sir Edmundbury, account of his murder, 636, and n*.
 Guise, Francis, duke of, retakes Calais from the English, 340. Opposes the Huguenots, but is slain at the siege of Orleans, 352—354
 — Henry, duke of, his character, 393. Is head of the league against the protestants in France, ib. Assassinated by order of Henry III. 419
 Gunpowder plot, account of that bloody conspiracy, 485—487

H.

HAMILTON, duke of, is made high commissioner for the Scotch affairs, 534. His integrity suspected, 536. Appointed general of the Scottish army, raised for the rescue of king Charles, 572. Enters England, but is defeated by Cromwell and taken prisoner, 513, 574. Beheaded, 580
 Hastings, lord, joins Edward IV. against the earl of Warwick, 106. Has a command at the battle of Barnet, 109. Has a pension from Lewis XI. of France, 115, n*. His attachment to the family of Edward IV. 123. Is beheaded by order of Richard III. 124.
 Henry V. succeeds his father, and removes the body of Richard II. to Westminster, 3. His severity against the Lollards, 4. Suppresses Sir John Oldcastle's rebellion, 5. Concludes treaties with the crown of Castile and duke of Brit-

Brittany, 6. Is addressed by his parliament to make war against France, 8. Gives audience to the ambassador of that kingdom: makes great preparations for the war, and appoints the duke of Bedford regent of the kingdom, *ib.* Suppresses a dangerous conspiracy against him, 9. Lands in Normandy, and takes Harfleur, 10. Farther progress in France, 11, 12. Gains the battle of Agincourt, 13. Returns to England, *ib.* Receives the emperor Sigismund: magnificently bestows on him the order of the Garter, and makes a treaty of alliance with him, 14. Makes an agreement with the duke of Burgundy, 15. Invades France a second time, and takes Caen and many other places in Normandy, 16. His offer to the dauphin, 17. His farther progress in Normandy, and conference with the queen of France, &c. 18—20. Concludes the treaty of Troyes, and marries the princess Catherine of France, 21—23. Makes a magnificent entry into Paris, 24. Settles that government, and returns to England with his queen, 25. His last expedition into France, and success against the dauphin, 26. His last sickness, speech, and death, 27. His character, issue, and remarkable occurrences of his reign, 28.

Henry VI. born, 26. Succeeds his father, 29. Is proclaimed king of France, 31. Knighted by the duke of Bedford, 38. Is crowned at Westminster, 45. And at Paris, 48. In danger at Rouen, and returns to England, 50. Loses Paris, 56. Appoints the duke of York lieutenant of France, 57. Marries Margaret of Anjou, 67. Gives up Anjou and Maine, 70. Loses all Normandy, 76. And all other possessions of the English in France, 79. Defeated by the Yorkists, and taken prisoner, 82. Appoints the duke of York protector of the realm, but afterwards resumes the government, 83. His agreement with the Yorkists, 84, 85. Is taken prisoner at the battle of Northampton, 89. His compromise with the duke of York, 91. End of his reign: issue, character, and remarkable occurrence, 94. Flies to Scotland, 96. Again defeated at the battle of Higham, 99. Is taken prisoner and confined in the Tower, *ib.* Restored by the earl of Warwick, 106. But confined again by Edward IV. 108. Loses the battle of Tewkesbury, and his son murdered, 110. His death, 111. His body removed to Westminster-Abbey by Henry VII. 164.

— VII. his genealogy and title to the crown, 132, 133. Removes the earl of Warwick to the Tower, and sets the princess Elizabeth at liberty, 133. His entry into London, *ib.* Institutes the guard of yeomen, and issues a general pardon, 134. Abolishes liveries and retainers, and makes a progress into the North, 135. Promotes commerce and manufactures, 137. Erects the court of Star-Chamber, 138. Confines the queen mother, and exposes the earl of Warwick's person publicly, *ibid.* Gains the battle of Stoke against the impostor Lambert Simnel, 139. Concludes a truce with Scotland, and has his queen crowned, 140. His treaty with Anne of Brittany, 142. Renews his title to the crown of France, 144. Invades that kingdom, 147. And concludes the treaty of Estaples, 148. Perken Warbeck sets up against him, 148, &c. He publishes an account of the deaths of Edward V. and his brother Richard duke of York, 150. And of the birth and origin of Perkin, *ib.* Expels the Flemings out of England, and makes a truce with the Scots, *ib.* Gains over Sir Robert Clifford, settles the government of Ireland, and causes Sir W. Stanley to be arrested, 151. And beheaded, 152. His avarice and severity, *ib.* Quiets the Cornish rebellion, 155. Receives a consecrated sword from the pope, 156. Gives his own sword to the mayor of Exeter, and receives Perken into mercy, 157. But afterwards puts him to death, 158. As also the earl of Warwick, 159. Contracts his daughter Margaret to James IV. of Scotland, 158. Chosen protector of the knights of Rhodes, 159. Has an interview with Philip archduke of Austria, *ib.* And makes a treaty of perpetual alliance with Scotland, 161. His avaricious exactions and inhospitality to the earl of Oxford, 162. Sends the princess Margaret to Scotland, 163. Contracts prince Henry to his brother's widow, 164. Removes the body of Henry VI. to Westminster-Abbey, *ib.* Supports Ferdinand king of Spain: wants to marry the queen dowager of Naples, 165. His interview with Philip of Austria at Windsor, whom he makes a knight of the Garter, and receives from him the order of the Golden Fleece, 166. Confines the earl of Suffolk in the Tower, *ib.* Contracts his daughter Mary to

Charles V. 167. Amass's immense treasures, *ib.* His death, character, and pompous funeral, 168. His issue, and remarkable occurrences of his reign, 169.

Henry VIII. born, 148. Made lord lieutenant of Ireland when only two years of age, 151. And duke of York and warden of the Scottish marches, 152. Made prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester, 162. Contracted to his brother's widow, the princess Catherine of Spain, 164. Their marriage celebrated, 165. Succeeds his father, 168. Is crowned, 200. Consummates his marriage with Catherine of Arragon, *ib.* Renews the treaties subsisting between his father and other potentates of Europe, 201, 202. Enters into an agreement with Ferdinand king of Arragon against France, 203. Espouses the cause of the pope, 204. Resolves to prosecute the war against France, 205. Is the first king who establishes a royal navy-office, dock-yard, &c. 206. Sends an army into Spain to assist Ferdinand, who imposes upon him, as do also the emperor and the pope, 207. Tries to prevent a rupture with Scotland, 208. Prepares to pass into France, 210. Puts the earl of Suffolk to death, and transports his troops to Calais, 211. Takes Terouenne, and gains the battle of the Spurs, *ib.* Concludes the treaty of Lisle and returns to England, 212. Gives a loose to diversions, 213. Makes several promotions of noblemen, and concludes a peace with France: marries his sister Mary to Lewis XII. 214. Renews his alliance with Francis I. 215. With whom he soon after becomes disgusted, 216. Dismisses some of his old counsellors in favour of Wolsey, to whom he gives the great seal, 217. And supports him in his opinion for a war with France, 218. Maximilian offers to resign the empire to him, *ib.* Makes a league with the emperor, and Charles of Austria, 219. Endeavours to have the duke of Albany removed from the regency of Scotland, but not succeeding, makes a truce with the regent, 220. Founds the College of Physicians, 224. His interview with the emperor Charles V. at Dover, 225. And with Francis I. at Ardres in France, 226. Has the title of Defender of the Faith, 227. Puts the duke of Buckingham to death, 228. Declares war against France, and has an interview with the emperor at Windsor, whom he creates knight of the Garter, and makes a treaty with him, 229, 230. Borrows money of the city of London, and exacts a loan from the rest of his subjects, 230. Enters into a league with the princes of the continent against Francis I. 232. Writes to the emperor to assist Wolsey in obtaining the popedom, 234. Makes peace with Scotland, *ib.* Resolves to support Francis against the emperor, 236. Checks Wolsey, and on what account, 237. Falls in love with Anne Boleyn, 241. And seeks to be divorced from queen Catherine, 242. Declares war against the emperor, 244. Threatens the pope, 246. Disappointed by Campejo in the affair of his divorce, 249. His protestation against his marrying with Catherine when prince of Wales, 248, and *n^o.* Resolves the ruin of Wolsey, 249. Orders that minister to be arrested, 252. His sentiments in respect to religion, 261. Unites Wales to England, 263. Orders a visitation of the monasteries, 264. Has his queen, Anne Boleyn, condemned and beheaded, 265. Marries Jane Seymour, *ib.* Becomes arbitrary and cruel, 267. Resolves to suppress all religious houses, 268. Is excommunicated by pope Paul III. 269. Passes the Six Articles into a law, 270. His severity to cardinal Pole's relations, 269—271. Marries Anne of Cleves, whom he dislikes, 272. Is divorced from her, 274. Marries Catherine Howard, 275. Causes her to be beheaded, 277. Declared by parliament king of Ireland, *ib.* Marries Catherine Parr, 280. Settles the succession, 281. Goes with an army to France, and takes Boulogne, 282. Returns to England, and puts the sea-coast in a posture of defence, 283. His speech to the Commons, and has the colleges given him, 284. Is inclined to ruin his queen, but is reconciled to her, 287. His severity to the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Surry his son, 288. His will, 289. Death, character, and funeral ceremony, 290. His issue, and remarkable occurrences of his reign, 291, &c.

— son of James I. created prince of Wales, 491. His death and character, 495.

Holles, Denzil, an active opposer of the royal authority, is impeached by the king, 550.

Hooper, bishop, ousted from his see of Worcester, 318. His sufferings and character, 331.

Howard, lord John. See Norfolk.

Howard,

Howard, Sir Edward, son to the earl of Surry, defeats the Scottish pirate Barton, 203. Engages the French fleet, but is defeated and slain, 210
 — Sir Thomas (his elder brother) succeeds the former as high admiral, 210. Made earl of Surry, 214. See Surry
 — Catherine. See Catherine
 — lord Thomas, imprisoned in the Tower for attempting to marry the lady Margaret Douglas, 266
 — Charles lord, of Effingham, made lord high admiral of England, 417. Is created earl of Nottingham, 427. See Nottingham
 Hyde, Sir Edward, defends the liturgy of the church of England in the House of Commons, 548. Impeached by the cabal, and obliged to retire from England, 616. His death, 627, n*

I.

JAMAICA taken by the English, 590
 James I. king of Scotland, succeeds to the crown of England, 480. Meets his first parliament, and his extraordinary speech at opening it, 483. Powder plot against him discovered and defeated, 486. Inclined to favour the Catholics, 488. His state trick to get a large supply from parliament, ib. Proposes an union between England and Scotland, which the parliament rejects, 489. His ways to raise money complained of by parliament, 490, 497. Maliciously accused of poisoning his son prince Henry, 495. Marries his daughter Elizabeth to the elector Palatine, ib. Calls a parliament, but presently after dissolves it, 497. Goes to Scotland, 500. Writes and publishes the Book of Sports, ib. His behaviour towards his son-in-law, the elector Palatine, 502. Upon ill terms with his parliament, 504. His despotic answer to their remonstrance, 505. Negotiates a match for his son Charles with the infanta of Spain, 507. Negotiates another match with the princess Henrietta of France, 510. His death and character, 511
 — II. succeeds to the crown of England on the death of his brother king Charles II. 654. Goes publicly to mass the first Sunday after his accession, ib. Is crowned: his speech to the parliament, 655, 656. Crushes the duke of Monmouth's rebellion, but makes a cruel use of his success, 657, 658. His arbitrary speech to the parliament, and open encouragement of Catholics, 658, 659. Publishes a declaration for liberty of conscience throughout his dominions, 661. His tyrannical proceedings towards the two Universities, 662. His dealings with the prince of Orange in relation to the repeal of the Test-Act, and his disappointment, 663. Sends seven bishops to the Tower, 664. His son (since called the Pretender) born, ib. Meets with a rebuff from the army, 665. Is informed of the prince of Orange's preparations for a descent in England, and rejects the offers of Lewis XIV. 666. Revokes several unpopular acts, 667. His insincerity, 668. In vain attempts to gain the bishops on his side, ib. Is deserted by his principal nobles and his own children, 669. Proposals made him by the prince of Orange, ib. Sends away his queen and son, and afterwards withdraws himself in disguise, 670. Is discovered and brought back, but escapes again and goes over to France, 671. His issue, ib. His throne declared vacant, 673
 Jane Grey, lady, account of her descent, family, and marriage, 313. She is nominated by Edward VI. his successor, ib. Her character, 315. Proclaimed queen, 316. Deposed, 317. And imprisoned in the Tower, 318. Tried and condemned as a traitor, 322. And executed in the Tower, 326
 Jefferies, lord chief justice, sent to try the rebels in the West, and his cruelties there, 658. Sent to the Tower, where he dies of the bruises he received from the populace in attempting to make his escape, 670
 Independents, account of their rise, character, and appellation, 542, 563, n*. Are encouraged by Cromwell, ib.
 Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, made lieutenant of Ireland, 581. Dies there, 585
 Juxon, bishop, his preferment, 530. Refuses to give his vote to the attainder of the earl of Strafford, and his advice to the king on that subject, 548. Attends king Charles I. on the scaffold, 578

K.

KENTISH men, rebellion of, under Jack Cade: its rise, progress, and suppression, 75, 76
 Kirk, colonel, his brutality in the West, 657, 658, and n*.
 Knights of the Bath, made by Richard III. 126
 — Bannerets, created by Henry VII. 133, n†

Knights of Rhodes, chuse Henry VII. for their protector, 159
 — of St. John of Jerusalem suppressed, 273, n*
 — of the Bath and Carpet, made by Edward VI. 293. Their names, ib. n†
 — Baronets, first created by king James I. 497

L.

LANE, Mrs. instrumental in the escape of Charles II. 585
 Latimer, bishop, sent to the Tower by queen Mary, 320. His sufferings, death, and character, 332. Farther account of him, 445
 Laud, bishop, encourages king Charles in his high notions of prerogative, 526. Accompanies the king to Scotland, and his conduct there in ecclesiastical matters, 529. Presses the English Liturgy upon the church of Scotland: consequences of that proceeding, 532, 533, &c. Is impeached by the Commons, 544. And sent to the Tower, 545. Is beheaded, 560
 Lauderdale, duke of, his character, 618. One of the cabal, 619. The commons address against him, 627. His death, 647
 Lollards, their rebellion under Sir John Oldcastle, 5. Cruelly persecuted by Henry V. 7, 17. Farther account of them, 172, 173
 Lovel, lord, a firm friend to Richard III. 130. Escapes from Bosworth-field, 131. Raises a rebellion against Henry VII. but is obliged to fly, 135. Joins Lambert Simnel, and commands in the battle of Stokefield, 139. His supposed fate, ib. n*
 Luther, Martin, his first appearance, 221. Preaches against indulgences, and burns the pope's bull, 221, 222. Farther account of him, 440, 441

M.

MARGARET of Anjou married to Henry VI. 67. Cabals with the duke of York, the marquis of Suffolk, and others, against the duke of Gloucester, 68. Gains the battle of Wakefield, 92. And the second of St. Alban's, 93
 Mary, princess, afterwards queen, (daughter of Hen. VIII.) born, 218. Betrothed to the dauphin of France, 222. Proposed to be married to the emperor, 230. Opposes the Reformation, 296, 297. Attempts made to bring her to own the reformed religion, 305. Refuses to lay aside the mass in her family, and endeavours to escape out of the kingdom, 307. Escapes the trap laid for her by Northumberland, 315. Assisted by the people of Norfolk and Suffolk, who proclaim her queen, 316. Brought to London and proclaimed, 317. Crowned, 321. Imprisons her sister Elizabeth: restores popery, 327, 328, 329, &c. Married to Philip of Spain, 328. Her cruelty to the protestants, 333, 334. Her death and character, 341
 — queen of Scots born, 278. Sent to France, 300. Married to the dauphin, 339. Makes the treaty of Edinburgh with queen Elizabeth, 347. Married to lord Darnley, 358. Her character suffers on account of Rizzio the musician, 356, 359. Delivered of a son, afterwards James I. of England, 361. Married to the earl of Bothwell, 364. Loses the battle of Langside and flies into England, where she is detained by queen Eliz. 370. Terms offered her by Eliz. which she rejects, 380. Persecuted violently by the English parliament, 391. Charged with being privy to Babington's plot, 409. Her trial and condemnation, 411, 412. Is beheaded, 414. Her character, ib. Her body removed to Westminster with great pomp, by her son James I. 494
 Monmouth, duke of, banished by his father, 641. Returns and raises cabals, 642, 643. Takes arms against James II. and gets himself proclaimed king, 656. Defeated, taken prisoner, and beheaded, 657
 Montrose, marquis of, general for king Charles I. in Scotland, his success, 562—567. Obligated to fly, 568. Ignominiously executed, 581
 Montagu, John Nevil created viscount of, by Edw. IV. 97.
 More, Sir Thomas, refuses to take the oath of supremacy, 260. Tried, condemned, and executed, 262
 Morton, Dr. John, bishop of Ely, seized and committed to prison by the duke of Gloucester, 124. Plots with Buckingham to place the earl of Richmond on the throne, 127.
 — earl of, James Douglas, concerned in the murder of Rizzio, 359. Imprisons queen Mary at Lochleven, 365. Chosen regent of Scotland, 388. Resigns the regency, 396. Imprisoned, tried, and put to death, ibid.

N.

NORFOLK, duke of, John Mowbray, and earl marshal, so created by Henry VI. 136. Joins with the duke of York against Henry VI. 78.

— John, lord Howard, the first of that name, created duke of, by Richard III. 125. Attainted by Henry VII. 134.

— Thomas Howard, his son, created earl of Surry in his father's life time by Richard III. 125. Made prisoner at the battle of Bosworth, 131. Attainted by Henry VII. 134. Received into favour, and employed against the Yorkshire rebels, 136. And against the Scots, 155.

— Thomas Howard, duke of, succeeds his father, 233. Appointed lord high steward for the trial of Anne Boleyn, 265. Sent against the Yorkshire rebels, 267. And against the Scots, 278. Attainted by the court, and accused by his own duchess and mistress, 287, 288. His confession and condemnation, 289. His life saved by the death of Henry VIII. ib. Released by queen Mary, 318. And made lord high steward, 319. Marches against the rebel Wyatt, but is deserted by the Londoners, 325. His death, 328.

— Thomas Howard, duke of, his grandson, sent by queen Elizabeth to assist the protestants in Scotland, 346. Enters into a treaty of marriage with Mary queen of Scots, 376. For which he is confined by Elizabeth, 377. but afterwards set at liberty, 378.

Northumberland, earl of, Henry Percy, son of the Hotspur Percy, restored to his honours and estates, 9.

— earl of, Henry Percy, killed in the battle of Towten, fighting for king Henry VI. 96.

— Henry Percy, restored to his family honours and estates, 113. Attends Edward IV. to France, 114.

— Henry Percy, his engagement with Anne Boleyn, 241. n*. Arrests cardinal Wolsey, 250.

— Thomas Percy, earl of, 338, n*. Raises a rebellion against queen Elizabeth, 377. But is defeated, and flies to Scotland, where he is imprisoned, ib. Is delivered up to Elizabeth, and beheaded, 382.

— John Dudley, duke of, so created by Edward VI. 308. His views upon the crown, ib. His illegal proceedings against the duke of Somerset, 309. Models the parliament, 312. Persuades king Edward to alter the succession, 313. Proclaims his daughter-in-law, the lady Jane Grey, queen, 316. Is deserted by the council, disbands his army, and submits to Mary, 317. His dastardly behaviour, 318. Is imprisoned, ib. Tried, 319. Condemned and executed, 320.

— Algernon Percy, earl of, dies; and with him the ancient family of the Percy's becomes extinct, 617, n*.

O.

OVERBURY, Sir Thomas, account of his murder, 496, 498.

Oxford, earl of, John Vere, his death and character, 97.

— John Vere, earl of, his mistake at the battle of Barnet the occasion of losing it, 109. Fortifies himself, and bids defiance to Edward IV. 112. Commands at the battle of Bosworth, 131. And at Stokefield, against Lambert Simnel, 139.

Orange, William II. prince of, married to the princess Mary, daughter of Charles I. 544.

Orange, William III. prince of, afterwards king of England, chosen stadtholder by the Dutch in their distrels, 624. Opposes Lewis XIV. and his generals, 625, 626. Comes to England, and is married to the princess Mary, daughter to James duke of York, 632. King James endeavours to bring him into his measures, and his opinion of repealing the Test act, 663. Is invited over by the English, 665. His preparations for making a descent here, 666. His manifesto, 667. Lands at Torbay, 668. Advances to Salisbury, ib. The lord-mayor, &c. invite him to London, 670. Arrives at Windsor, and his behaviour to king James, ib. and 671. Takes the administration upon him, 672. His speech to the convention, ib. Insists upon being king for life, 673. Is declared so by the convention, by the name of William III. 674.

P.

PHILIP, prince of (afterwards Philip II. king of) Spain, proposed as a husband for queen Mary, 323. Comes to England and espouses her, 328.

Pole, cardinal, appointed the pope's legate in England, at the request of queen Mary, 322. Made archbishop of Canterbury, 335. His death, 340.

Popish plot, in Charles II's reign, history of it, 636—638,

Post horses and stages, when first established, 127.

Printing, by whom first brought into England, 193. Forwards the reformation, 221.

Pymm, Mr. is sent to the lords with an impeachment against the earl of Strafford, 543. One of the five members impeached by the king, 550. His death, 560.

R.

RALEIGH, Sir Walter, sent on an expedition against the Spanish settlements, 422. His expedition to Guiana, 425. His gallant behaviour at the taking of Cadiz, 427. Farther account of him, and his discoveries, 466, 467. Imprisoned by James I. tried and condemned, 482. Obtains liberty, and is sent out on new discoveries, 500. Proves unfortunate, returns home, and is put to death, 501.

Revolution, history of, and the several steps taken to bring about the same, 665—672.

Richard III. his title and accession to the crown, 124, 125. Is crowned, and orders the murder of his nephews, 126.

Raises an army against the earl of Richmond, but is deserted, 130. And loses the battle of Bosworth, and his life, 131. Attainted by Henry VII's first parliament, 134.

Richmond, earl of, Edward Tudor, of Hadham, so created by Henry VI. 82.

— Earl of, Henry Tudor, his son, goes to Brittany with the earl of Pembroke his uncle, 111. See Henry VII. Ridley, bishop, imprisoned in the Tower by queen Mary 318. His sufferings, death, and character, 332.

Roan, or Rouen, in France, besieged by the English under Henry V. 17. Surrenders to him, 18. Surrendered to the French by the duke of Somerset, 72.

Rupert, prince, son of the elector Palatine, comes over to England with his brother Maurice, 553. See Charles I.

Russel, lord, eldest son of the earl of Bedford, his trial, condemnation, and death, 649.

S.

SEYMOUR, lord Thomas, one of the council to Edward VI. 292. Made a peer, 293. Created lord high admiral of England, 298. Is impeached, condemned, and executed, 301.

Shrewsbury, earl of, John Talbot, so created by Henry VI. 65. Made governor of Guienne, and slain, with his eldest son, at the battle of Bourdeaux, 80.

— John Talbot, his second son, joins Henry VI. and is slain at the battle of Northampton, 89.

— George Talbot, joins Henry VII. at the battle of Stoke, 139. Made steward of the household to Hen. VIII. 200. Commands under that king in France, 211.

Somerset, earl of, Edmund Beaufort, (and earl of Mortaigne in France) an enemy to the house of York, 68. Made duke, and lord lieutenant of France, 69. Slain at the battle of St. Alban's, 82.

— Duke of, Henry Beaufort, joins queen Margaret against the Yorkists, 83. Taken and beheaded, 99.

— Edmund his son, his bravery at the battle of Barnet, 109. Kills the lord Wenlock in a fit of passion, 110. Is executed, ib.

— duke of, Edward Seymour, made protector of England, 293. Defeats the Scots at Muffelburgh, 297. Persecuted, condemned, and beheaded, 309.

— Earl of, Robert Carr, so created by James I. 496. Condemned for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, and pardoned, but banished the court, 499.

Strafford, earl of, Thomas Wentworth, so created by Charles I. 536. Is beheaded, 547. See Charles I.

Suffolk, duke of, William de la Pole, succeeds the earl of Salisbury at the siege of Orleans, 40.

— earl of, Edmund de la Pole, kills a man, and is obliged to fly abroad, 160. Delivered up by Philip of Austria, and confined in the Tower, 166. Beheaded by order of Henry VIII. 206.

— duke of, Charles Brandon, favourite of Hen. VIII. 214. Marries the dowager of France, Henry's sister, 215.

— duke of, Henry Grey, so created by Edw. VI. 308.

Surry, earl of, Thomas Howard. See Norfolk.

T.

TALBOT, lord John. See Shrewsbury.

— John, lord Lisle, killed with his father at the battle of Bourdeaux, 80.

W.

WALES, united with England under the same laws, 263. Principality of, its history, 491, n*.

Wolsey, Thomas. See Henry VIII.

R

S

Mortimer, Thomas

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